EPIGRAPHIA INDIC

Vol. XVIII (1925-26)

प्रत्नकीर्तिमपावृणु

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001
1983

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. XVIII. 1925-26.

प्रत्नकीर्तिमपावृणु

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011
1983

Reprinted 1983

Price : Rs. 90·00

Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33 Kirti Nagar Industrial Area New Delhi-110015.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XVIII. 1925-26.

EDITED BY

RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA,

AND

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT.,
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

CALCUTTA:
MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH.
BOMBAY: BRITISH INDIA PRESS.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co. | *NEW YORK:* WESTERMANN & Co. *CHICAGO:* S. D. PEET.

PARIS: E. LEROUX.

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically,

LIST OF PLATES.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 2, l. 23.—*For Bōl read Bōḷ.*

„ 6, l. 30.—*For ellaïinnum read ellaiïnnum.*

„ 10, text l. 11.—*For* bṛindam *read* vṛindam.

„ 13, translation of v. 10.—*For* toir ght *read* to right.

„ 16, l. 2 in para. beginning with "The Palæography".—*For* Shāh-jī-kī-dherī *read* Shāh-jī-kī-ḍhērī.

„ 17, l. 2 of translation.—*For* (Uttarasena ?) *read* (Uttarasēna ?).

„ 18, l. 4 of Notes.—*For* -dherī, *read* -ḍhērī.

„ 21, l. 3.—*For* Komarei *read* Komar.

„ „ l. 7 from bottom.—*For (prāsas) read (anuprāsas).*

„ 22, l. 1.—*For* am aturer *read* a maturer.

„ 23, l. 13.—*For* been *read* born.

„ 26, l. 16.—*For Śāṅkara- read Śaṅkara-.*

„ 27, l. 4 from bottom.—*For* Gaṅgavāṭi *read* Gaṅgavāṭi.

„ 28, item 29.—*For Kaḷavaḷi read Kaḷavaḷi.*

„ 29, item 22.—*For* Kaḍāra *read* Kaḍāram.

„ 30, l. 7 from bottom.—*For* nscription *read* inscription.

„ „ item 27.—*For Paraṇi read -pParaṇi.*

„ 32, f. n. 1.—Omit the first 'and'.

„ 33, f. n. 11.—*For* यह्रिव: *read* यह्रिंव:.

„ 35, text l. 84.—*For* पृथुर्वंवर्भूवित *read* पृथुर्वंभूतात.

„ 36, „ l. 116.—*Insert* "(ह्र)" after ब्रू.

„ 40, f. n. 8.—*Insert* "?" at the end.

„ 49, translation of v. 12.—*For* king *read* kings.

„ „ f. n. 1.—Omit the hyphen between *Rāja* and *pāramparīyam* and *for Śōlaṉ read Śōḻaṉ*.

„ 51, f. n. 6.—*For* Kalinga° *read* Kaliṅga°.

„ 59, text l. 2.—*For* -gu- *read* -ga-.

„ 61, l. 13 from the bottom.—*For Mayurabhanja read Mayūrabhañja.*

„ „ l. 10 „ „ „ *For ākshayanī read ākshayaṇī.*

„ 62, l. 16.—*For* Amala- *read* Āmala-.

„ 64, l. 3.—*For* Bhara° *read* Bhara°.

„ „ f. n. 1.—*For* amil *read* Tamil.

„ 67, l. 15 from the bottom.—*For Chhandas-śāstra read Chhandas-śāstra.*

„ „ l. 7 „ „ .—*For* village and Miḻalalaī *read* village and Miḻalai.

Page 76, f. n. 6.—*Insert*] at the end.
,, 81, l. 3 from the bottom.—*For* Nāhār *read* Nāhar.
,, 83, f. n. 2.—*Omit* the "a" at the end of the line.
,, 86, l. 19.—*For* = *read* -.
,, 92, f. n. 1, l. 2.—*For* Hiwen *read* Hiuen.
,, 93, l. 10.—*Insert* ',' after Marmad.
,, 113, f. n. 1, l. 3.—*For -Nītisārā read -Nītisāra.*
,, 114, f. ns. 5 & 6.—*For* ender *read* render, and *for* ns cription *read* inscription.
,, 116, l. 17.—*For* -rāshtra *read* -rāshṭra.
,, 117, l. 15.—*For ghaṭakayar read Ghaṭakayar.*
,, ,, penultimate line.—*Insert* त between थि and ब.
,, 118, l. 23.—*Insert* 'r' between 'sepa' and 'ated'.
,, ,, f. n. 2.—*For* 53 *read* 541.
,, ,, f. n. 3.—*For* IX *read* XI.
,, 119, l. 10.—*For* tates *read* states.
,, ,, l. 11.—*For* विप्रानां गनाय् वरं दद्दान् *read* विप्राणां गणाय वरमदात्.
,, 120, text l. 10.—*For* °त्थि° *read* °त्थिं°.
,, 124, serial numbers 4, 6, 9 and 10 of the table.—*For* Irādhīdara, Ēṇūr, 51, 52, Sēnda° and Saḍaṅga° *read* Irādhītara, Ēṇūr, 52, 53, Śēnda° and Śaḍaṅga° respectively.
,, 130, l. 21.—*For* 'undovbted' and 'thts' *read* 'undoubted' and 'this' respectively.
,, 131, f. n. 2.—*For* वष *read* वर्षं.
,, 139, ll. 3 & 13.—*For* Nācchikrurchchi and *śthānapati read* Nāchchikrurchchi and *sthānapati* respectively.
,, 140, l. 4.—*For* Musalmans *read* Musalmāns.
,, 141, text l. 16.—*For* °न *read* °नः and *for* °र° *read* °रा°.
,, ,, ,, l. 21.—*For* °त्वौ° *read* °त्वौं°.
,, 144, ,, . 8: —*Delete* .
,, 145, l. 17.—*For sthānāpati read sthānapati.*
,, ,, f. n. 1, l. 2.—*For* -Kāoya *read* -Kāvya.
,, 156, l. 15.—*For* 'the' *read* 'to'.
,, ,, l. 16.—*For* Hastyā° *read* Hastya°.
,, 159, text l. 6.—*For* Vrrisa *read* Varisa.
,, 160, l. 11.—*For* Śri- *read* Śrī-.
,, 163, Metres.—*For Śālinī read Śālinī.*
,, 171, heading.—*For* 17 *read* 171.
,, ,, ll. 23 & 24.—*For* '*eḷtus*' and 'i' *read* '*eḷtu*' and 'is' respectively.
,, ,, l. 26.—*Insert* a hyphen at the end.
,, 181, l. 22.—*For* Gaya *read* Gayā.
,, 183, l. 8.—*For* Sōbhana- *read* Śōbhana-.

Page 194, f. n. 2.—*For* ' th ' *read* ' the '.

„ 198, f. n. 3.—*For* Kāḷidāsa *read* Kālidāsa.

„ 199, f. n. 3, l. 3.—*For* ' sten ' *read* ' stem '.

„ 206, l. 1 of translation of J.—*For* ' he ' *read* ' the '.

„ 217, f. n. 4.—*For* ' appaya- ' *read* ' Appaya- '.

„ 218, l. 5.—*For* Bijjaṇadēvā *read* Bijjaṇadēva.

„ „ translation of ll. 38-43.—*For dharmēta read dharmmēta*

„ 219, f. n. 1.—*For* °ॢन° *read* °न°.

„ 222, f. n. 4.—*For* Kamaulf *read* Kamauli.

„ 223, f. n. 1.—*Insert* [at the beginning.

„ 228, ll. 14 and 17.—*For* Andeki *read* Andēki.

„ 234, l. 20.— „ „

„ 235, l. 6 from bottom.—*For* Gōvinda III. *read* Gōvinda III,

„ 240, l. 4 from the bottom.—*For* Amōgh varsha *read* Amōghavarsha

„ 244, text l. 12.—*For* राज्याभिषेक *read* राज्याभिषेकं.

„ 250, text l. 64.—*For* कृरि° *read* क्रि°.

„ 253, translation of v. 24.—*For* Kōsala *read* Kōśala.

„ „ „ „ v. 29.—*For* Jgaattuṅga *read* Jagattuṅga.

„ 275, l. 8 from the bottom.—*For* full *read* fall.

„ 285, f. n. 3.—*For* , *read* . and commence a new sentence with ' The '.

„ 287, l. 9.—*For* Āmōghakalaśa *read* Amōghakalaśa.

„ „ f. n. line 5 from the bottom.—*For* खुम्मन *read* खन्मेन.

„ 289, ll. 14 and 42.—*For* Baripada and Binka *read* Baripadā and Binkā respectively.

„ 291, f. n. 2.—*For* Bhanja and Daspalla *read* Bhañja and Daspallā respectively.

„ 292, para. 1.—Close the quotation at the end of the penultimate sentence and omit the quotation mark at the end of the para.

„ 293, ll. 1 and 12.—*For* स *read* स:.

„ 294, text l. 21.—*For* सुत ऋग्नि *read* सुत। (तोऽग्नि°) and *for* अपरगोलश *read* अपर[*]गोलश.

„ „ „ l. 23.—*For* गुह्यः (श) अग्नि° *read* गुह्यः:श(शो)ग्नि°.

„ „ f. n. 4.—*For* Aüchadēva *read* Aichadēva.

„ 297, f. n. 10.—*For* Matre *read* Metre.

„ 305, text l. 8.—*For* sva-dharmm | *read* sva-dharmmē |

„ 314, f. n. 5.—*For Bōḷu read Bōḷ* and omit ' Vol XVIII '.

„ 318, f. n. 4.—*For* Hathigumpha *read* Hāthigumphā.

„ 321, l. 6 from bottom.—*For* Delha *read* Dēlha.

„ 322, l. 4.—*For* , *read* . and omit the rest of the paragraph.

„ 324, l. 4 from bottom.—*For* Delha *read* Dēlha.

„ 325, text l. 2.—*For* Viṭasa[ṁ*]ga° *read* Chiṭasa Ga° [N. G. Majumdār].

Page 326, translation of No. I.—*For* 'Vitasamgata' *read* 'Chita of the Gatas' [N. G. Majumdār].

" " text of No. V.—*For* Chu[la]pētukasa *read* Chulapitukasa.

" 327, l. 2.—After 'clear' add [*Chulapitukasa* means 'of the father's younger brother, *i.e.*, uncle'.—Ed.]

" " translation of No. V.—*For* "Agila, a resident of Chulapētu (?)" *read* "his uncle (Prakrit *Chula°*=Sanskrit *Kshudra°*) Agila" [N. P. Chakravarti].

" " " VI.—*For* Chulayakha *read* "Yakha (Yaksha) the Junior (Kshudra-Yaksha)."

" 328, No. XI, text and translation.—*For* "Mahamatā" *read* "Mahamitā (Mahāmitrā)".—Ed.

" " translation of No. XII.—*For* "Dharmadēvī" *read* "Dhamadēvā (Dharmadēva)".—Ed.

" 336, l. 24.—*For* Poionnaruva *read* Polonnaruva.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XVIII

No. 1.—KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

Ink impressions of this inscription were sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, along with the following description of the original plates:

"This set of **five copper-plates** was received from Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri, National College, Masulipatam, through the President, District Board, Godavari, in June 1921. The plates are held together by a circular **ring** rivetted into the back of a circular **seal**, on the countersunk surface of which are cut, in relief, a crescent, the word **śrī-Tyāgadhēnu**, and an expanding lotus-flower of six petals. The plates bear writing on eight faces in all, the first and last plates having writing only on their inner sides, and have no raised rims. They measure about 7″ in breadth, and a little less than 2″ in height. The ring-hole is bored at a distance of about ⅛″ from the left margin of the plates and measures about ⅜″ in diameter. The ring has a diameter of about 4″, and the seal is a little more than 2″ in diameter. The plates, with the ring and seal, weigh 100 tolas. The ring was cut in this office."[1]

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The **alphabet** resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. The secondary forms of *i* and *ī* are not always clearly distinguished. The Jihvāmūlīya occurs in *yaḥ kaśchid=* (l. 30). A final form of *m* is frequently used; one of *t* is found in *pradāt* (l. 18) and *vasēt* (l. 34), one of *n* in *rāja[r*]shin* (l. 26), and one of *ḷ* in *-Bōḷ* (four times in l. 28 f., and once in l. 37).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose; but **three verses of Vēda-Vyāsa are** quoted in lines 31-35. The Telugu plural *-Bōḷ* occurs four times in line 28 f., and once in line 37. Lingual *ḷ* is used also in *Chaḷukyānām* (l. 6), *-yugaḷaḥ* (l. 16), and in the Telugu village-name *Veḷḷekki* (l. 29). The Telugu *ṟ* occurs in the two village-names *Cheṟupūru* (l. 20) and *Iṟṟalū[r]* (l. 22). The vowel *ṛi* after consonants is generally expressed by the syllable *ri*. After *r*, consonants (except sibilants) are doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *maddhyē* (l. 21). In *-vaksha-sthalasya* (l. 9 f.) *s* is elided before *sth*. In line 28 the group *ñj* is employed instead of *jñ* in *viñjāpanayā* and *āñjāpti* (for *ājñapti*). In line 21 the adjective *niv[ā*]sin* seems to be used in the sense of 'lying, situated.'

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Koṇḍanagūru** to the **Brāhmaṇa** Cheṇḍiśarman by the Mahārāja **Indravarman**, surnamed **śrī-Tyāgadhēnu**,[2] *i.e.* 'the (celestial) cow in liberality,' who was a son of the Mahārāja **Vishṇuvardhana** and a grandson of the Mahārāja **Kīrtivarman**, and who belonged to the family of the **Chaḷukyas**. The donor's father, Vishṇuvardhana, has to be identified with **Vishṇuvardhana I**, the founder of the

[1] [The inscription has been reviewed in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1922; App. A, No. 2, and p. 96.—Ed.]

[2] The same surname forms the legend on the seal of this grant which is reproduced on the back of Plate of the Niduparu grant of Jayasimha I, *infra*.

Eastern Chalukya dynasty, who is known to have been the younger son of the Western Chalukya king **Kīrtivarman I.** Consequently, Indravarman must be the actual name of the younger son of Vishṇuvardhana I, who is called **Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka** or **Indrarāja** in the inscriptions of his successors, and who, according to later tradition, reigned only for seven days.[1]

The grant seems to have been made at the request of a chief named **Koṇḍivarman**, and the executor of the grant seems to have been Indravarman's eldest son, who likewise bore the name **Indravarman.** From other inscriptions we know only of a single son of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka or Indrarāja, who succeeded to the throne as Vishṇuvardhana II.

Line 28 f. contains four signatures of witnesses of the grant, each of which consists of the name of some village, followed by the word *Bōḷ*. In the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, *Bōḷ* (for *Bōyalu*) is the Telugu plural of *Bōya*. In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673, *Bōya* occurs five times, and is once replaced by the Sanskrit word *vāstavya*, 'a resident, inhabitant.'[2] The same must be the meaning of the word *Bōya* in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II, where a large number of donees are mentioned by name and are stated to have been *Bōyas*, *i.e.* 'residents,' of certain villages.[3] In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673 the actual names of the donees are omitted, and the expression 'resident of such and such a village' is employed in the place of the donee's proper name. Similarly, the donee's grandfather, Durgaśarman, receives in the subjoined grant the epithet '**Irralū[r]**-Bōya by name' (l. 22). It might be concluded from this that *Bōya* is the designation of a village-clerk (*Karṇam*). But this possibility is excluded by the fact that in the above-mentioned grant of Vishṇuvardhana II two different individuals, Vennīśarman and Chāmuṇḍiśarman, are stated to have been **Mārata**-Bōya, *i.e.* 'a resident of Mārata.'[4] In a grant of Bhīma I the donee (or his grandfather) is styled Ummarakanṭhi-Bōḷ,[5] *i.e.* 'a resident of Ummarakanṭhi.' This use of the plural *Bōḷ* suggests that the term *Bōḷ* in **Ālapāka**-Bōḷ, etc. (l. 28 f.), and in **Chōḍa**-Bōḷ (l. 37) will have to be explained as the *honorific* plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant.'

Lines 19-21 contain the names of four villages which formed the boundaries of the village granted, Koṇḍanagūru. The boundary in the South was **Cherupūru** (l. 20). This village is perhaps identical with **Cherupūra** in the Plaki[6] district, which, according to Dr. Fleet,[7] was probably an older form of Chīpurupalle in the present Vizagapatam District. The remaining village-names I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[8]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 Svasti[9][||*] Srīmatāṃ(tāṁ) sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mā[na]vya-sagō-

2 tr[ā*]ṇām(ṇāṁ) Hāritī-putrāṇām(ṇāṁ), svāmi-Mahāsēna-p[ā*]d-ānudhyā-

3 tānāṃ(nāṁ) Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājy[ā*]nām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-pra-

4 sāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkri(kṛi)t-āśēsha-

---

[1] See above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 16 and note 9.

[2] See my remarks, above, Vol. VIII, p. 238.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187 f.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50.

[5] Above, Vol. V, p. 129, text line 25 f.

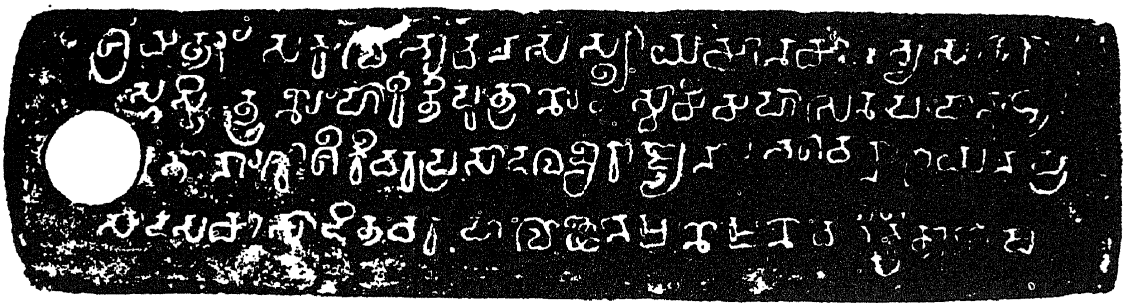
[6] This is the actual reading of the Chīpurupalle plates of Vishṇuvardhana I; see above, Vol. IX, p. 318, and cf. Vol. XII, p. 133.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15, 96.

[8] From ink impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

[9] This word is entered by the writer on the left side of line 2.

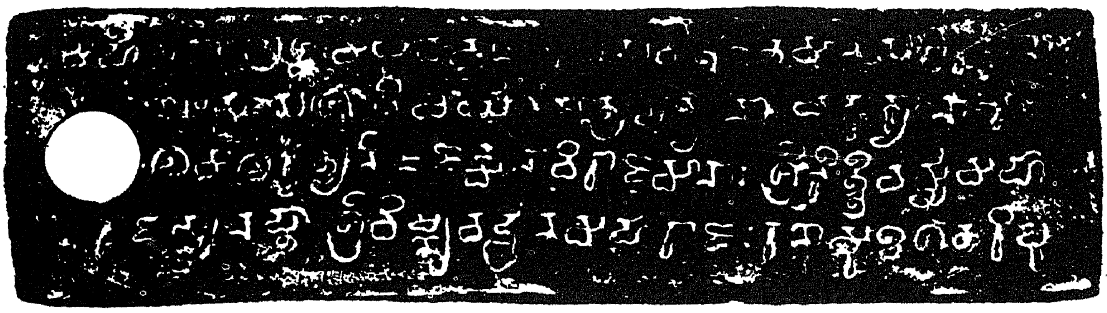
i.



2

4

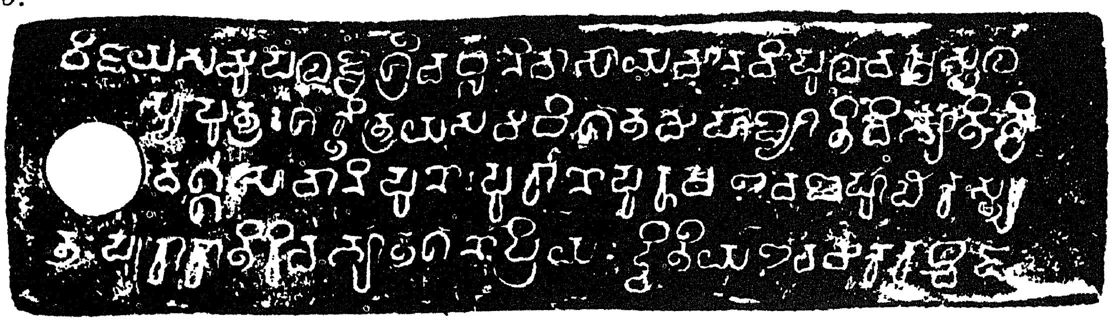
iia.



6

8

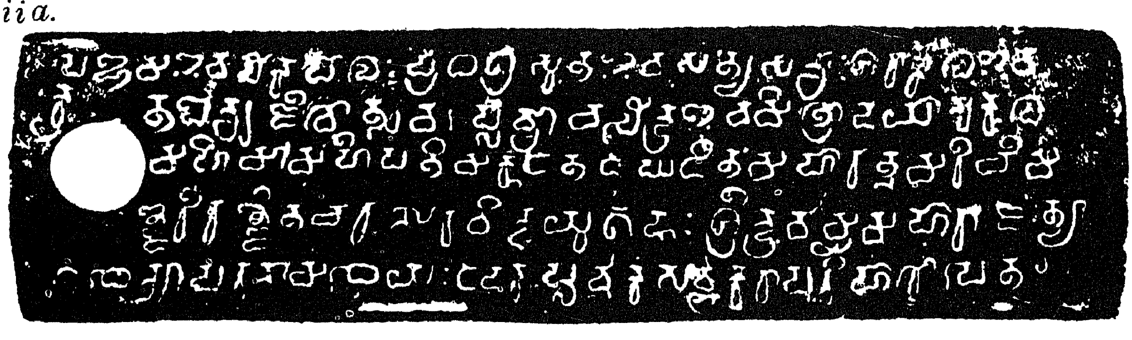
iib.



10

12

iiia.



14

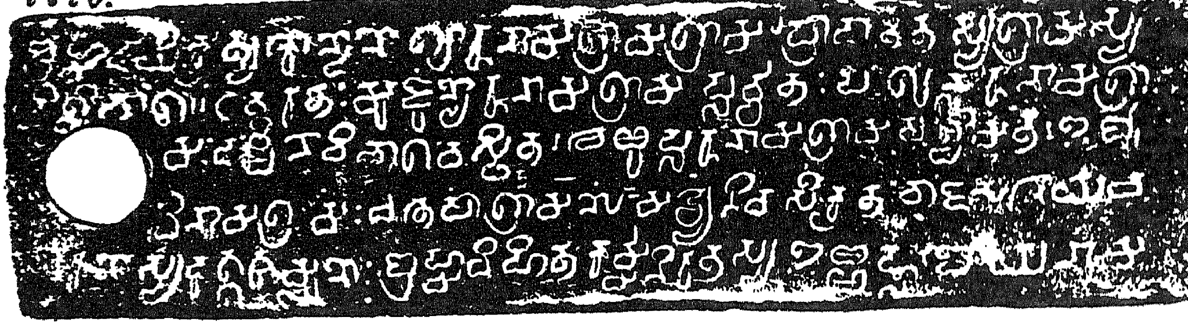
16

iiib.

18

20

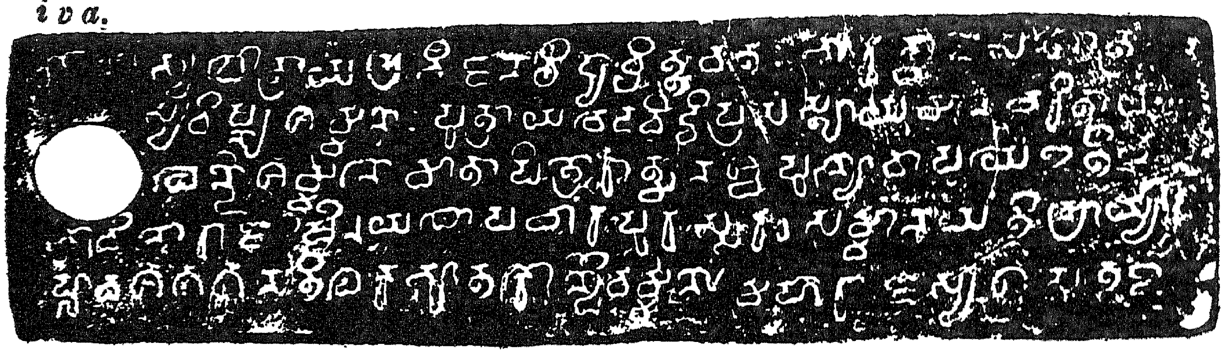
22



iva.

24

26

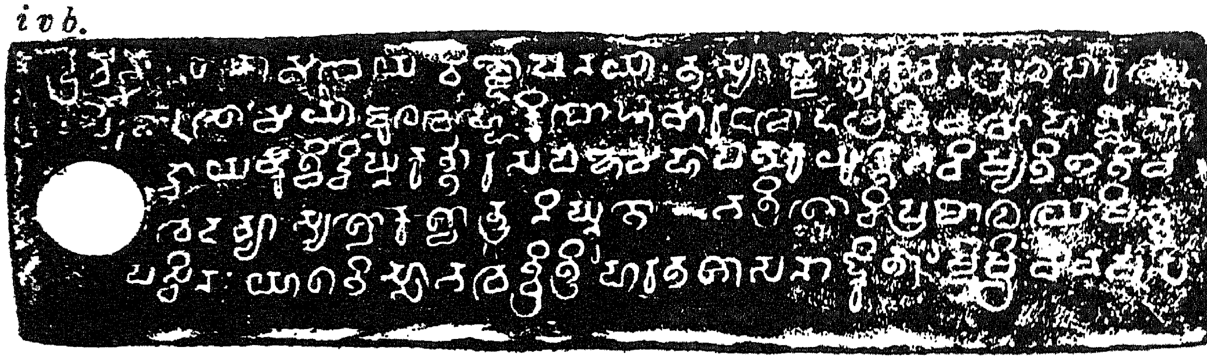


ivb.

28

30

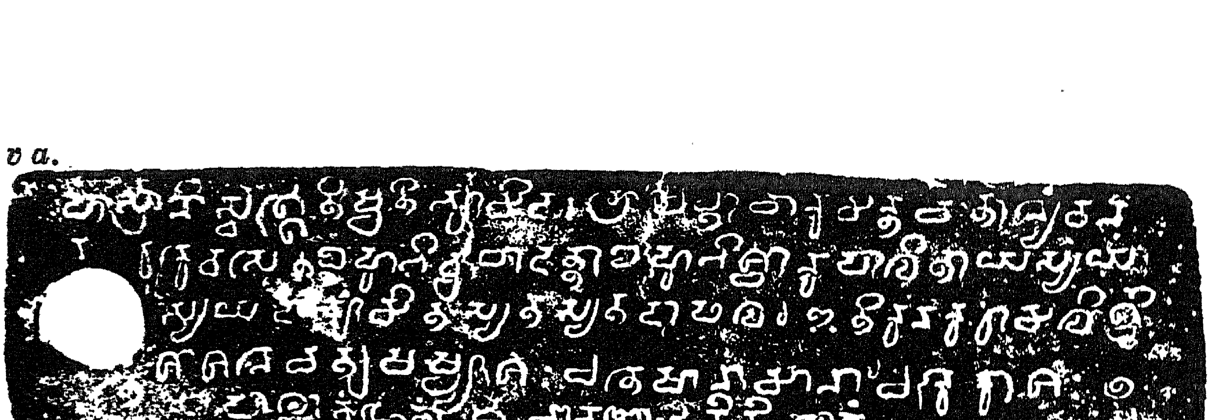
32



va.

34

36



Second Plate ; First Side.

5 mahībhṛitām[=*]aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkri(kṛi)ta-mānasa-[śarīrā]-

6 ṇām(ṇāṁ) sva-yaśō-vishayīkri(kṛi)ta-trailōkyānām(nāṁ) Chaḷukyānām(nāṁ) ku-

7 lam=ala[ṁ]kri(kṛi)tya nija-janmanaḥ(nā?) virājamānāḥ(naḥ?) śrī-**Kī[r*]ttivarmma**-mahā-

8 rājasya naptā śrī-**Vishṇuvarddhana**-mahārājaḥ[1] raṇa-mukha-ga(śa)ta-ripu-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

9 vijaya-samupalabdha-Śrī-vadhū-nivāsāyamāna-vipula-vaksha-sthala-

10 sya putraḥ śakti-traya-samadhigata-mahā-khyāti-vibhūti[ḥ] tri-[2]

11 vargga-sēvā-nipuṇaḥ Purāṇapurusha iva bahu-lōka-stu-

12 taḥ Purāratir=iva bhūta-gaṇa-priyaḥ dvitīya iva Makaradhvajaḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

13 pañchama iva lōkapālaḥ Pridhagrasuta[3] iva satya-sandhaḥ śarā(ra)t-kāla iva

14 kṛita-bandhujīv-ōtsavaḥ pūrvv-āchalēndra[4] iva mitr-ōday-ānukūla-

15 mahimā mahīpati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-mahāratna-marīchi-ma-

16 ñjarī-rañjita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷaḥ śr-**Īndrava[r*]mma**-mahārājaḥ **Tyā-**

17 **gadhēny**-āpara-nāmadhēyaḥ[5] udaka-pūrvvakaṁ sarvva-karā(ra)-parihār-ōpētam

Third Plate ; Second Side.

18 brahmad[ē*]yīkṛitya **Koṇḍaṇagūru**-nāma-grāma-grāmam prādāt [|*] Tasya grāmasya

19 dig-vibhāgā[ḥ*] | Uttarataḥ **Mujuṁṇūru**-nāma-grāma[ḥ |*] Pūrvvataḥ **Pagunūru**-nāma-grā-

20 maḥ [|*] Dakshiṇa-vibhāg-[ā*]vasthitaḥ **Cherupūru**-nāma-grāma[ḥ |*] Paśchimataḥ **Irbba-**

21 **[l]i**-nāma-gr[ā*]maḥ [|*] Ētēshāṁ grām[ā]ṇāṁ maddhyēṁ[6] niv[ā*]sī kṛitaḥ [|*] Vājasanēya-cha-

22 raṇasya **Du[r*]ggaśa[r*]mmaṇaḥ**(ṇō) Brahma-vihita-karmma-niratasya **Irralū[r]-Bōya**-nāma-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

23 [brāhmaṇa]sya pautrāya[7] abhijana-vidyā-vri(vṛi)ttavataḥ(tō) Bhāradvāja-sagōtra-

24 sya **Vishṇuśarmmaṇaḥ** putrāya vēdavid-vipra-saṁstūyamāna-charitāya

25 **Chendiśarmmaṇē** mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇyō(ṇy-ā)vāptayē(ya) iti cha [|*]

26 Bhāvinō rāja[r*]shīn yathōpachāra-purassaram(raṁ) sammānayati [|*] **Āryyā-**

27 **hū-va[ṁ]śa**-gagana-tilaka-bhūta-**Kō[ṇḍi]varmmaṇā** mahārājasy=āgra-suta **I-**

---

[1] Read *-mahārājasya:* [2] Read *-vibhūtis=tri-*.

[3] Read *Pṛith-āgra-suta* (*i.e.* Yudhishṭhira).

[4] The syllable *lē* is corrected by the writer from *lō*.

[5] Read *-mahārājas=Tyāgadhēnv-apara-nāmadhēyaḥ*.

[6] Cancel this *anusvāra*. [7] Read *pautrāy=ābhijana-*.

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

28 ndravarmmaṇa namadhēya[1] viñjāpanayā tasy=āñjāptirōvam[2] Ālapāka-Bōḷ
29 . . ppi-Bō[ḷ] Sōmayājula-Veḷḷekki-Bōḷ Māraṭa-Bōḷ [|*] Api cha mōhāl=lōbhā-
30 d=vā yaḥ=kaśchid=vighna-karttāra[3] sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavishyati iti[4] cha [|*]
31 Vēda-Vyā[sa*]sya ślōk[ā*]ś=ch=ātra [|*] Nighnatō bha[r*]tri(tṛi)-gō-vipra-bāla-yōshit-ta-
32 pasvinaḥ [|*] yā gatis=sā bhavēt=vrittim[5] harata[ḥ*] śāsan-āṅkitām [|| 1 ||*] Shashṭhiṁma[6] varsha-sa-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

33 hā(ha)srāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-da[ḥ*] | ākshēptā ch=ānumant[ā*] cha tāny=ēva na-
34 rakē vasēt [|| 2 ||*] Bahubhir=vva[su*]dhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya-ya-
35 sya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-tasya tadā phalam[|| 3 ||*] Iti Kanakarāma-likhi-
36 tē śā śa (śa) nē chatushashṭhyāśaḥ[7] [|*] Ētēshā nāmānām ēkaik-āśaḥ[8]
37 . . [pālvā]kaṁḷ=ēk-āṁśa[ṁ] [|*] Chōḍa-Bōḷ[9] tri(tṛi)tīy-ā[ṁ*]śaṁ [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The Mahārāja **Indravarman**, whose other name was **Tyāgadhēnu** (l. 16 f.), adorned the family of the **Chaḷukyas** (l. 6 f.); was a grandson of the Mahārāja **Kīrtivarman** (l. 7 f.); and was a son of the Mahārāja **Vishṇuvardhana**[10] (ll. 8-10). He granted the village[11] of **Koṇḍana-gūru** (l. 18) to Cheṇḍiśarman (l. 25), son of Vishṇuśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (l. 23 f.) and grandson of Durgaśarman, (also) called **Irṟalū[r]**-Bōya, of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* (ll. 21-23). The boundaries of the village granted were: in the North, **Mujuṁṇūru**; in the East, **Pagunūru**; in the South, **Cheṟupūru**; and in the West, **Irbba[l]i** (ll. 18-21).

The grant seems to have been made at the instance of a chief named **Koṇḍivarman**, who belonged to the family of **Āryyāhū(?)**, and at whose request the Mahārāja's (*viz.* Indravarman's) eldest son, who, (like his father), bore the name **Indravarman**, was appointed executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant).[12] Line 28 f. seems to contain the names of four witnesses of the grant, preceded by the particle *ēvam*, 'thus,' *viz.* **Ālapāka-Bōḷ**,[13] . . **ppi-Bōḷ**, **Sōmayājula-Veḷḷekki-Bōḷ**, and **Māraṭa-Bōḷ**.[14]

[1] Read perhaps *Indravarmma-nāmadhēyō.*
[2] Read *vijñāpanayā tasy=ājñaptiḥ* | *Ēvam=.*
[3] Read *karttā.*
[4] Read *bhavishyat=īti.*
[5] Read *bhavēd=vrittiṁ.*
[6] Read *Shashṭiṁ.*
[7] Read *chatuḥshashṭy-aṁśāḥ.*
[8] Read perhaps *Ētēshāṁ brāhmaṇānām=ēkaik-āṁśaḥ.*
[9] A point or dash is engraved between *bō* and *ḷ.*
[10] The genitive *-vaksha-sthalasya* in line 9 f. proves that the nominative *-mahārājaḥ* in line 8 must be a mistake of the clerk who drafted the grant, for *-mahārājasya.*
[11] The text reads *grāma-grāma,* 'village of villages,' *i.e.* 'a large village' (?) or 'a chief village' (?). The same expression occurs in another Eastern Chalukya grant; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 138, text line 18.
[12] The purpose of the passage from which I derive these statements (ll. 26-28) is uncertain. If my correction *Indravarmma-nāmadhēyō* is accepted, it would still be necessary either to supply after *Koṇḍivarmmaṇā* the word *kṛitayā* qualifying the instrumental *vijñāpanayā*, or to read *Koṇḍivarmmaṇō.*
[13] *Bōḷ* is the honorific plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant'; see my remarks on p. 2 above.
[14] The epithet *Māraṭa-Bōya* is applied to two of the donees in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II; see *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50. In l. 60 of that grant, *saṁprāpta* must be corrected into *saṁprattaḥ.*

(This) edict (*śāsana*) was written by Kanakarāma (l. 35 f.). The village granted was divided into 64 shares, of which each of the donees[1] received one share (l. 36). The last line (37) contains the names of two further recipients of shares, of whom the first, whose name is doubtful, received one share, and the other, named **Chōḍa-Bōḷ**, one-third share.

No. 2.—BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

As stated by M. Julien Vinson, this inscription is engraved on **five copper-plates** which were discovered by M. Jules Delafon[2] in 1879 'at a depth of about one metre, in the middle of a structure of bricks, at six metres south of the pagoda of **Bāhūr**, an important locality on the south of Pondicherry, from which it is 23·5 kilometres distant.' The plates are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, **Paris**. They measure about 91·5 millimetres in height, 201·9 mm. in breadth, and 4·1 mm. in thickness, and weigh altogether 3106 grammes. There is the usual **ring-hole**, 13·5 mm. in diameter, at a distance of 9-10 mm. from the left margin of each plate; but the ring which must have been originally passed through the holes and borne the royal seal, has not been recovered. 'It had surely been broken long ago; for the first side of the third plate and the second side of the second one are in worse condition than the other sides. They were no doubt on the outside of the set. This allows us to conclude that the document has been buried with carelessness or in impatient haste.' I am deriving all these details from M. Vinson's article 'Le collège de Bahour au IXe siècle,'[3] in which he furnished a tentative transcript and translation of the inscription. Years ago I had published a few remarks on it,[4] based on a transcript which had been prepared by a Tamil pandit and supplied to me by M. Delafon. This transcript has been recently printed in full, with some additional remarks, by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.[5] The historical importance of the record now induces me to re-edit it from a set of photographs which M. Vinson had been good enough to send me in 1905. The photographs are not quite perfect and distinct, but nearly every detail of the text can be made out from them with certainty.

The **languages** of the inscription are Sanskrit and Tamil̤, and the **alphabets** are Grantha and Tamil̤, respectively. There are 32 Sanskrit verses (ll. 1-45 and 74-77); the rest of the text is in Tamil̤ prose (ll. 45-74 and 78 f.). Grantha letters are occasionally used also in the Tamil̤ portion (*Nṛi*, l. 45; *rmma*, l. 46; *brahmadēya*, l. 50; *vidyāsthā*, ll. 51, 71; *vidyābhōga*, ll. 52, 71 f.; *hā* and *vyavaste(sthai)*, l. 72; *sarvvaparihā*, *brahma*. and *datti*, l. 73; *Uditōdaya* and *dē*, l. 78; *Nripatuṁga*, l. 79), and the Tamil̤ syllable *ṟai* occurs in a Sanskrit verse (l. 34), while the purely Tamil̤ name *Nilaitāṅgi* is written in Grantha letters (*Nilaitāṁg=īti*, l. 30). In the Sanskrit portion, the secondary form of *ī* is not distinguished from that of *i*, nor that of *ṛi* from that of *ra*, nor *p* from *v*. In the Tamil̤ portion, the length of initial *ē* and *ō* is not marked in *ēṟi* (l. 72) and *ōḍai* (l. 69). The secondary forms of *ī*, *ē*, *ō* are the same as those of *i*, *e*, *o*. The length of the vowel *ū* is marked in *ūr*, *Vāgūr*, *Ūṟattūr*, °*ṟūr*, °*ṉūr*, and *pūśi*; but the *mū* of *immūṉṟūrum* (l. 50) does not differ in shape from *mu*, and from the *l̤u* of -*pāl̤uṅ=* (l. 68).

---

[1] The names of the 64 shareholders are not specified, but the latter are alluded to by the pronoun *ētē*, 'these,' which implies that they were assembled in the king's presence when he made the grant. For similar instances of the use of the pronoun *ētad* see above, Vol. IX, p. 59, note 6. The unnamed donees perhaps consisted of the chief donee Cheṇḍiśarman and his relatives, and of the four persons who were mentioned as witnesses of the grant in line 28 f.

[2] To the same gentleman we owe the discovery of the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman (S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 73).

[3] *Mémoires Orientaux* (Paris, 1905), pp. 211-263.

[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.

[5] S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 513-517.

All these defective spellings are well known from many other Tamil inscriptions.[1] They were not intended to imply actual differences of pronunciation, but are only due to the yet imperfect development of the old Tamil alphabet. In my transcript, I have, therefore, substituted the long vowels wherever they are required. In the Sanskrit portion, a final form of *m* is frequently employed (ll. 11, 12, 13, etc.). Virāma is expressed by a vertical dash after *n* (ll. 10, 29 (?), 35 (?), 40, 41), but seems to be omitted generally after final *t* (ll. 4, 5, 26, 29, 30, 45), where I have tacitly supplied it. Superscribed *r* has the same shape as Virāma, but is represented by a point in *nirbabhau* (l. 16) and *-pūrvvaka*[*m*] (l. 32). In the Tamil portion, Virāma is expressed only in two instances: by a vertical dash in *tan* (l. 48), and by a point (*pulli*) in *im* (l. 50). In the Sanskrit portion, the end of a verse is marked indiscriminately by various signs of punctuation, consisting of one or more of five different elements (|, ||, :, —, 0—), but which I have in every case replaced by the usual mark (||). The end of the first half of a verse is marked by a horizontal line (—) only in five instances (ll. 13, 15, 17, 26, 30). At the end of the two Tamil passages, two other signs of punctuation are employed, *viz.* :||0— (l. 74) and :|ก— (l. 79).

The **orthography** of the Sanskrit portion calls for a few remarks. Tamil pronunciation is responsible for the forms *Tantivarmman* (ll. 14, 18) for *Dantivarmman*, and *rēbha* (l. 33) for *rēpha*, and *agātha* (l. 37) is meant for *agādha*. The group *ksh* is replaced by *tsh* in *raratsha* (l. 9 f.), *tshmāpāla-* (l. 14 f.), *-didritshayā* (l. 17), and *Latshmīr=* (l. 20). The Sandhi rules are disregarded in *pālanāt=bhūmim* (l. 15), *kritavān=śāstra-* (l. 45), *svarggam=vimānēna* (l. 13), and *labdham=vidyā-* (l. 35). Visarga is dropped, not only, as optionally permitted, in *=tēja sthiti-* (l. 3) and *dāsa sthānasya* (l. 44), but also in *va śriyam=* (l. 1) and *rājña śrī°* (ll. 21, 42). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with four exceptions (*Śrī-bhartuś=*, l. 3, *nirbabhau*, l. 16, and *Dhū*[*r**]*jaṭir=jaṭa°*, l. 36).[2] Double *t* is simplified before *v* in *datvā* (l. 39) and *tatva* (l. 45). The Tamil of the grant portion is on the whole correct. The only mistakes in it are *°pākamum* (l. 49) for *°pākkamum*, *naṭti* and *viḍutka* (l. 53) for *nāṭṭi* and *viḍukka*, *viḍuṇḍa* (l. 56) for *viḍutta*, *ū mam* (l. 67) for *ūrum*, *vyavasteyum* (l. 72 f.) for *vyavasthaiyum*, and a few other slips in the two last lines of the inscription. The genitive affix *iṉ* is joined to *ellai*, 'a boundary,' without Sandhi in *ellaiiṉ* (ll. 58, 63, 64 f., 65, 66), and its final *ṉ* is doubled before the conjunctive affix *um* in *ellaiṉṉum* (ll. 58, 59, 60, 61). Similarly the past relative participle *āyiṉa* is spelt *āiṉa* (l. 62). For the past gerund *āy* we have *āyi* (l. 72, and twice in l. 73), which is an archaic form; *mēyi* (l. 68) for *mēy*, 'to graze'; and *Nelvāyippākkam* (l. 59 f.) for *Nelvāyppākkam*.

The **metres** of the Sanskrit portion are: Drutavilambita (verses 1, 7), Vasantatilakā (15, 31), Āryā (32), and Anushṭubh (3-6, 8-14, 16-30). The metre of verse 2 is Praharshiṇī; but its fourth Pāda is Anushṭubh, and in each of the two first Pādas the tenth and eleventh syllables of the Praharshiṇī metre are missing. I am unable to correct and translate this verse in a satisfactory manner.

The Tamil portion of the inscription records a grant of three villages, and the Sanskrit portion preceding it professes to be a eulogy (*praśasti*, l. 45) celebrating the donor. The Tamil and the Sanskrit versions supplement and corroborate each other, and have both to be considered together. The grant was made **in the eighth year** (ll. 46, 51) of the reign of king (*kō*) **Vijaya-Nripatuṅgavarman** (l. 45 f.), or simply **Nripatuṅgavarman** (l. 74 f.), **Nripatuṅga** (ll. 24, 25, 32), or **Tuṅgavarman** (l. 42), who boasted of the title 'lord of the three worlds' (ll. 22 f., 41 f.). Verses 2-15 contain the following genealogical account of this king. From the lotus-flower arising from Vishṇu's navel was produced Brahmā; from him, Aṅgiras; from him, Brihaspati; from him, Saṁyu; from him, Bharadvāja; from him, Drōṇa; from him, Aśvatthāman; and from him, king **Pallava** (verse 6). The same mythical pedigree is found at the begin-

[1] *Cf.* S. I. I., Vol. I, Preface, p. v. f.

[2] In *varshayād=* (l. 15 f.) the doubling of the sibilant is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

ning of several inscriptions of the **Pallava kings of Kāñchī**. Next we are told that from the family of Pallava 'arose a group (of kings) commencing with **Vimala** and **Koṅkaṇika**' (verse 7), and that, 'after **Vimala**, etc., had gone to heaven' (verse 8), there was **Dantivarman** (verse 9), whose son was **Nandivarman** (verse 12). As I have suggested on a former occasion,[1] the 'group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkaṇika', which is sandwiched between the mythical king Pallava and the historical king Dantivarman, probably owes its mention to the desire of claiming for the latter connection with the **Western Gaṅgā kings**, whose ancestor is believed to have been **Koṅkaṇi**.[2] The queen of Nandivarman, **Śaṅkhā** by name, was born in the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family (verse 13) and bore to him the donor of this grant, **Nṛipatuṅga** (verse 15). Of him verse 16 tells us that he supplied a **Pāṇḍya** king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the **Arichit** river. The name of this river must be a Sanskritized form of **Arisil**, a branch of the Kāvērī which enters the sea at Kāraikkāl (Karikal).[3] It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nṛipatuṅga allied himself with a Pāṇḍya king and undertook an expedition into the dominions of the **Chōḷa** king. The two names Dantivarman and Nṛipatuṅga occur also among the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** kings, with whom Nandivarman became actually connected through his queen Śaṅkhā, and Dantivarman is perhaps identical with **Dantiga**, the ruler of Kāñchī who was defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III in A.D. 804.[4] Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has shown quite recently that the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of **Vijaya-Nandivarman** and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman** probably belong to the reign of Nṛipatuṅga's father Nandivarman.[5]

According to the Tamiḻ portion, the grant was made at the request of Vēśāli-pēraraiyan (l. 46), i.e. 'the great chief of Vēśāli.' The Sanskrit portion supplies his proper name, **Mārtāṇḍa** (l. 27 f.), and his surname, **Nilaitāṅgi**[6] (l. 30), and calls him, with a play on his name Mārtāṇḍa, 'the sun of the **Vēśāli** family' (l. 27 f.). From other inscriptions we learn that **Vēśālippāḍi** was the name of a province, of which **Vāgūr-nāḍu**, i.e. the country round Bāhūr, formed a subdivision.[7] Evidently Mārtāṇḍa was a hereditary chief of this province. He claimed descent from the family of **Kuru** (ll. 27, 31 f., 43), the mythical ancestor of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. At his own request (ll. 32, 46 f.), he had received three villages in his own province (*rāshṭra*) from king **Nṛipatuṅga** (verse 21). This probably means nothing but that his sovereign accorded him permission to give away these three villages, and explains two apparently conflicting statements, *viz.* that, in verses 23, 26, and 29, Mārtāṇḍa is represented as the actual donor, while, in verse 31, Nṛipatuṅgavarman claims the merit of having made the grant himself.

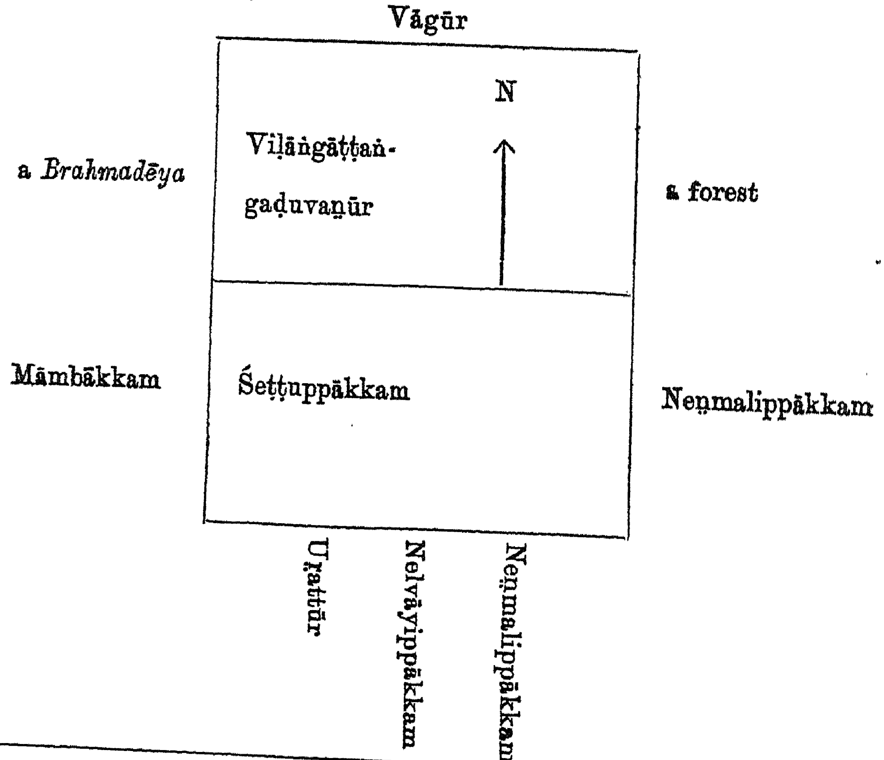
The executor (*ājñapti* in Sanskrit, ll. 32, 39, and 41, or *āṇatti* in Tamiḻ, l. 47) of the grant was **Uttamaśīla** (l. 41), the minister (*mantrin*) of king **Tuṅgavarman** (l. 42), i.e. of Nṛipatuṅga. He had the title **Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḻa-pēraraiyan** (l. 47), i.e. 'the great chief of the Tamilians of Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi.' As Kāḍupaṭṭi is a synonym of Pallava,[8] Uttamaśīla's title suggests that **Viḍēlviḍugu**, i.e. 'the crashing thunderbolt,' was a surname of the Pallava king Nṛipatuṅga. The same word Viḍēlviḍugu seems to have been a surname of his father Nandivarman. For an inscription of king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman** and of his feudatory, the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya, at Tiruvallam[9] records the grant of a village named Viḍēlviḍugu-Vikkiramāditta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The first member of this compound word

[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.
[2] *Cf.* above, Vol. III, p. 164, n. 3, and S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 98 f.
[3] S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 52, n. 3.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.
[5] S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 506 f., 518.
[6] This Tamiḻ name is paraphrased in Sanskrit by *lōkānām nilayaḥ* (l. 29).
[7] See M. Vinson's article, p. 234 f., and Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27.
[8] See above, Vol. VII, p. 25, n. 7, and J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 527.
[9] S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 42.

must refer to Nṛipatuṅga's father Nandivarman,[1] and the second one to the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya. The executor (*āṇatti*) of the Tiruvallam grant was Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḷa-pēra[rai]yaṉ which may be taken as a title either of Uttamaśīla himself, or of another minister who preceded him in office during the reign of Nandivarman.

The recipients of the grant were the residents of a 'seat of learning' (*vidyā-sthāna*), or college, at **Vāgūr** (ll. 51 f., 71; see also ll. 35, 37 f., 38 f., and 44 of the Sanskrit portion), i.e. **Bāhūr**, where the plates were discovered by M. Delafon. As M. Vinson remarks,[2] the modern form looks like a learned corruption, deriving the ancient name Vāgūr from the Sanskrit *bāhu*, 'an arm,' instead of the Tamiḻ *vāgu*, 'beauty.' The grant was to be a *vidyā-bhōga* (ll. 52, 71 f.), i.e. a source of revenue for the promotion of learning. This is perhaps the earliest case on record of a university scholarship or educational endowment.

As in the Leyden plates (a scholarly transcript, translation, and analysis of which still remain a desideratum), the official routine observed in this grant was as follows. The three villages having been granted to the Vāgūr college, an order (*tirumugam*, l. 54) communicating this fact and calling for a report (*aṟaiyōlai*, ll. 53, 55, 56) was issued to the headmen of **Kīḻveḷi-Vāgūr-nāḍu**, (a subdivision of the district) of **Aruvā-nāḍu**[3] (l. 48). Having read the order, the headmen of the *nāḍu* reverently placed it on their heads and circumambulated the limits of the villages granted. Line 40 of the Sanskrit portion suggests that, as in the case of the Leyden plates, they were accompanied by an elephant whose hoofprints marked the boundaries, on which they raised stones and planted milk-bush (ll. 53, 55). The names of the three villages were **Śeṭṭuppākkam**,[4] **Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūr**, and **Iṟaippuṉaichchēri** (ll. 48-50). According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, their boundaries were as shown in the two subjoined diagrams (ll. 56-66).

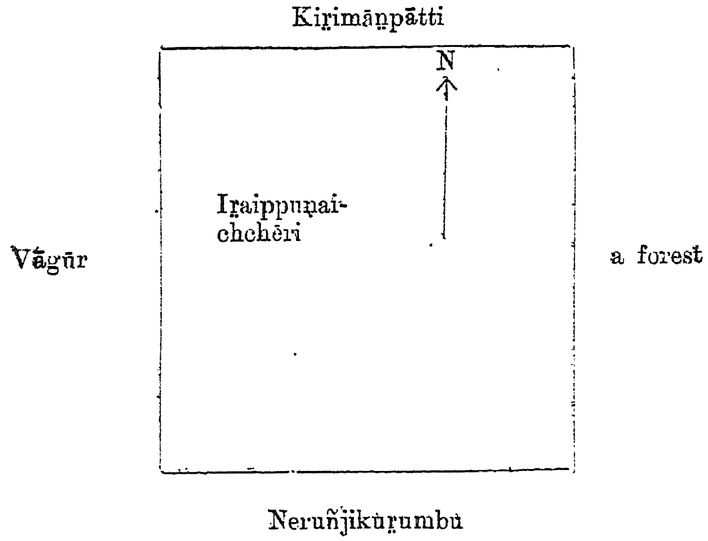


[1] Just as his name is given here and in other inscriptions in the fuller form of *kō* Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, his son Nṛipatuṅgavarman calls himself also *kō* Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman; see above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f. and Vol. VII, p. 140.

[2] See his article, p. 286.

[3] *Cf.* Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27. According to the Tamiḻ dictionaries, Aruvā-nāḍu is one of the two districts in which common Tamiḻ (*Koḍun-Tamiḻ*) is spoken, the second being Aruvā-vaḍatalai-nāḍu.

[4] Spelt *Cheṭṭuppākkam* in Grantha (l. 32 f.).



M. Vinson[1] has consulted a local map and tells us that, besides Vāgūr (Bāhūr), two of these village-names survive to the present day: Kiṟimāṉpātti is now represented by **Kirimāmbākkam**, 6 kilometres north-east of Bāhūr, and Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūr is perhaps connected with **Kaḍuvaṉūr**, 5 kilometres west of Bāhūr. I hope my Brahmin friends in Madras will find an opportunity for making enquiries on the spot, and will succeed in identifying a few more of the village-names which are registered in the detailed description of the boundaries of the grant.

In verse 30 we are told that the Sanskrit *praśasti*, which forms the first portion of the inscription, was composed by **Nāgaya**, a servant of the Vāgūr college. At the end of the whole document, its writer informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse (32) and in Tamiḻ prose, (l. 78 f.). He was a goldsmith (*suvarṇakṛit* or, in Tamiḻ, *taṭṭāṉ*), named **Nṛipatuṅga** (ll. 77, 79),—evidently after his sovereign,—a hereditary servant of the **Pallava** family, the son of **Mādēvi-perundaṭṭāṉ**, and the grandson of **Uditōdaya-perundaṭṭāṉ** of **Kiḻ-Paiśāram** near **Kachchipēḍu** (Conjeeveram). The name, or rather the title, of his father means 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to the chief queen.' Similarly, the name of his grandfather would mean 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to (king) Uditōdaya,' and Uditōdaya (l. 78) or Uditōdita (l. 76) may have been a surname of one of the immediate predecessors of king Nṛipatuṅgavarman. **Uditōdita** is actually known to have been one of the numerous *birudas* of **Rājasiṁha**, an earlier Pallava king of Kāñchī.[2] From this king it may be supposed to have descended to one of the predecessors of Nṛipatuṅgavarman.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate; First Side.

1 Svasti śrī[ḥ ||*] Diśatu va[ḥ*] śriyam=ambuja-lōchanas=tridaśa-mauli-nighṛi=

2 shṭa-pad-āmbujaḥ [|*] sakala-lōka-bhayaṁkara-rākshasa-praśama-hētur=a-

3 jē(jō) Madha(dhu)-sūdanaḥ || [1 ||*] Śrī-bhartuś=śayana parasya nētrē yat=tēja[ḥ*][4] sthiti-laya-sū-

---

[1] See his article, p. 235 f.

[2] S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 15, 6th note.

[3] From a set of photographs supplied by M. Julien Vinson.

[4] Read perhaps =bhāt=tējaḥ.

4 ti-hētuḥ [|*] tan-nābhēr=ajani samasta-bījam=abjam=Ātmayōnis=tatō=bhavat || [2 ||*]
5 A[ṁ*]girās=tata utpannō lōka-nāthāch=chaturmmukhāt [|*] Bṛihaspatis=tatō
6 mantrī Śakrasya Vala-bhēdinaḥ || [3 ||*] Tataś=Śaṁyus=tatō jē(ja)jñē Bharadvāja-sa-
7 māhvayaḥ [|*] tatō Drōṇō mah-ēshvāsas=samarē Śakra-vikramaḥ || [4 ||*] Tatō
8 Drōṇān=mahā-bāhus=sarvva-yu[d*]dha-viśāradaḥ [|*] Aśvatthāmā kil=āṁśēna samba-
9 bhūva Pinākinaḥ || [5 ||*] Aśvatthāmnas=tatō rājā **Pallav-ākhyō** babhūva u(yaḥ) [|*] ra-

First Plate; Second Side.

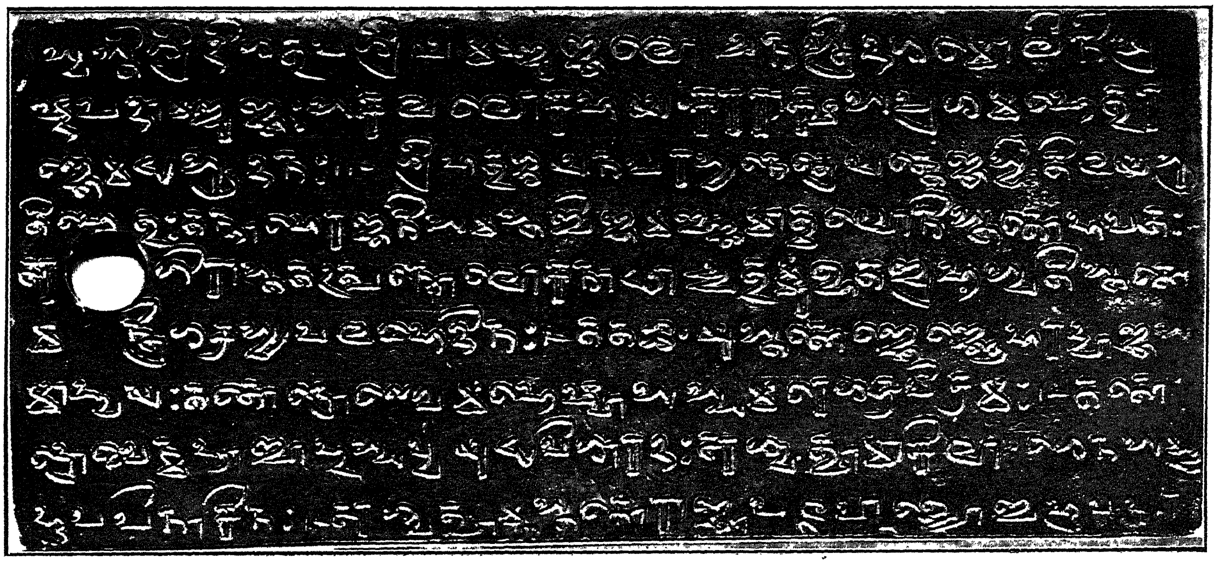
10 ratsha(ksha) nava-khaṇḍa-sthān=bhūpatīn=sa-kṛishīvalān || [6 ||*] **Vimala-Koṁkaṇik-**ādi ta-
11 d-anvayād=ajani bṛindam=ari-pramad-ānatam [|*] nihita-śāsanam=anya-nṛipēshv=api
12 priyatamañ=jaya-ghōsham=anāratam || [7 ||*] **Bhuktvā** bhuvaṁ sva-vīryyēṇa chatus-[sā]-
13 gara-mēkhalām | tata[ḥ*] svarggam=vimānēna[1] gatēshu **Vimal-ādishu** || [8 ||*] Ā-
14 sīt=Purandara-samō rājā[2] dṛipa(ḍha)-bhaktir=Mmura-dvipi(shi) [|*] **Ta(Da)ntivarmmā** mahā-[b]āhuḥ tshmā(kshmā)-
15 pāla-makuṭ-ānataḥ || [9 ||*] Dharmmēṇa pālanāt(d)=bhūmiṁ Kalāv=api yugē nṛipaḥ | va-
16 rshaṇād=api dānasya parjjanya iva nirbabhau || [10 ||*] Ātmanō bandi-yuktā[nāṁ][3] Ya-
17 m-ālaya-didṛitsha(ksha)yā | pāthēyam=iva kṛitv=ārīn=paṇḍāni[4] visa[sa*]rjja yaḥ || [11 ||*] **Nandi-**
18 **varmmā** mahā-bāhus=sa jātō[5] **Ta(Da)ntiva[r*]mmaṇaḥ** [|*] samarē vijitā bhūmir=asahāyē-

Second Plate; First Side.

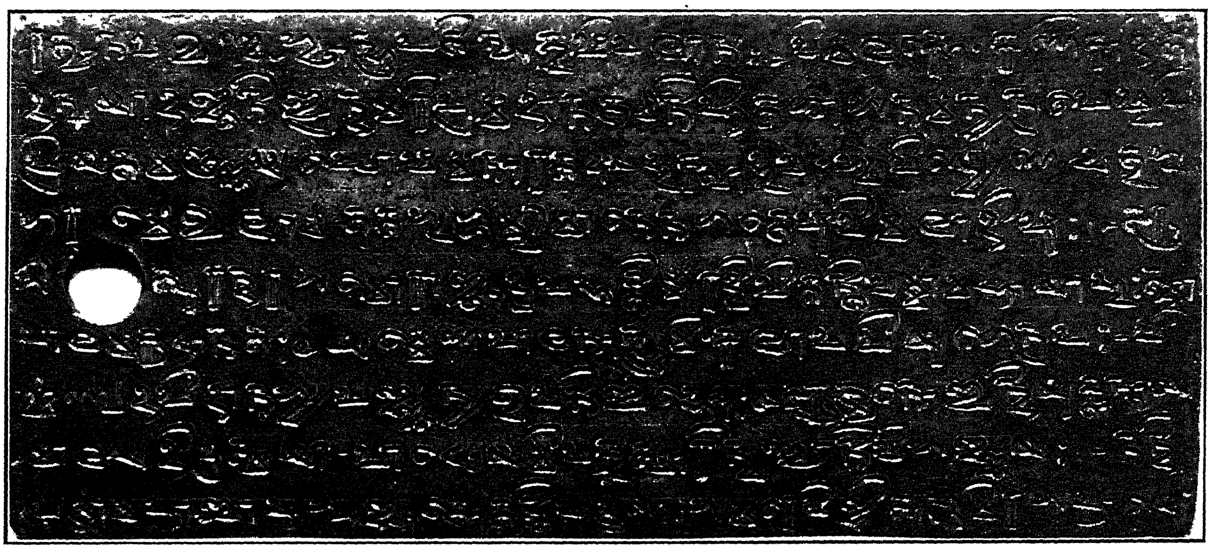
19 na yēna saḥ || [12 ||*] Āsīch=**Chhaṅkh-āhvayā** dēvī tanv-aṁgī **Nandivarmmaṇaḥ** [|*] **Rāshṭra-**
20 **kūṭa-[ku*]lē** jātā Latshmī(kshmī)r=iva Mura-dvishaḥ || [13 ||*] Kshamāvatī dharitr=īva mā[tṛi*]-vaj=jagataḥ
21 priyā [|*] babhau **Śaṁkh-āhvayā** dēvī rājña[ḥ*] śrīr=iva rūpiṇī || [14 ||*] Tasyām
22 [ba]bhūva mati-kānti-kal-ādimatyām=mānyaḥ kulēna guṇavān=bhuvana-tray-ē-
23 śaḥ [|*] utpadyamāna-tapanādhipa-tulya-tējā jishṇuḥ kalāvān=samarē[6]
24 **Nṛipatuṁgadēvaḥ** || [15 ||*] Yat-prasād-ā[r*]jjitā sēnā **Pāṇḍyēna** samarē purā [|*]
25 pārē-**Richit**=sa rāj-āgnir=ddadāha ripu-saṁhatim || [16 ||*] **Nṛipatuṁga** iti khyātō
26 bālō=pi bhuvan-ēśvaraḥ | khyātō na kēvalam=bhūmāv=amushminn=api Rāma-vat
27 || [17 ||*] Tasy=ōpakāra-saṁyuktō rājñaḥ **Kuru-kul-ōdbhavaḥ** [|*] **Vēśāli-vaṁśa-Mā-**

[1] Read *svarggaṁ vimānēna*.
[2] To satisfy the metre, this word must be cancelled.
[3] Read perhaps *yukt-ānyān=*.
[4] Read perhaps *=kāṇḍāni*.
[5] Read *=saṁjātō*.
[6] Instead of the last syllable of *kalāvān*, the metre requires a short syllable; read perhaps *kalāpa-samarē*.

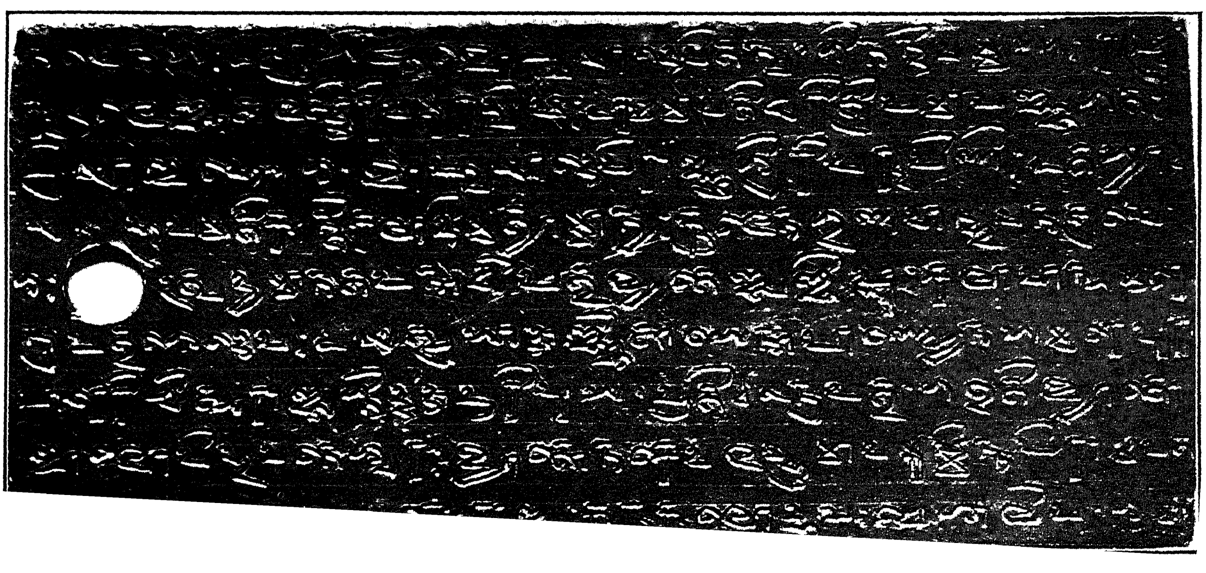
i a.



i b.

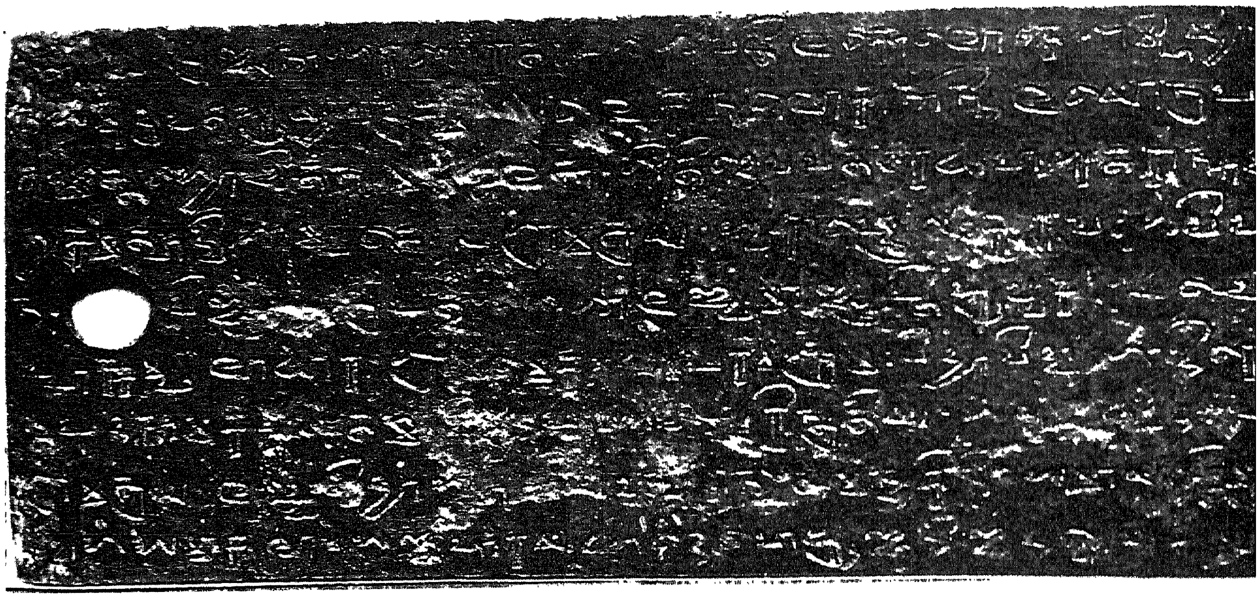


ii a.



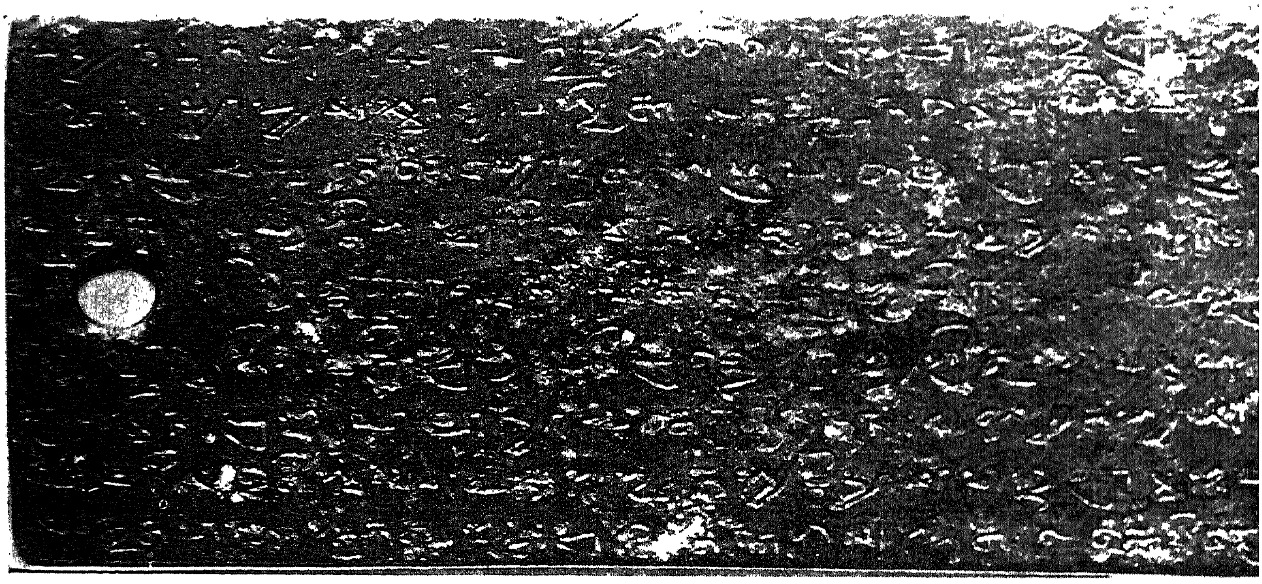
ii b.

28 30 32 34 36



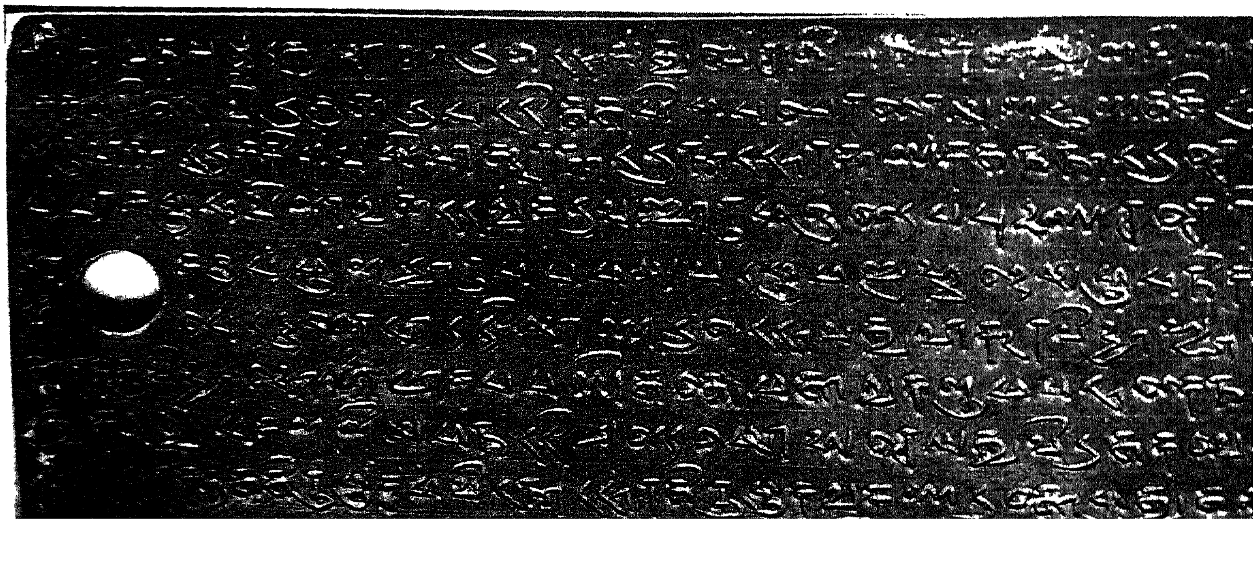
iii a.

38 40 42 44



iii b.

46 48 50 52 54



Second Plate ; Second Side.

28 **rttāṇḍaḥ** prajānāṁ śaraṇē rataḥ || [18 ||*] Śaśi-vat=tilakō lōkē gāmbhīryy-ādau[1]
29 samudra-vat [|*] sū[r*]yya-vad=rakshaṇāl=lōkān[2] lōkānān=nilayō nṛipaḥ || [19 ||*]
30 Tasmāt=tasy=ōchitan=nāma **Nilaitāṁg**=iti dēva-vat | athavā sutarān=nāma-pra-
31 tyakshatvād=viśām=patēḥ || [20 ||*] Grāma-trayaṁ sva-rāshṭrē saḥ[3] **Kuru-vaṁśa**-vivarddha-
32 naḥ [|*] vijñā[pya] **Nṛipatuṁg**-ēśāl=labdham=ājñapti-pūrvvaka[m] || [21 ||*] **Cheṭṭu-**
33 **ppākkam**=phal-ādhāraṁ grāmam=ēkam=ath=āparam [|*] grāmaḥ(maṁ) **Vidyā-vilāṁg**-ādi-rēbh(ph)-ā-
34 nta-pada-nāmaka[m] || [22 ||*] Tasmād=**Iraippuṇaichchērin**=tritīyaṁ sarvva-[sampa]ṇṇaṁ [|*] ēvaṁ
35 grāma-trayaṁ labdham=vidyā-sthānāya[4] dattavān || [23 ||*] Mandākinīm samāyāntīm=ūrmmi-
36 vēga-samākulām [|*] sa [ba]bhāra yathā dēvō Dhū[r*]jaṭir=jaṭay=aikayā || [24 ||*]

Third Plate ; First Side.

37 Vidyā-nadī tath=āg[ā]thā(dhā) [5]chaturddiśa-gaṇ-ākulā, [|*] **Vāgū[r]-grāma**-jush[āṁ]
38 sthānaṁ vyāpya yasmād=vyavasthitā || [25 ||*] Tat=sthānam=ēvaṁ vidushāṁ vidyā-
39 sthānam=prachakshatē [|*] tēbhyō datvā(ttvā) sa bhūpālō grāmān=ājñapti-
40 pūrvvakān || [26 ||*] Hasti-sañchāri-sīmāntān=ātmānam=bahu-manyatē [|*] yuktān=sa
41 rvva-[pa]rīhārair=akaratvēna rakshitān || [27 ||*] Ājñaptir=**Uttama**śīlas=trailō-
42 ky-ēśvara-pūjitaḥ [|*] mantrī Bṛihaspati-prakhyō rājña[ḥ*] śrī-**Tuṁg**-va[r*]mmaṇaḥ || [28*]
43 Āgāminaḥ prajāpālān=yāchatē **Kuru-nandanaḥ** [|*] dha[rmma*]sy=aitasya sāmānyā-
44 t=pālanīya iti svayam || [29 ||*] Dāsa[ḥ*] sthānasya vidyāyā **Vāgūr-grāma**-jushām=a-
45 yam[6] [|*] kṛitavān(ñ)=śāstra-tatva(ttva)-jñaḥ praśastin=**Nāgayas**=su[kṛi*]t || [30 ||*] Kō **Viśaiya-Nṛi-**

Third Plate ; Second Side.

46 **patoṅgavarmmaṟku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Vēśāli-ppēraraiyaṉ** viṇṇap-
47 pattāl **Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi-Ttamiḻa-ppēraraiyaṉ** āṇatti āga
48 **Aruvā-nāṭṭu-Kkīḻvaḻi-Vāgūr-nāṭṭu** nāṭṭār kāṅga [||*] Tan-nāṭṭu **Śeṭṭu-**
49 **ppā[k*]kamum Viḻāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūrum Iraippuṇaichchēriyu-**
50 m=āga immūṉṟūrum paḻayav-aṟamum brahmadēyamum nikki mu-
51 ṉ peṟṟārai māṟṟi **yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Vāgūr** vidyāsthāṉat-
52 tārkku vidyābhōgam=āga=ppaṇittōm [||*] Tāṅgaḷum paḍāgai naḍan-
53 du kallum kaḷḷiyum n[ā*]ṭṭi aṟaiyōlai śeydu [7]viḍutka(kka)v=eṉṟu
54 nāṭṭārkku=ttirumugam viḍa [||*] Nāṭṭār tirumugaṉ=gaṇḍu toḻudu talai-
55 [k]ku vaittu=ppaḍāgai naḍandu kalluṅ=gaḷḷiyu=nāṭṭi aṟai[yōlai]

[1] The second part of the *au* of *-ādau* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
[2] Read *=lōkāṁl=*.
[3] Read *sa*.
[4] Read *labdhaṁ vidyā-*.
[5] [Read *chātur°*.—Ed.]
[6] The reading = *imām* would be more suitable.
[7] [This word may be read as *viḍutaga*.— Ed.]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

56 śeydu nāṭṭār vidunda(tta) aṟaiyōlai=ppaḍi nilattukk=ellai [|*] **Viḷā-**
57 **ṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūrkkuñ=Jeṭṭuppākkattukkum**=āga iraṇḍu ūrkkuṅ=gī-
58 ḻ-pāṟk=ellai kāṭṭu ellaiññum **Neṉmaḷippākkattu** ellaiïṉ
59 mēṟkun=deṉ-pāṟk=ellai **Neṉmaḷippākkatt**=ellaiïṉṉun=**Nelvā-**
60 **yippākk** att=ellaiññum **Uṟattūr**=ellaikku vaḍakkum mēl-pā-
61 ṟk=ellai **Māmbākkatt**=ellaiïṉṉum iv-**Viḷāṅgāṭṭāṅgaḍuvaṉū-**
62 **r-ppāṟ**=piramadēyam=āïṉa aṟubadu śeṟuvukku=kkiḻakkum vaḍa-pāṟk=ellai **Vā-**
63 **gūr**=ellaiïṉ=ṟeṟkum [|*] **Iṟaippuṉaichchērikk**=ellai kiḻ-pāṟk=ellai natta-
64 m uḷḷiṭṭa kāṭṭukku mēṟkun=deṉ-pāṟk=ellai **Neruñjikuṟumbiṉ** ellai-
65 ïṉ vaḍakku=mēl-pāṟk=ellai **Vāgūr**=ellaiïṉ kiḻakkum vaḍa-pāṟk=ellai

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

66 **Kiṟimāṉpāṭṭi** ellaiïṉ=ṟeṟkum=āga . ivv-iśaitta-peru-nāṉg-ellai-
67 gaḷilum=agappaṭṭa nilaṉ nīr-nilaṉum puṉśeyyum ūmam[1] ūr-irukkaiyu=
68 maṉaiyu=maṉai-ppaḍappu=maṉṟuṅ=gaṉṟu=mēyi-pāḻuṅ=guḷamuṅ=goṭṭagā[ra]-
69 muṅ=giḍaṅguṅ=gēṇiyuñ=gāḍuṅ=gaḷarum ōḍaiyum uḍaippum uḷḷiṭṭu nī[r]
70 **pūśi** neḍum paramb=eṟindu uḍumb=ōḍi āmai tavaḻndad=e[llā]-
71 m uṉ-ṉilaṉ=oḻiv-iṉṟi **Vāgūr** vidyāsthāṉattārkku vidyā[bhō]-[2]
72 bhōgam=āyi **Vāgūrōḍē** ēṟi **Vāgūr** peṟṟa parihāramum vyavaste(sthai)[yu]-
73 m peṟṟu sarvva-parihāram=āyi brahmadēyam=āyi=pparadatti śeṉṟa-
74 du || Puṇyaṁ samaṁ kṛitavatām pariraksbatāñ=cha tad=rakshat=ēti nṛipatir=**Nṛi-**
75 **patuṅgavarmmā** [|*] āgāminaḥ kshitipatīn=praṇamaty=ajasram mūrddhnā **Mukunda-chara**[ṇ-ām]-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

76 buja-śēkharēṇa || [31 ||*] **Uditōdita-kula-tilaka**[ḥ*] suvarṇṇakṛit=sarvva-[śāstra]-
77 nishṇātaḥ [|*] alikhan=**Nṛipatuṁg-ākhyaḥ** **Pallava-kuḷa-mūla-bhṛityō**=tra || [32 ||*]
78 **Kachchipēṭṭu Kiḻ-Paiśārattu Uditōdaya-peru[n*]daṭṭā[ṉ*]** magaṉ **Mādēvi-peru[n*]daṭṭā-**
79 ṉ magan(ṉ) **Nṛipatuṁga[ṉ*]** eḻuttu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(Verse 1.) Let Madhu's destroyer (Vishṇu) grant you prosperity, the lotus-eyed one, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the diadems of the gods (bowing to him), the unborn one, (who became) the means of the destruction of demons that terrified the whole world!

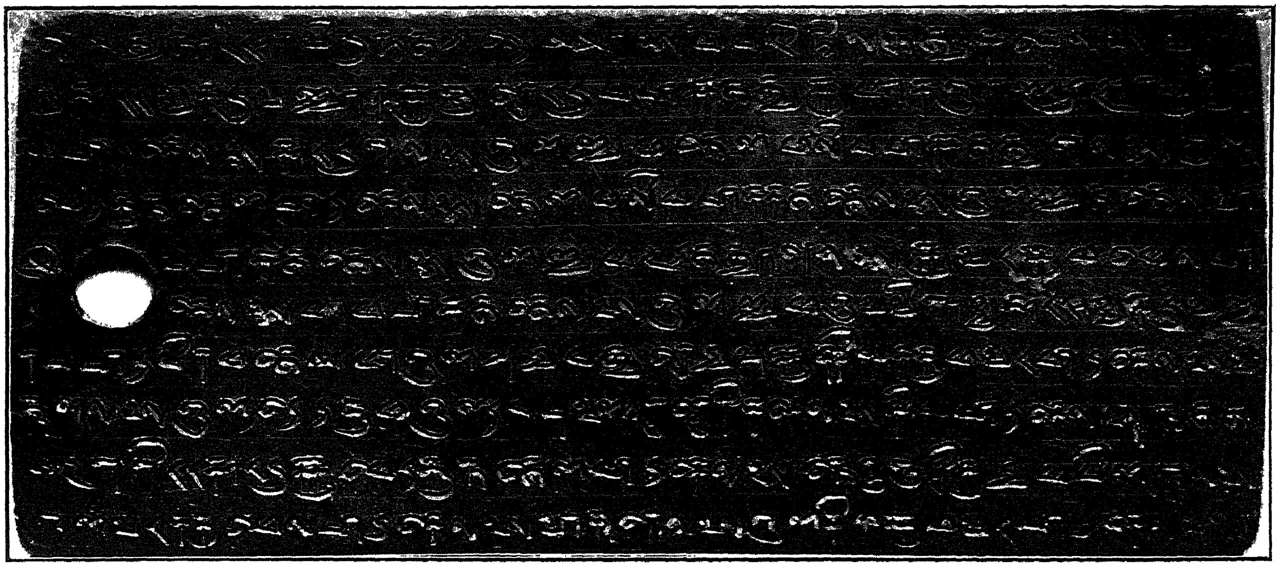
(Verse 2.) In the eye of the sleeping husband of Śrī (Vishṇu) was produced the luminary (i.e. the Sun ?), (which is) the means of duration, destruction, and production. From his

[1] Read *ūrum*.

[2] Cancel the bracketted syllable.

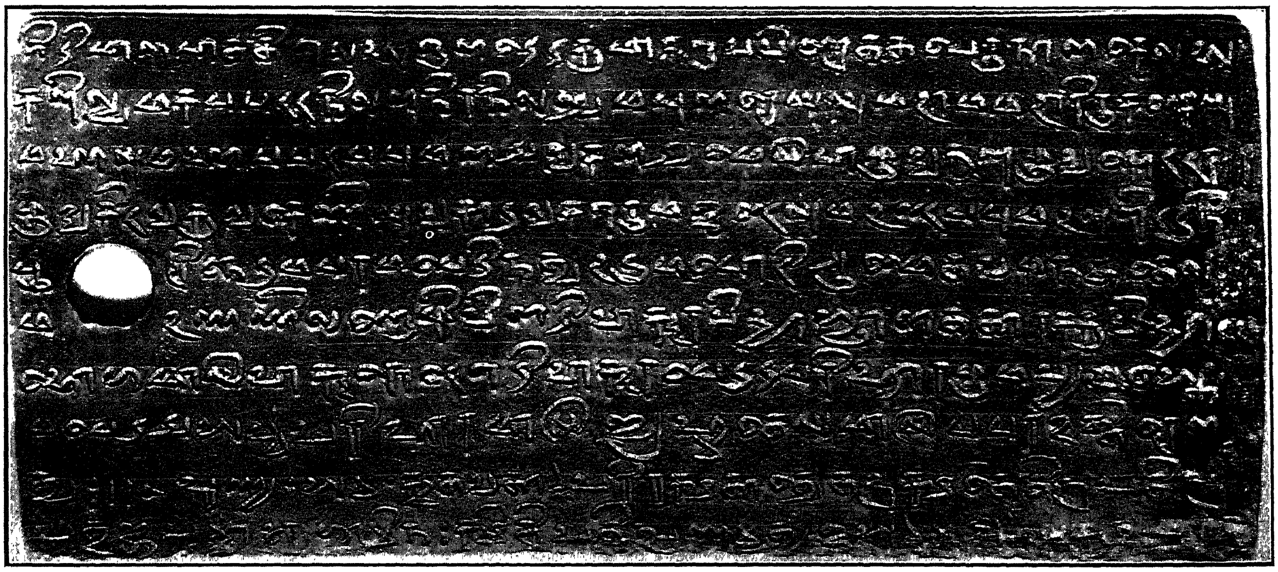
iv a

56 58 60 62 64



iv b.

66 68 70 72 74



v.

76 78



(Vishṇu's) navel arose a lotus-flower, the germ of all. From this (flower) the self-born one (Brahmā) was produced.

(Verse 3.) From this four-mouthed lord of the world, Aṅgiras was born, (and) from the latter, Bṛihaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the splitter of (the demon) Vala.

(Verse 4.) From him was born Śaṁyu; from him, he who was named Bharadvāja; from him, the great archer Drōṇa, whose valour equalled that of Śakra in battle.

(Verse 5.) From this Drōṇa was produced, it is said, by a portion of Pinākin (Śiva) the long-armed Aśvatthāman, who was skilled in all fights.

(Verse 6.) From this Aśvatthāman was born a king named **Pallava**, who ruled the kings residing in the nine continents, together with the ploughmen.

(Verse 7.) From his family arose a group (of kings) commencing with **Vimala** and **Koṅkaṇika**, which was bowed to by the wives of enemies; which imposed commands even on other rulers of men; which was much beloved; (and) which continually shouted 'victory.'

(Verse 8 f.) Then, after **Vimala**, etc., having enjoyed by their own valour the earth girt by the four oceans, had gone to heaven on aerial cars, there was the long-armed (king) **Dantivarman**, who resembled Purandara (Indra), showed firm devotion to Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (and) was bowed to by the diadems of the rulers of the earth.

(Verse 10.) By ruling the earth according toir ght even in the Kali age, and by showering gifts, (this) ruler of men shone like a rain-cloud.

(Verse 11.) He dispatched arrows, furnishing (them) with provisions for (their) visit of the nether world under the guise of (the blood of those of his) enemies who were not (already) confined in his own prisons.[1]

(Verse 12.) From **Dantivarman** was born that long-armed **Nandivarman** who subdued the earth unaided in battle.

(Verse 13.) Just as Lakshmī (is the consort) of Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (the wife) of **Nandivarman** was the slender queen named **Śaṅkhā**, who was born in the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family.

(Verse 14.) Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named **Śaṅkhā** shone as if she were the embodied fortune of the king.

(Verse 15.) By her who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc., was born the virtuous **Nṛipatuṅgadēva**, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour, (and) victorious in fights with arrows.

(Verse 16.) Resembling fire, this king, by whose favour the **Pāṇḍya** had obtained an army formerly, burnt a confederation of enemies in a battle on the further bank of the **Arichit** (river).

(Verse 17.) Even in his youth (this) lord of the world (was) renowned (by the name) of **Nṛipatuṅga** (i.e. 'the high one among rulers of men'). (He was) renowned not only on earth, (but) even in the other (world), like Rāma.

(Verse 18.) Provided by this king with benefits (was) **Mārtāṇḍa** of the family of **Vēśāli**,[2] a descendant of the family of **Kuru**, (and) intent on (affording) refuge to (his) subjects.

(Verse 19.) An ornament to the world like the moon, (and) resembling the ocean in profundity, etc., (this) ruler of men (became) the resort of the people by protecting the people as if (he were) the sun.

[1] i.e. he either imprisoned or shot his enemies.

[2] Verses 19 and 20 suggest that the word *Mārtāṇḍa* (i.e. the sun) is not a mere metaphor (*rūpakam*), but has to be taken here as a proper name.

(Verse 20.) Therefore the (sur)name **Nilaitāṅgi** (i.e. 'the support of the world') (was as) suitable to this ruler of men as (unto) a god, or because (his real) name (Mārtāṇḍa, i.e. the sun) was quite manifest (to all).

(Verses 21-23.) This promoter of the family of **Kuru** gave to a seat of learning (*vidyā-sthāna*) three villages in his own province (*rāshṭra*) which, at (his) request, (he had) received, provided with an executor (*ājñapti*), from that lord **Nṛipatuṅga**, viz. the village of **Cheṭṭup-pākkam**, rich in fruit, then another village whose name (consisted of) a word ending in an *r* and beginning with *Vidyāviḷāṅgā*,[1] (and) thirdly the very prosperous (village of) **Iṟaippuṉai-chchēri.**

(Verses 24-26.) Just as the god Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching Mandākinī (Gaṅgā), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions,[2] stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**. Therefore they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning.

(Verse 26 f.) This ruler of land thinks highly of himself after he has given to those (scholars) the (three) villages, provided with an executor, their limits having been circum-ambulated by an elephant,[3] accompanied by all immunities, (and) protected by freedom from taxes.

(Verse 28.) The executor (was) **Uttamaśīla**, worshipped by the lord of the three worlds,[4] the minister, resembling Bṛihaspati, of the glorious king **Tuṅgavarman.**

(Verse 29.) The descendant of **Kuru** himself entreats future kings :—'As this charity is common (to all kings), it must be preserved (by you as well) !'

(Verse 30.) The servant of the seat of learning of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**, the pious **Nāgaya**, who knew the truth of sciences, composed this eulogy (*praśasti*).

(Line 45.) **In the eighth year** (of the reign) of king **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman**, at the request of **Vēśāli-pēraraiyaṉ**; **Vidēlvidugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḻa-pēraraiyaṉ** being the execu-tor (*āṇatti*). Let the headmen of **Kīḻvaḻi-Vāgūr-nāḍu**, (a subdivision) of **Aruvā-nāḍu**, see (this order) ![5]

(Line 48.) **In the eighth year** (of our reign), we have granted three villages of your *nāḍu*, viz. **Śeṭṭuppākkam, Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūr,** and **Iṟaippuṉaichchēri,**—dispossessing the former tenants, (and) excluding ancient charities and *Brahmadēyas*,—to the residents of the seat of learning at **Vāgūr** as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning (*vidyā-bhōga*).

(Line 52.) And issued an order (*tirumugam*) to the headmen of the *nāḍu*, telling them to circumambulate the limits,[6] to plant stones and milk-bush (along the boundaries), and to draw up and submit a report (*araiyōlai*) !

---

[1] According to the Tamiḻ portion, the full name of this village was Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṉūr, to which the word *vidyā* is still prefixed here because it was granted for the promotion of learning.

[2] With *chaturdiśa-gaṇa* cf. the expression *chātudisasa bhikhu-sa[ṁ*]ghasa* at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78, text line 5.

[3] The local authorities fixed the boundaries by letting an elephant walk round the limits. Cf. *piḍi naḍappittu* or *piḍi śūḻndu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; *kariṇī-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīmā-chatushṭayam* ..... *grāmam*, ibid., l. 85 f.; *ibhī-parīta-sīmānam*, above, Vol. XV, p. 63, text line 109 f.; *piḍi śūḻndu*, ibid., p. 64, text lines 134-136, and p. 65, text line 165; *piḍi naḍatti*, Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 70.

[4] i.e. king Nṛipatuṅga; see verse 15.

[5] Cf. line 105 of the Kāśākuḍi plates.

[6] *Paḍāgai naḍandu* corresponds to *paḍāgai valañ=jeyidu* in line 110 of the Kāśākuḍi plates; *piḍāgai valañ=jeydu* in a Tiruvallam inscription of Nandivikramavarman, S. I. I., Vol III p 91, l. 11; *piḍāgai naḍandu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; and *pradakshiṇi-kṛitya* in Sanskrit.

(Line 54.) When the headmen of the *nāḍu* saw the order, they raised (their) joined hands (before it), placed (it) on (their) heads, circumambulated the limits, planted stones and milk-bush, and drew up a report.

(Line 56.) According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, the boundaries of the land (granted are as follows):—Of the two villages of **Viḷāṅgāṭṭāṅgaḍuvaṉūr** and **Śeṭṭuppākkam**, the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of a forest and of the boundary of **Neṉmalippākkam**; the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of **Neṉmalippākkam**, of the boundary of **Nelvāyippākkam**, and of the boundary of **Uṟattūr**; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of **Māmbākkam** and of sixty rice-fields (*śeṟuvu*) which form a *Brahmadēya* near this **Viḷāṅgāṭṭāṅgaḍuvaṉūr**;[1] and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of **Vāgūr**.

(Line 63.) The boundaries of **Iṟaippuṉaichchēri** (are):—The eastern boundary is to the west of a forest surrounding the village (*nattam*); the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of **Neruñjikuṟumbu**; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of **Vāgūr**; and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of **Kiṟimāṉpaṭṭi**.

(Line 66.) Altogether, the land enclosed by the four great boundaries specified here, including wet land and dry land, villages and village-buildings, houses and house-gardens, clearings and young trees, waste grounds for grazing,[2] tanks, store-houses,[3] ditches, wells, forests, brackish ground, water-courses and breaches,[4] wherever water is conducted (?), long harrows are applied,[5] iguanas run, and tortoises creep, not excluding the cultivated land,[6] being joined[7] to **Vāgūr** itself as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning to the residents of the seat of learning at **Vāgūr**, enjoying the immunities and agreements[8] enjoyed by **Vāgūr**, possessing all immunities, (and) being a *Brahmadēya*,—the grant was made.[9]

(Verse 31.) 'The good works of those who perform (them) and of those who preserve (them) are equally (meritorious). Therefore preserve you (this gift)!' Thus (requesting them), king **Nṛipatuṅgavarman** perpetually bows (his) head, which bears on its crest the lotus feet of Mukunda (Vishṇu), to future kings.

(Verse 32.) The ornament of the family of **Uditōdita**, the goldsmith named **Nṛipatuṅga**, who was skilled in all sciences (and) a hereditary servant of the **Pallava** family, wrote (this).

(Line 78.) The writing of **Nṛipatuṅga**, the son of **Mādēvi-perundaṭṭāṉ** (who was) the son of **Uditōdaya-perundaṭṭāṉ**, (a resident) of **Kīḻ-Paiśāram** near **Kachchipēḍu**.

---

[1] In two other instances (ll. 49, 56 f.), the *ā* of *ṭṭā* is represented by a short *a*.

[2] These three doubtful terms occur also in line 281 of the Leyden plates, and in the Aṉbil plates, above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 167 f., where they are translated by 'halls, wastes in which the calves graze.' I adopt M. Vinson's renderings of *maṉṟum* and *kaṉṟum* (as the Leyden plates read for *kaṉṟu=*).

[3] For *koṭṭagāram* see S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 61, n. 2; above, Vol. XV, p. 71, n. 3; Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. III, p. 177, n. 3.

[4] See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 64, n. 1.

[5] The expression *nīr pūśi* occurs also in line 284 of the Leyden plates, and *neḍum paramb=eṟindu* in line 305 (which ought to have been numbered 285) of the same. Both terms are used in line 434 of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 410.

[6] See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 109, n. 2.

[7] *ēṟi* may be the intransitive form of *ēṟṟi*, 'having joined.'

[8] For *vyavasthā*, see S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 40, ll. 20 and 56; Vol. II, No. 98, ll. 58 and 62.

[9] The two words *paradatti śeṉṟadu* occur also in line 133 of the Kāśākuḍi plates, and in line 63 of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 509), where I would read *paradatti* (with Grantha *da*) instead of *paraḍatti* and cancel the note on p. xiii of the Addenda and Corrigenda. The Aṉbil plates (above, Vol. XV, p. 68, text line 180 f.) read *paraḍatti* for *paradatti*.

No. 3.—AN INSCRIBED RELIC CASKET FROM KURRAM.

BY THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., PATNA.

This casket was brought to my notice in the year 1917, when I was Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, by Khan Sahib Mian Wasi Uddin, my Assistant. On enquiry I learnt that its exact find-spot was unknown, but that it was given as a present by a villager to one of the sons of the Nawab of Landi Yarghazo, while he was Tahsildar of Kurram. The casket is now in the possession of his younger brother, a student of the Edwardes College, Peshawar, from whom I tried to acquire it for the local Museum, of which I was the *ex-officio* Curator; but I could not succeed until the moment of my departure from Peshawar in January, 1919.

The casket is made of copper and measures 18″ in height. Its base is square and is attached to the drum by means of a fillet and grove joint. The *harmikā* is of the conventional shape and loosely threaded on to a central shaft, also of copper.

The casket is almost perfect in every detail and has the appearance of a miniature *stūpa* with its *harmikā* and umbrellas. (Pl. I, *a*.)

The relics which the casket was meant to enshrine are no longer traceable. Likewise, as I have observed already, the exact find-spot of the casket is unknown. Neither could I, owing to the unsettled state of the Kurram valley, visit the spot and obtain any local information.

The inscription on the casket consists of four lines of Kharōshṭhī script punctured, as in the case of the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-ḍhērī, on the four sides of its square base. The writing covers a space of $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ on each side and seems to be in fairly good preservation, except as regards the lowermost line on two of the sides, which, unfortunately, has disappeared altogether. (Pl. I, *b*, and Pl. II.)

The paleography of the record presents the same peculiarities as the silver scroll inscription from Taxila,[1] the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dherī[2] and the Māṇikiāla casket.[3] The letters are of the elongated and cursive variety and belong, undoubtedly, to the Kushāṇ period.[4] It is noteworthy that in the case of some of the letters in the present record, such as *ka*, *dha*, *yā*, *śa* and *sa*, the shape is not uniform throughout, but differs slightly in different places. This I attribute more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script at the time. This is borne out also by nearly the same symbol being used to represent *ta*, *ra*, *ba* and similarly of *a* and *va*.

The language is Prākṛit and of the variety peculiar to the Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier of India, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Gandhāra. Among the orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned that *cha* is invariably used for *ta*, *va* for *pa* and *ga* for *ya*. Besides, double consonants are always represented by single consonants, as in *avija* for *avijja*, *prachaga* for *prachchaga*, *viñana* for *viññana*, *phasha* for *phassa*, *tusha* for *taṇha* and *dukha-khaṁdasa* for *dukkha-khaṁdhassa*.

The inscription records the enshrinement of the bodily relics (*śarīra*) of the Holy Śākya-muni in a shrine (*gaha* ?) belonging to the Sarvāstivādin sect, in the year 21 (?), on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Āśvina.[5] Then follows the *anuloma* portion of the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* or *Nidāna-Sūtra*, which the Lord Buddha revealed soon after

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1912-13, p. 18 f. and Plate; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 295.

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 50 f.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 299.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1920, pp. 193 ff.

[5] [With the reading and translation as given by me below, some of these details will be modified.—F. W. T.]

his enlightenment under the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā. The inscription ends with the prayer that these sacred relics, as well as the Sūtra propounded by the Lord, may be honoured by all sentient beings.

TEXT.

1 [Saṁ 20] 1 masa 10 Asunakasa di 20 iśe[1] chhunami [khe]tre **Varma-**[ya]śa-putrasa **[Ruu]bhumi-rañasa**[2] . . . . . mi **Ucha[rśa]na** Sarva-[sti]vadana[3] . . gaha[mi] śu[bha]mi Bhagava[ta]sa **Śaka-mun[i]sa**

2 śarira . pradiokhadi[4] **Śakavuta** Bhagava[ta][5] Avija-prachaga saṁkara saṁkara-prachaga viñana viñana-prachaga nama-ruva namaruva-prachaga sha[ḍ-a]ya-[tana] sha[ḍ-a]yatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga

3 vedana vedana-prachaga tusha tusha-prachaga uvadana uvadana-prachaga bhava bhava-prachaga jati jati-pra[chaga] jara-marana-śoga-pari[bha[6]]va-dukhader=manasta[7] uvaga[sa] . . . . kevalasa dukha-[kaṁ[8]]dhasa samudae[9] bhavati

4 śarira mahiphati[e]na[10] sarva-satvana puyae

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . . . .

sa[rva] sa[tva]na puyae

eśa cha [pra]tichasamasa cha

TRANSLATION.

In the year 21, of the tenth month Āśvina, on the 20th day, at this moment, in the territory of Varmayaśas' son, the king of Ruubhūmi, in . . . Ucharśana (Uttarasena ?) [consecrated], in the sacred shrine of the Sarvāstivādins, the bodily relics of the divine **Śākya-muni**. Says the holy scion of the Śakas :—

" From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair. [Such is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering. [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects."

[Dr. Thomas's revised text and translation (inserting marks of vowel length).]

1 S. 21 māsa Avadūnakasa di 20 iśe chhunami Tśutra-Varmayaśa-putrasa navakammi[asa Saṁghārā]mami āchāryāna[ṁ] Sarvāstivādāna[ṁ gaha]mi thūbammi Bhagavatasa Śaka-munisa.

---

[1] In the Brāhmī inscriptions of this period (cf. Lüders' List Nos. 32, 34) the corresponding expression is *asmi kshune* or *asma kshune*, while the Taxila silver scroll inscription has *isa divase*. [The e-mark is not seen. The etter may be read *ya*.— Ed.]

[2] Read °*rajasa*.

[3] Read °*vadina*.

[4] The formation of this word does not seem to be quite clear.

[5] The usual form is *bhagava* (nom.) or *bhagavato* (gen.).

[6] The other versions have *parideva*.

[7] Read °*manasa*.

[8] Read °*khaṁ*°.

[9] Raed *samudao*.

[10] Read *mahipatianaṁ*.

2 Sarira pratiṭhāviti yatha(etha ?) utaṁ(vuṭa[ṁ]) Bhagavatā avijā-prachaga saṁsk(kkh ?)āra saṁsk(kkh ?)āra-prachaga viñana viñāna-prachaga nāma-rūva nāma-rūva-prachaga shaḍ-āyatana shaḍ-āyatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga

3 vedanā vedanā-prachaga tasha(tassha ?) tasha(tarsha)-prachaga uvādāna [uvādāna-prachaga] bhava bhava-prachaga jāti jā[ti-prachaga] jarā-[maraṇa]-śoya-parideva-dukha-domanavi(si)-uvega saṁ[bhava]ti kevalasa dukha-sk(kkh ?)aṁdhasa samudae bhavati

4 *danatidamahiphatilena* (??) sarvasatvāna[ṁ] pūyae sarva-satvāna[ṁ] pūyae aya[ṁ]-cha paticha-samupāde

TRANSLATION.

Year 21, month Avadūnaka (Audūnaios), day 20—on this date, in the monastery of the *navakarmika*, son of **Tsūtra (kshudra)-Varmayaśas** (?), in the abode of the reverend Sarvāstivādins, in a *stūpa*, was deposited a relic of the Holy Śākya-muni . . . . [This casket is given by . . .] for the honouring of all beings, and also for the honouring of all beings this *pratītya-samutpāda* [formula] is engraved.]

NOTES.

The record is of great importance for many reasons. To begin with, the inscription says in so many words that the relics to the consecration of which it refers are those of the Buddha himself. We know of very few instances of this kind so far. Even the epigraph on the Kanishka relic casket discovered at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī, in Peshawar, fails to supply us with anything but circumstantial evidence as to the authenticity of the deposit. It follows, therefore, that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been regarded originally as among the most important in the country.

Secondly, there have been discovered in India only two other inscriptions containing the text of the *Nidāna-Sūtra*. The one comes from the village of Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces, and the other from Kasiā, the ancient Kuśinagara, also in the same district. But, in both cases, we have only the Sanskrit recension of the Sūtra. The Gopalpur inscription is carved on both sides of one of 5 inscribed bricks which were dug out from a brick relic chamber in the centre of the *Mañjrātiya* mound, and coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka and one of Āyumitra are said to have been found along with the bricks. The script employed is the northern variety of the Gupta Brāhmī, and the text of the Sūtra is given as follows[1] :—

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK I.[2]

(*Obverse.*)

1 Evaṁ mayā śrutam=ēkasmin samayē Bhagavāñ=Chhrāvastyām viharati Jētavanē=

2 (A)nāthapiṇḍadasy=ārāme tatra Bhagavān bhikshūn=āmantrayati sma dharmāṇāṁ vō bhi-

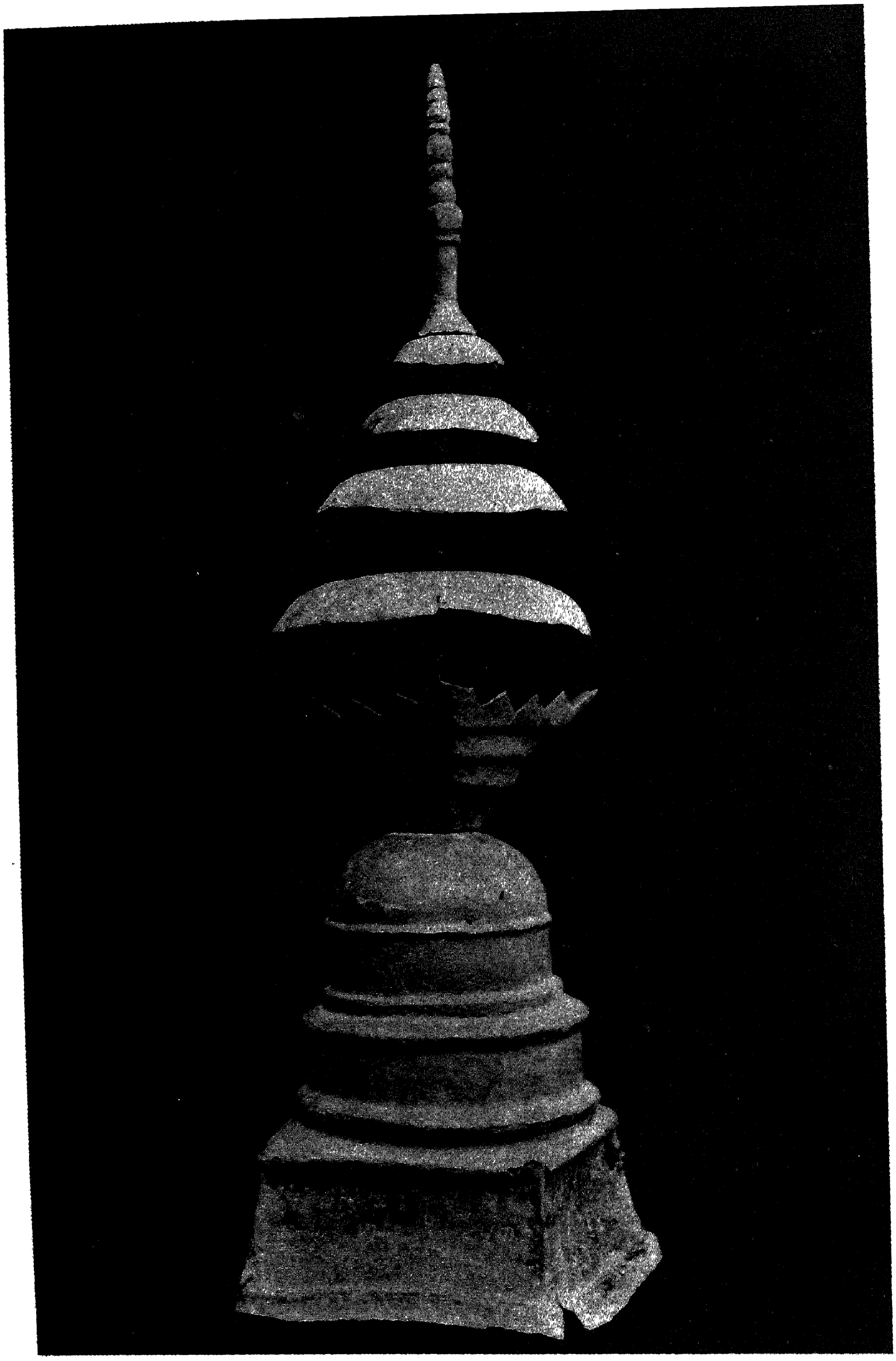
3 kshava āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaṁ cha tach=chhṛiṇuta [sādhu ch=āsushva cha]

[1] The text of the inscription is quoted here, because it gives a complete version of the Sūtra in Sanskrit, which even the Kasiā copper-plate does not.

[2] *Proc. A. S. B.* for 1896, pp. 99 ff.

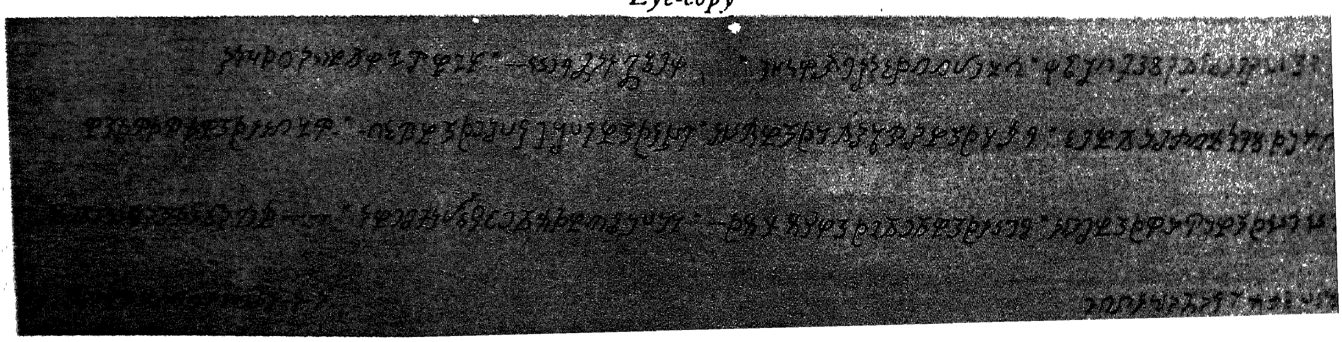
Inscribed Relic-Casket from Kurram: the 21st (?) year.





SCALE TWO-FIFTHS

Eye-copy



4 manasi kuruta bhāshishyē dharmāṇām=āchayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āsmin sati=
5 daṁ bhavaty=asy=ōtpādād=idam=utpadyatē yad=ut=avidyā-pratyayāḥ saṁskārāḥ saṁskāra-
6 pratyayaṁ vijñānaṁ vijñāna-pratyayaṁ nāma-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya(ḥ) sparśaḥ
7 sparśa-pratyayā vēda[nā] vēdanā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayam=upādānam=u-
8 pādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātir=jāti-pratyayā jarā-maraṇa-
9 śōka-paridēva-duḥkh-ādēr=(°a-dō)manasy=opāyāsāḥ saṁbava(n)ty=ēvam=asya mahatō

(Reverse.)

1 duḥkha-skandhasya samudāyō bhavaty=ayam=uchyatē dharmāṇām=āchayaḥ dharmāṇā-
2 m=apachayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āvidyā-nirōdhāt=saṁskāra-nirōdhaḥ saṁskāra-nirōdhād=vi-
3 jñāna-nirōdhaḥ vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhaḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāt=shaḍ-āyatana-
4 nirōdhaḥ shaḍ-āyatana-nirōdhād=vēdanā-nirōdhaḥ vēdanā-nirōdhāt=trishṇā-nirōdhaḥ
5 trishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhaḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-nirōdhaḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=jāti-
6 nirōdhaḥ jāti-nirōdhāj=jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkh-ādēr=(°a-dō) manasy=ōpāyāsā
7 nirudhyanty=ēvam=asya [kēvala]sya mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya nirōdhō bhavaty=ayam=uchyatē
8 dharmāṇām=apachayaḥ dharmāṇāṁ vō bhikshava āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaṁ cha
9 itimē yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam=idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=āttama[nasas=tē]
10 bhikshavō bhagavatō bhāshitam=a[bhya]nanda[n]

The other inscription which contains the text of this Sūtra comes, as I have said, from Kasiā. It is partly carved and partly written in ink on a copper-plate which was recovered from the relic chamber of the large *stūpa* behind the Nirvāṇa temple.[1] The language and the wording of the record are identically the same as those of the Gopalpur inscription, but the date is about two centuries later.

Again, the present epigraph is of considerable value from the philological standpoint. That its language is local Prākṛit goes without saying. In this the dedicators seem to have faithfully followed the injunction laid down in the Buddhist scriptures, for it is stated in the Chullavagga[2]

"*anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiya Buddha-vachanaṁ pariyāpuṇituṁ ti*";

that is, 'that the Buddha had allowed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language.' The same remark holds good in the case of the inscriptions discovered at Taxila, Peshawar, and other places on the North-West Frontier. The literary Pāli version of the Sūtra is contained in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and this version is prefaced by an account of the incidents which led up to the propounding of 'the doctrine of causes and effects' by the Holy Śākya-muni. From this and from the fact that the only record bearing the complete text of the Sūtra, of which the provenance is definitely known,[3] comes

[1] *A. S. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 73 ff.

[2] Oldenberg, Introduction to *Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. XLVIII.

[3] [Full text of the Sūtra and its *vibhanga* in Sanskrit are incised on some bricks which Mr. Page unearthed at Nālandā in 1924. I am editing them in the *Ep. Ind.*—H. S.]

from the Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Chaitya of the Buddha, it is easy to see how much importance the Buddhists attached to the same. It is for this reason that I remarked above that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been considered in olden days as one of the chief places of worship.

Let us now see if the places and persons mentioned in the inscription afford any clue to the identity of the monument. The only names available for this purpose are (1) *Varmaya-śa-putrasa*, *i.e.* the son of **Varmayaśas**, (2) Ruubhumi-raña, *i.e.* the king of **Ruubhūmi**, and (3) **Ucharśana**, which I take to be the name of an individual. Who this Varmayaśas was and where he reigned—as, undoubtedly, he seems to have been a king—I have not been able to ascertain from the materials at my command. On the other hand, Ucharśana or Uttarasēna, if supposing I am right in my equation, though not a historical personage, yet seems somewhat capable of identification. In the itinerary of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Thsang it is said : " About sixty *li* south-west from Mangkil city and on the east side of a great river was the tope erected by Uttarasena, king of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Buddha's body, and near this was the tope which that king built to mark the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock."[1]

Commenting on this passage Watters remarks : "There does not seem to be any mention either of Udyāna or of Uttarasena in the various accounts given in the various Nirvāṇa treatises of the division of the Buddha's relics. But other authorities relate how a female elephant named *Mo-tu* (or Māta) bearing relics of Buddha died suddenly on the way, was afterwards reborn as a human creature and became an Arhat with an enormous appetite." Major Deane identifies the monument mentioned by Hiuen Thsang with the remains of a *stūpa* which are said still to exist between the villages of Ghaligai and Shankardar on the Swat river in what used to be the ancient kingdom of Udyāna. It may be asked, however, how, inasmuch as the casket is reputed to have come from Kurram, it could be associated with any monument in the Swat valley, which lies in quite the opposite direction and in a different region. This objection can be met, in my opinion, by the fact that, as I have observed at the very outset, the exact provenance of the casket is not known even to its present owner and that, therefore, there would not be any inherent impossibility, if we were to suppose that the object gradually found its way from the place of its origin to the locality where it eventually came to light, because both the places are situated in the same province and are inhabited by almost kindred races or tribes, who are not too far removed to have constant intercourse with one another.

Lastly, we come to the **date** of the inscription. It is given merely as *Saṁ.* or *Saṁvat* 21 without reference to any particular era. We are, therefore, left to conjecture what the era could be. For this purpose our only guides are the paleography and the language of the record. The former, as I have noted above, shows the cursive variety of the Kharōshṭhī script of the middle period. And this, we know from other records found in that region, has been attributed to the early Kushāṇ period. I am, therefore, inclined to refer the date of the present inscription to **the era of Kanishka** which, according to the latest authorities, commenced in or about the year 150 A.D. If this supposition is correct the date under discussion would work out as A.D 171.

From the language, it seems to me difficult in the present state of our knowledge to draw any definite conclusions with respect to date. And this difficulty is all the more pronounced, because we are not yet in a position to trace the development of the different varieties of Prākrit which once prevailed in different parts of the country.

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 236. [With the reading and translation as inserted by me above the names Ruubhūmi and Ucharśana disappear,—F. W. T.]

No. 4.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-RAJENDRA-DEVA.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM.

The village of **Kanyākumāri**, as everyone knows, is situated in the extreme south of India and is a very ancient place of great reputation. It was known to early Greek writers under the names of *Komaria Akron*, or Cape Komaria, as Ptolemy calls it, or simply Komarei, as described by the author of the *Periplus*. The latter says: "After Bakare occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi . . . . . Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed."[1] Paralia mentioned in this extract is the name of the river Paraḷiyāṟu, which waters a portion of S. Travancore and empties itself into the Kuḻitturai river. I have shown elsewhere that the land watered by the Paraḷiyāṟu was the country belonging to the powerful dynasty of Āy kings, who had their capital at Kōṭṭāṟu, which is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of 'Kotiara Metropolis' and 'Kottara' by Pliny. From time immemorial, the Pāṇḍyas were the guardians of Kanyākumāri and the temple in it; one of their distinguishing titles being Kaṉṉi-kāvalaṉ, the guardian of Kaṉṉi (*i.e.* Kanyākumāri).

The temple of the goddess **Kanyākumāri** is situated on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. Opposite to the central shrine is a *maṇḍapa* locally known as the *maṇimaṇḍapa*, which contains six cylindrical stone pillars covered with writing in **Grantha** (ll. 1 to 419) and **Tamiḻ** (ll. 420 to 444) characters. Kanyākumāri was visited by the Madras Government Epigraphist in 1896, when an attempt was made by his staff to obtain a mechanical copy of the inscriptions contained on these pillars, but the task was given up as impossible. I tried to copy the inscription in 1910; the result was not at all satisfactory. Since then I have visited the place more than once; every time I saw the inscription on the pillars, which is clearly legible in some places, but more or less completely worn out in others, I was impelled to make a fresh attempt to copy it; and what was to be the last, a serious and determined effort to secure a good impression of the writing on all the pillars, was made in 1916. The first and foremost difficulty experienced by all up till then was that of removing the thick crust of oil and dirt which from a long time past had accumulated on the pillars. This was completely removed after one or two unsuccessful attempts, and the inscription was found in some places defaced, being corroded by the action of the sea-air. Though these parts did not appear legibly on the impression, it was still possible with great difficulty to read the writing on those parts directly from the stone. After straining every nerve to obtain a set of good estampages, with lamp in hand, letter by letter, word by word, the record was deciphered from the original stone itself. The success is largely due to the indomitable perseverance of my Paṇḍit, Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada; he and I worked at the epigraph, on the spot, for nearly one month. Most of the verses employ rhymes (*prāsas*), which also came in handy by suggesting conjectural readings which in almost all the cases proved, upon reference to the original stone inscription, to be quite correct. Thus then the text was at last nearly completely recovered from the worn surface of the pillars.

The inscription may fitly be called the "*Chōḷa-vaṁśa-praśasti.*" It is extremely important for the history of the Chōḷas as it contains many pieces of information hitherto unknown to history. As I think that it is not right to defer the publication of this very important document

[1] Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 19.

any longer, I am giving in this article what may be considered a preliminary notice, a maturer edition being reserved for my own publication, in the *Travancore Archæological Series*.[1]

As has been already remarked, the six pillars are covered with writing from the top to the bottom. At first I conceived that the writing went round the pillar in a spiral; but on closer examination it was discovered that each pillar consisted of two sections, one on the back face and another on the front. The inscription is continued from pillar to pillar in the following systematic order I*a*, I*b*, II*a*, II*b*, and so on, where I represents the first pillar and *a* and *b* represent the back and front faces of the pillar. The language is mostly **Sanskṛit**. At the end of the record occurs the grant portion beginning with the *birudas* of king **Vīra-Rājēndra**, and giving his regnal year. The *birudas* and names of the king in this section are written in the Grantha alphabet, while the rest is in the **Tamiḻ** alphabet and **language**. The Sanskṛit portion of the record, giving the genealogy of the Chōḷas, is entirely in verse, whereas the Tamiḻ portion is in prose. On the whole the epigraph consists of 444 lines.

In the first two verses the god Śiva, and in the third Vishṇu, are praised. The god of the Universe first created the Brahmāṇḍa, and then **Brahmā** was ushered into existence for the purpose of creating all other things. Brahmā, in his turn, created several Ṛishis to assist him in his task. One of them was **Marīchi**. The son of Marīchi was **Kāśyapa**; his son was **Vivasvān**: the son of the latter was **Manu**; Manu's son was **Ikshvāku**; his son, **Vikukshi-śrava**; **Purañjaya**, who obtained the title **Kakutstha**, was the son of the latter. In the lineage of Kakutstha was born king **Pṛithu**; in the same race arose **Kuvalāśva**, **Māndhātṛi**, **Muchukunda**, **Hariśchandra**, **Sagara**, **Bhagīratha**, **Ṛituparṇa** and **Dilīpa**. In this illustrious family was born the Lord (*bhagavān*) in the four aspects of **Rāma**, **Lakshmaṇa**, **Bharata** and **Śatrughna**, purposely to teach the world how each one has to conduct oneself towards others; that is, a son towards a father and mother, a younger brother towards his elder brother and so on. The verses describing Rāma (vv. 25-26) are very beautiful. Up to this the genealogy is purely *paurāṇic*. Next follows what might be considered as legendary and semi-historic.

In the solar race was born a king named **Chōḷa**. To this king, who ruled over the whole earth, the forests served as a sort of artificial garden. Once upon a time this king was sporting for some time in the forests inhabited by Ṛishis; with a small army he once proceeded on a hunting excursion in the adjoining forests. Then a Rākshasa who had assumed the shape of a deer appeared before him. Pursuing the animal he and his followers reached another forest, where he killed that deer.[2] By this time he had reached the bank of the river **Kāvērī**; he went along its course, bathed in its water, which was as sweet as *amṛita*; he looked all round for **Brāhmaṇas** and found none about the place. He then brought several Brāhmaṇas from the **Āryāvarta** and settled them comfortably on the banks of the river Kāvērī. Cutting down the forests on either bank of the Kāvērī, he planted gardens containing creepers of betel leaves and areca palms.

Rājakēsari, the son of Chōḷa, succeeded him after his death. The son of Rājakēsari was **Parakēsari**. The *praśasti* does not mention the fact that in the Chōḷa dynasty the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari were assumed by alternate kings, as is stated in the Leiden and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grants.[3] In this dynasty were born **Mṛityujit**, who conquered Mṛityu, the god of

[1] [This has since been done by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Volume III of that series, pp. 85 to 158 Ed.]

[2] This is evidently an imitation of a similar occurrence in the life of Rāma.

[3] *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 204, and *South Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 383.

death; **Vīrasēna**; and **Chitra**, frightened at the power of whose arrows Dēvēndra (Indra) accepted the **tiger-banner**, in which he also took refuge. From that time the tiger became the crest of the Chōḷas just in the same manner as a pair of carp fish and the bow were respectively the crests of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras; then came **Pushpakētu, Kētumāla, Samudrajit** and **Pañchapa**. The last mentioned king cut open five arteries in his body and fed with the blood issuing out of them five Yakshas who came to him as his guests and demanded of him this curious and cruel food. For feeding the Yakshas in the manner described he obtained the name Pañchapa. The king **Nṛimṛiḍa** sprang in this race, and by the grace of Paramēśvara conquered Mṛityu, the god of death; then appeared **Manōratha**, and the illustrious **Parunatkiḷi** (**Perunatkiḷḷi**) and others. **Karikāla**, who was born in this family, seeing that the river **Kāvērī** by its irregular flow was destroying the crops, caused embankments to be constructed on both its sides, the kings conquered by him carrying earth on their heads for that purpose. **Vaḷabha**,[1] **Jagadēkamalla** and **Vyāḷabhayaṅkara** were also been in this dynasty.

Here commences the genuine history of the Chōḷas. **Vijayālaya** is said to have been born in this lineage. He was worshipped by all kings; he is here stated to have constructed anew the city of Tañjāpurī in the Chōḷa country; but the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant distinctly mentions the fact that Vijayālaya took Tañjāpurī by force and set up in it the goddess Niśumbhasūdanī (Durgā).[2] Evidently, the composer of the Kanyākumāri *praśasti* did not know exactly how Tañjāpurī came to be the seat of the Chōḷas in the time of Vijayālaya. The true fact seems to have been remembered by the composer of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu document. It has been stated elsewhere that Tañjāpurī must have been seized from the Muttaraiyars, the vassals of the Pallavas, by Vijayālaya.[3] The son of Vijayālaya was **Ādityavarman** *alias* **Kōdaṇḍarāma**. In the village of Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kāḷahasti there is a temple of the Chōḷa period. One of its inscriptions belonging to the 34th year of the reign of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman, *i.e.* Parāntaka I, calls the temple by the name Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1905, wrote about it thus:—" No. 318 of 1904 mentions the king's son śrī-Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ while No. 347 of 1904 refers to prince Kōdaṇḍaṉ. Even at the present day Kōdaṇḍaṉ is a familiar abbreviation of Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ, and we may therefore suppose that both Nos. 318 and 347 of 1904 refer to the same prince, who was the son of Parāntaka I. In the same village of Toṇḍamanāḍ is another inscription of Parāntaka I, dated in his 34th year (about A.D. 939), which mentions the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. It is not impossible that this temple was called after the Chōḷa prince Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ. If this surmise proves correct, it may be concluded from the other name Adityēśvara given to the Toṇḍamanāḍ temple that Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ was the surname either of the king's eldest son Rājāditya or of his second son Gaṇḍarāditya."[4] Subsequently, while reviewing No. 286 of the Collection of the Madras Epigraphist for the year 1906, found in Tirumālpuram which stated that the village of Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr-tuñjiṉa-Uḍaiyār, Mr. Venkayya changed his opinion and said that Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr-tuñjiṉa-Uḍaiyār, *i.e.* 'the lord who died at Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr,' must refer to Āditya I, that Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr is probably Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kāḷahasti in the North Arcot District which in a record of Parāntaka I found at the place, is called Toṇḍaimāṉpērāṟṟūr,

[1] The Tamiḻ word *Vaḷavaṉ*, which later on came to signify, like the word Chōḷa, any Chōḷa king, is converted here into Vaḷabha.

[2] See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45 and 46.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

[4] *Ep. Rep.*, 1905, p. 50, para. 9.

and that the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara at the village, which is also called Ādityēśvara in the inscription of Parāntaka I must have been called after Āditya I.[1] This latter conclusion is now proved by the explicit statement found in the Kanyākumāri inscription that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I, was known by the name Kōdaṇḍarāma. The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that Āditya I *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāma killed the Pallava king seated on his elephant.[2] The opponent of Āditya I was Aparājita.

The next king of the dynasty was **Parāntaka,** son of Āditya. He destroyed the Pāṇḍya king together with his whole army, took the whole of his treasure and burnt Madura, his capital. From these military exploits he was known as **Madhurāntaka,** that is, "death to Madhura (*i.e.* Madura)." Because he defeated the unconquered **Kṛishṇa-Rāja** he came to be known as **Vīra-Chōḷa.** It is only in this inscription that we hear that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was defeated in battle by Parāntaka I. Kṛishṇa ascended the throne about A.D. 940, a year which falls within the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-948). It is quite probable that Kṛishṇa III was defeated by Parāntaka I, and it was perhaps in vengeance thereof that the former invaded the Chōḷa country soon after the death of the latter and early in the reign of Rājāditya, Parāntaka's son and successor.[3]

In all his Tamil inscriptions Parāntaka I is described as *Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman,* that is, 'Parakēsarivarman who took Madura.' Sometimes the word "*Īḻamum*" occurs after '*Madiraiyum*' in the inscriptions of this king. We shall see presently that he conquered also Īḻam or Ceylon as reported in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant.[4]

The Kanyākumāri inscription states that Parāntaka caused his army to cross the sea and conquer Siṁhaḷa; by killing the lords of Siṁhaḷa and subjugating the country he obtained the surname **Siṁhaḷāntaka.** As it is stated that it was only his army that crossed the sea we have to infer that Parāntaka I himself did not lead the army to Siṁhaḷa, but, entrusting the invasion to his generals, stopped on the mainland. He is further stated to have constructed several *agrahāras* like **Vīranārāyaṇapura** and granted them for the enjoyment of Brāhmaṇas. This Vīranārāyaṇapura seems to be the same as the modern **Kāṭṭumaṉṉārkōyil,** a suburb of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram which was the native place of the great Śrīvaishṇava *āchāryas* Nāthamunigaḷ and Yāmunārya *alias* Āḷavandār.

The son of Parāntaka (I) was **Arindama.** To Arindama was born a son named **Parāntaka (II).** Anticipating trouble from this valiant king, the Pāṇḍya king fled across the mountains, evidently to the Kēraḷa country. Parāntaka II fought several battles and imprisoned a large number of kings.

The son of Parāntaka II was Rājarāja. He caused a number of *yāgas* to be performed. It was the custom with Rājarāja never to kill those enemies who surrendered to him; in spite of this well-known fact the **Chāḷukya** king **Satyāśraya** senselessly ran away from the battlefield.

Rājarāja had a son named **Madhurāntaka.** He conquered the **Kuntaḷa** king, that is, the Chāḷukya, and made **Mānyakhēṭa,** his capital, a camping and sporting ground for his army. Sending his generals at the head of his powerful army northwards, he caused them to defeat successively the kings of the **Kulūta**[5] and the **Utkala** countries and to kill the kings of

[1] *Ep. Rep.,* 1907, p. 71, para. 30.

[2] *Ibid.,* 1906, p. 65.

[3] [It has been shown in *Archl. Survey Report* for 1908-09, p. 122, that Rājāditya died before his father and did not succeed to the Chōḷa throne.—Ed.]

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.,* Vol. III, p. 396, vv. 51-52.

[5] An inscription found at Mahēndragiri (No. 397 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1897) state that "a general of Rājēndra-Chōḷa (named in Tamil, Rājēndra-Chōḷa-Pallavaraiyan Rājarājamārāyaṇ) overcame the Kulūta king named Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory." The general is called Dattākara in another epigraph found in the same place.

Kaliṅga and **Vimśēndra**[1]; and to bring the water of the Ganges filled in pots carried on the heads of the conquered kings. The latter statement regarding the conquest of **Rājēndra-Chōḷa** of the countries as far as the Ganges is in close agreement with that found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant. In both the records it is distinctly mentioned that Rājēndra-Chōḷa *alias* Madhurāntaka himself did not proceed against the northern kings and did not extend his arms as far as the Ganges by leading the army in person, but got the credit of having 'taken the Gaṅgā river' (**Gaṅgai-koṇḍa**) by the victories achieved by his generals.[2] The inscription states further that he sent his army across the sea to the **Kaṭāha** country and set fire to it[3] and that there was nothing impossible for this monarch to achieve.

This king, Madhurāntaka (that is, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I), had three sons, named (respectively) **Rājādhirāja**, **Rājēndra-dēva** and **Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva**. Of these, Rājādhirāja was the eldest. For the first time we have the very explicit statement in the inscription under notice that Rājēndra-Chōḷa had three sons.[4] Up till now the relationship existing between Rājēndra-Chōḷa and the three brothers, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra-dēva and Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva, was vaguely conjectured.

The Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājādhirāja destroyed the city of **Kalyaṇapura** and conquered the lord of that place, **Āhavamalla**. These facts are well known to students of Indian history by the inscriptions of this king. Kalyāṇapura was the capital of the Chāḷukyas and Āhavamalla was the Chāḷukya contemporary of Rājādhirāja.

After the death of Rājādhirāja, his next younger brother **Rājēndra-dēva** ascended the throne, and the latter in his turn was succeeded by his younger brother **Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva**. He killed the **Maṇṇāṭa** (Karṇāṭa ?) kings in the battle at **Kūḍal-saṅgama**. This king, **Vallabhavallabha**, took possession of Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga,[5] left uncared for by his elder brothers and consequently overrun by enemies; Vīra-Rājēndra, who is known also by the names **Karikāla** and **Vīra-Chōḷa**, set up several *dharma-śāsanas* (that is, engraved deeds of grants). He presented an invaluable ruby, known as *trailōkya-sāra*, to the god **Dabhra-Sabhāpati** (the god of Chidambaram), and it was set up in the crown of that god. He established a number of *agrahāras* in the **Chōḷa**, **Tuṇḍīra**, **Pāṇḍya**, **Gaṅgavāṭī** and **Kulūta** countries and colonised them with forty thousand Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vēdas. From the other inscriptions of this monarch we know that he won a victory over the Chāḷukya Āhavamalla at Kūḍalsaṅgama and Koppa and captured all the treasures belonging to his opponent, as also

---

[1] [The note on Text l. 360 below reads वं[शे] न्द्र.—Ed.]

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 424, v. 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 123.

The conquest of Kaḍāram also is described in the historical introduction prefixed to his Tamil inscriptions.

[4] The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* seems to indicate that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, seeing that he had no sons to succeed him, resolved on electing Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, a grandson by his daughter, as his successor. This information is not of much value as it is not based on actual facts. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva enumerate a number of Chōḷa princes who stood in the relation of uncles, brothers, and sons to the kings. Besides, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates state that a certain Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya was Rājēndra-Chōḷa I's son; see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

[5] The following is the passage in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 69-70, which describes this event :—

"(L. 28.) Having moved (his camp), he declared :—'(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You, (who are) strong, come and defend (it), if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which routed (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavāḍai (and) which had for its chiefs Jananāthan, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rājamayan, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan.

"(L. 29.) His elephants drank the water of the Gōdāvarī. (He) crossed even Kaliṅgam and, beyond (it), despatched (for) battle (his) invincible army as far as the further end of Śakkara-kōṭṭam (Chakra-kōṭṭa).

"(L. 30.) (He) re-conquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed (it) on Vijayādityan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."

his women. The fact of his presenting the god Sabhāpati with a jewel is quite new. That he established a number of *agrahāras* does not appear to be a mere boast; we have even now several of them, such as Vīrarājamaṅgalam, Vīrachōḷapuram, etc.

The Tamiḻ portion of the inscription begins afresh with the phrase *Svasti Śrī* and states that the king **Rājakēsarivarman Vīra-Rājēndra**, who bore the *birudas* and surnames[1] **Mahārājādhirāja, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājēndra, Vīra-Chōḷa, Karikāla-Chōḷa**, etc., seems to have made a grant of land to the temple of Kanyā-Piḍāriyār (*Bhagavatī*) at **Kumari** (*i.e.* **Kanyākumāri**). This portion of the inscription is damaged and cannot be easily deciphered.

On the whole the Kanyākumāri inscription is a valuable document for the construction of the history of the Chōḷa dynasty. With the Aṉbil grant,[2] the Leiden grant,[3] the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant[4] and the Kanyākumāri inscription, the four most important documents, the history of the Chōḷas could be written completely and satisfactorily. The Tamiḻ works *Kaliṅgat-tupparaṇi*, etc. may also be of great interest in the study of Chōḷa history.

The following table gives the genealogy of the Chōḷas as found in the Kanyākumāri inscription; and the genealogies derived from the Tamiḻ works, the *Vikrama-Śōḻaṉ-ulā*, the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻaṉ-ulā* and the *Śāṅkara-Śōḻaṉ-ulā*, are also added for purposes of comparison.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

1 **Viśvādhinātha.**

2 **Brahmā.**

3 **Marīchi.**

4 **Kāśyapa.**

5 **Vivasvān.**

6 **Manu.**

7 **Ikshvāku.**

8 **Vikukshiśrava.**

9 **Kakutstha** *alias* **Purañjaya.**

10 **Pṛithu.**

11 **Kuvalāśva.**

12 **Māndhātṛi.**

13 Muchukunda.

14 Hariśchandra.

15 Sagara.

16 Bhagīratha.

17 Ṛituparṇa.

18 Dilīpa.

19 Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna.

20 Chōḷa, who first came to the south and settled down there; brought several families of Brāhmaṇas from Āryāvarta and populated the new kingdom.

21 Rājakēsari.

22 Parakēsari.

[1] The following is the passage referring to the several titles of Vīra-Rājēndra which occurs in No. 161, Chintāmaṇi Tk., Kolar District of the Mysore province:—

"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara parama-bhaṭṭāraka Ravi-kula-tilaka Chōḷa-kula-śēkhara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallaṉai aimmaḍi meṉkaṇḍa Rājaśēkhara Rājāśraya Rāja-Rājēndra Vīra-Chōḷa Karikāla-Chōḷa Srī Vīra-Rājēndra-dēvaṟku yāṇḍu āṟāvadu."

In *S. I. I*, Vol. III, p. 198, also we find:—"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Mēdinīvallabha mahārājādhirāja Chōḷa-kula-sundara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallaṉai mummaḍi meṉ-kaṇḍa Rājāśraya Vīra-Chōḷa Karikāla-Chōḷa Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva Rājakēsari-perumāṉaḍigaḷ . . . yāṇḍu 4 vadu."

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 ff.

[3] *Archl. Survey of S. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 383 ff.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

23 Mṛityujit, who conquered Death.

24 Vīrasēna.

25 Chitra, who made Indra seek refuge in his tiger banner.

26 Pushpakētu.

27 Kētumāla.

28 Samudrajit.

29 Pañchapa, who cut his veins and fed with his blood five Yakshas who came to him as guests.

30 Nṛimṛida, who with the help of Paramēśvara conquered Death.

31 Manōratha.

32 Perunatkiḷḷi.

33 Karikāla, who built the embankments of the Kāvērī, which was destroying the crops by its excessive flow.

34 Vaḷabha.

35 Jagadēkamalla.

36 Vyāḷabhayaṅkara.

37 Vijayālaya, who made Tañjāpurī the capital of the Chōḷa country.

38 Āditya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāma, who killed the Pallava that was seated on his elephant, in battle.

39 Parāntaka, who killed the Pāṇḍya king, extinguished his army, took all his treasure, and set fire to Madura, his capital. Hence he was called *Madhurāntaka*. He conquered the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and was therefore called Vīra-Chōḷa. He crossed the ocean and defeated the kings of Siṁhaḷa and was hence styled *Siṁhaḷāntaka*. He established Vīranārāyaṇapura and other famous *agrahāras*.

40 Arindama.

41 Parāntaka.

The Pāṇḍya was driven away and several kings defeated in battle.

42 Rājarāja, who defeating several kings in battle, performed several *yāgas*. Satyāśraya ran away from him in battle.

43 Rājēndra or Madhurāntaka; he conquered the king of the Kuntaḷa country; made Mānyakhēṭa the playground for his army; his general defeated the kings of Kulūta and Utkala and killed those of Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and made the defeated kings carry the water of the river Gaṅgā on their heads for his lord. His army crossed the sea, defeated the king of Kaṭāha and set fire to it.

44 Rājādhirāja destroyed with fire Kalyāṇapura, defeated and dealt with Āhavamalla and his generals.

45 Rājēndra-dēva.

46 Vīra-Rājēndra (Rāja-Rājēndra). He conquered in the battle of Kūḍalsaṅgama the kings of the Karṇāṭa family. He took the countries of Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga which were neglected by his brothers and had, therefore, been seized by enemy kings. He was called Vīra-Chōḷa and Karikāla. He set a famous ruby called the *trailōkyasāra* in the crown of the lord of Chidambaram. He established *agrahāras* in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi, Kulūta and other countries and caused lands to be granted to 40,000 learned Brāhmaṇas.

The Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.

1 Vishṇu.

2 Brahmā.

3 Marīchi.

4 Kaśyapa.

5 Arka.

6 Manu.

7 Ikshvāku.

8 He who drove his chariot over his own son.

9 Purandara.

10 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink water in the same stream.

11 Muchukunda.

12 He who made it possible for the gods to drink ambrosia.

13 He who weighed himself against a dove (Śibi).

14 Surādhirāja.

15 Chōḷa.

16 Rājakēsari.

17 Parakēsari.

18 He who explained the law to Death.

19 He who brought the river Kāvērī from the west.

20 He who took the higher worlds and ruled the whole of this world.

21 He who made Indra reside in his flag.

22 He who made the western ocean mix with the eastern one.

23 He who gave his blood to be drunk by a demon.

24 He who commanded the wind.

25 He who destroyed the flying forts.

26 He who roamed about the sky in his aerial chariot.

27 He who helped Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata war.

28 He who married a Nāga princess.

29 He who, being pleased with the poem *Kaḷavaḷi* of the poet Poygai, liberated the Chēra.

30 He who made kings (conquered by him) build the embankment of the Kāvērī.

31 He who received in his praise the poem called *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.

32 He who destroyed the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra countries and took Kūḍal (*i.e.* Madura) and Īḻam.

33 He who celebrated the festival of his birthday (*Śadaya-nakshatra*) in the Chēra country.

34 The king who made his horses drink water from the river Gaṅgā and took Kaḍāram situated beyond the sea.

35 He who set up a pillar of victory at Kampili, took Kalyāṇa and caused the tiger emblem to be engraved on the eight chief mountains.

36 He who, seated upon an elephant, came out victorious at the battle of Koppa and received the anointment of heroes (*vīr-ābhishēka*).

37 He who enforced the Laws of Manu and was thrice (or four times) superior to Manu himself.

38 Abhaya, who was victorious at Kūḍalsaṅgama.

The Vikrama-Śōḻan-ulā.

1 Vishṇu.

2 Brahmā.

3 Kaśyapa.

4 Marīchi.

5 The wheeled charioteer (Sun).

6 He who drove his chariot over the body of his own son.

7 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.

8 He who drove in his aerial chariot.

9 He who ruled over the Bhōgabhūmi (Purandara).

10 He who explained the law to Death.

11 He who . . . .

12 He who destroyed the flying forts.

The Vikrama-Sōḻan-ulā.

13 He who made the water of the western ocean join with that of the eastern ocean.

14 He who married the Nāga princess.

15 He who got into the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.

16 He who brought the Kāvērī river to the Chōḷa country.

17 He who built the banks of the Kāvērī.

18 He who, being pleased with the poem of Poygai, liberated the Chēra king.

19 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battlefields.

20 He who covered the hall (Chidambaram temple) with gold.

21 He who took in a day the kingdom of the Malai-nāḍu.

22 He who took the Gaṅgā and Kaḍāra and was pleased to be seated on *siṁhāsana*.

23 He who conquered the city of Kalyāṇa after attacking it thrice.

24 He who fought the battle at Koppam.

25 He who presented the god Raṅganātha with serpent couch.

26 He who defeated his enemies at Kūḍalsaṅgamam and killed several elephants.

27 He who twice destroyed the *kalam* at Sālai, who took the western ocean, defeated the Pāṇḍyas, Chēras, took Koṅkaṇa and Kannaḍa, killed the Māraṭṭa king, and who is known by the name of Abhaya.

|

28 Vikrama-Chōḷa.

The Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻan-ulā.

1 The Sun (?)

2 He who drove his chariot over his son.

3 He who . . . .

4 He who protected the castles of the gods.

5 He who sat on the throne of the lord of gods (Indra) along with him.

6 Kiḷḷi, who explained the law to Death.

7 Māndhātṛi, who made the tiger and the deer to drink water from the same stream.

8 The king of kings who brought down Mandākinī (Gaṅgā) to send his ancestors to heaven by bathing their bones with the holy water.

9 He who fought against the Kauravas in tho Mahābhārata war.

10 .....

11 He who took the head of a . . . . . .

12 ......

13 He who destroyed the flying forts.

14 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.

15 He who broke the rock that stood in the way of the Kāvērī river and brought her into his country.

16 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.

17 Karikāla, who made kings carry earth to build the embankment of the Kāvērī.

18 Kiḷḷi, who married (the Nāga) damsel.

19 He who liberated the Chēra king, being pleased with the poem *Kaḷavaḻi* of Poygai.

20 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest received in battle.

21 He who tore to pieces a Brahmarākshasa and repaired the Chidambaram temple: who took Īḻam and Madura.

22 He who took and destroyed the fort of Udagai in one day.

3 He who took the river Gaṅgā and the country Kaḍāram and was pleased to be seated on the *siṁhāsana*.

24 Śuṅgandavirttōṉ.

25 Akaḷaṅkaṉ, who received in his praise the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*.

26 Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.

The Śaṅkara-Śōḻaṉ-ulā.

1. Vishṇu.
2. Manu (?).
3. The Sun.
4. He who drove his chariot over his own son.
5. He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.
6. He who drove in a celestial chariot.
7. Purandara.
8. He who explained the law to Death.
9. He who . . . . . .
10. He who destroyed the flying forts.
11. He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.
12. He who married the Nāga princess whose ancestors possessed the seven worlds.
13. The king who presented 11,000 *poṉs* for one verse.
14. Another who gave 16 crores of *poṉs* for a verse.
15. He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.
16. He who conducted the Kāvērī from the west to his country.
17. He who built the embankments on both sides of the river Kāvērī.
18. The king who liberated the Chēra, being pleased with the poem *Kaḷavaḻi* sung by Poygai.
19. He who bore on his chest 96 scars received in battle.
20. The king who covered the Hall with gold.
21. He who took the Kēraḷa country in one day.
22. He who took Gaṅgā and Kaḍāram.
23. He who fought thrice against the city of Kalyāṇa.
24. He who took 1,000 elephants at Koppam.
25. He who gave to Vishṇu in Koyil (Śrīraṅgam) a jewel couch in the shape of a serpent.
26. He who defeated his enemy at Kūḍalsangamam.
27. He who received the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* in praise of himself.
28. Vikrama-Chōḷa, who received the *ulā* in his praise from the pen of Kūttaṉ.
29. He who was praised in a *Vaḷḷaikkali-mālai* and a *Piḷḷai-Tamiḻ*.
30. He who presented for each verse of an *ulā* praising him 1,000 *poṉs*.
31. Śaṅkara-Rāja.

We have to mention here two Chōḷa kings, *viz.* Adhirājēndra and Rājamahēndra, who seem to have reigned as co-regents with Rājēndra-dēva and Vīrarājēndra.

Dr. Hultzsch believes that Rājamahēndra must be the son of Rājēndra-dēva and the predecessor of Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva. He writes about these kings thus :—" As regards Rājamahēndra, his reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājēndra-dēva and Vīra-Rājēndra I. Perhaps he was a son and temporary co-regent of Rājēndra-dēva. This was suggested already by an nscription of the 9th year of Rājēndra which mentions among the boundaries of a village 'the road of Rājamahēndra.' A further confirmation is furnished by the fact that his successor Vīra-Rājēndra adopted the surname Rājakēsari. If he had recognised Rājamahēndra Rājakēsarivarman as his rightful predecessor, he would, in accordance with all precedents, have assumed the title Parakēsari."

The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the *Vikrama-Śōḻaṉ-ulā* and the *Śaṅkara-Śōḻaṉ-ulā* refer to a king who is stated in the two latter works to have given to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam

a golden serpent couch.[1] The *Kōyiloḻugu* informs us that the king Rājamahēndra was a devotee of the god Raṅganātha and that he constructed one of the *prākāras* of that god's temple. Putting together the statements of the two sets of literary evidences, I think it is possible for us to infer that the king who presented to the Śrīraṅgam temple a golden serpent couch must be identical with Rājamahēndra. Since the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, etc., place him before Vīra-Rājēndra, the finding of Dr. Hultzsch receives further strength. It is quite likely that he was made a *yuvarāja* with the title Rājakēsari, that, when his father and uncle were engaged in war with the Chalukyas, he was administering the kingdom in the capacity of the *yuvarāja*, but that he died before his father and therefore never ascended the throne. As a consequence, when Vīra-Rājēndra ascended the throne, in regular succession to Rājēndra-dēva, he also called himself a Rājakēsari.

The Kanyākumāri inscription, which traces the descent of the Chōḷas down to Vīra-Rājēndra, is silent about Rājamahēndra, his immediate predecessor. This silence about him is significant and corroborates further the hypothesis of Dr. Hultzsch.

TEXT.[2]

[Metres: vv. 1, 10-12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 47, 52, 56, 73, 76, 77, 79, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2-9, 15, 20, 60, *Sragdharā*; v. 13, *Vaṁśastha*; vv. 14, 49, 71, *Śikhariṇī*; vv. 16, 48, 50, 57, 67, 72, 74, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 17, 23, 25, 41, 62, 65, 69, *Mālinī*; vv. 19, 27, 28, 40, 75, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 22, 53, 78, *Svāgatā*; vv. 29, 45, *Aupachchhandasika*; vv. 30-31, 61, *Prithvī*; vv. 32, 46, 59, *Praharshiṇī*; vv. 33, 38, 39, 42, *Śālinī*; vv. 34-35, *Hariṇī*; vv. 36-37, 58, 63, 66, 68, *Rathōddhatā*; vv. 43, 54, 55, *Upajāti*; vv. 51, 64, 70, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 80 and 81, *Anushṭubh*.]

First Pillar : First Side.

1 स्वस्ति श्री[॥*] यः कर्त्ता जगदु-
2 [3]त्भवस्थितिलयानुत्भूतया[4] ली-
3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
4 यति यं सर्व्वज्ञतैकाश्रया [।*]
5 यत्[5]भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
6 मस्तार्य्यो भवाम्भोनिधिर्द्दया-
7 त्[6] वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो

---

[1] The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* describes this king thus :—
Paṇuvalukku mudalāya Vēda-nāṉgiṟ-
paṇḍ-uraitta neṟi pudukki=ppaḷaiyar taṅgaṉ-
Maṉuviṉukku mummaḍi nāṉmaḍiyām Śōḻaṉ
madikkuḍaikkīḻ-aṟau-daḷirppa vaḷarndavāṟum
The *Vikrama-Śōḻaṉ-ulā* thus :—
Pāḍ-arava-ttеṉṉ-Araṅga-mēyārkku=ppaṉmaṇiyāl-
āḍarava-ppāyal-amaittāṉum
. . . . . Maṉṟalaṅ-
kāppaṇaik-Koyiṟ-karumugiṟku māṇikkap-
pāppaṇai śeydaḷitta pārttivaṉum.
Śaṅkara, ll. 41-43.

[2] Both from the original stones and the mechanical impressions prepared by me.

[3] Read °दुद्भव.

[4] Read °नुद्भूतया.

[5] Read यद्भक्ति.

[6] Read °द्.

8 भवानोपतिः ॥—[१*] मायामाया[मि]र्नो
9 यो वहति जगदिदं रच्चयन्तीं[1]
10 जयन्तीं ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
11 ति[2] स्फुटरुचिवपुषा योगभाजा-
12 गभाजा [।*] सत्वासत्वानुकम्पो ह्नि-
13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनाम्[3] पशू-
14 नाम्[3] शम्भुश्शम्भुग्नपापव्यति-
15 क्रति भवतस्स प्रपातात् प्रपा-
16 तात् ॥—[२*] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
17 प्रकरमतिवलं यस्समस्तं समस्त-
18 [म्] पाता पाताळमूलाह्नितबलिरनिश-
19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां[4] [।*] सद्यस्स द्य-
20 त्वघं वो हरिरखिलजगद्रच्चणे-
21 न चणेन स्वैरं स्वैरं[श]लेशै-[5]
22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्सम्भवत्भिर्भवत्भिः[6]
23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्स्विस्वेच्छासुपनतस-
24 मयः [प्रत्यवेच्चा]मदभ्राम् विभ्रत्[7]
25 विश्वाधिनाथस्ससुचितजगदारम-
26 भमम्भस्ससर्ज्जं [।*] तस्मिन्निचिप्य
27 बोजन्निजमजमखिलं स चिलो-
28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डं तेन [चक्रे]
29 व्यधित विधिमपि स[ष्टु]मेनां[8] वि[ना]-
30 [9]यम् ॥—[४*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानीं स-
31 कलमपि जगत् सप्रपञ्चं विरि-
32 ञ्चः कृत्वा तस्तार वीर्यं न्निजमयमपरान्[10]

[1] The *anusvāra* symbol is entered twice and once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

[2] Read प्रसूतिं.

[3] Read पशूनां.

[4] Read सुराणाम्°.

[5] The *ai* symbols alone are in this line and the letter *ś* is in the next.

[6] Read भवद्भिर्भवद्भिः.

[7] Read बिभ्रट्.

[8] Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has studied the inscription and edited it in the *Tr. Arch. Series* adds some notes and correct readings which *passim* are enclosed in rectangular brackets. [The correct reading seems to be °स्रष्टुं.]

[9] [The inscription seems to read विधेयम्, the *ē* sign being at the end of l. 29 and य at the commencement of l. 30.]

[10] [The correct reading is दुर्व्वारवीर्य्यान्निजनयदपरान्.]

33 ब्रह्मण: [ताम् मुनीन्द्रा]न्तेषामेक[: तु][1]

34 शेषैरपि . . वि विभ . व . ततानिस[2]

First Pillar : Second Side.

35 . . . . व्विं[ख्व]ग्रोचिर्म्मरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-

36 (न)[भवनात्] सद्मकासाघ्नकार

37 ॥—[५*] तस्मा[द्दि]स्मेरपत्मासन[3]नयन-

38 चयस्पष्टदृष्टोज्झितश्रीश्रे-

39 यस्सम्पत्तिभाजां(न)धुरि गणितगु-

40 ण: काश्यप: पश्यकोभूत् [।*] अ-

41 न्योन्योन्मर्द्देनेन श्रियमिह दध-

42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्सुराद्या निर्व्याज-

43 त्रिज्ज[4]यन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानंबु-

44 राशेस्तरंगान्[5] ॥—[६] तस्माज्जात-

45 स्तदानीं [समयकृत]सम[6] [स्वै]: प्र-

46 भावैरुदारैर्व्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-

47 णैस्सततमतितरां निर्ज्जयन् [स्वां][7]

48 विवस्वान् [।*] निद्रामुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-

49 मम[नु]भवन्त्यन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्धातु-

50 र्व्वे[क्त्रा]रविन्दैस्सह सकलगुरो-

51 [र्नाभि[8]पद्मस्य]काशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यात्-[9]

52 भिरारादच[तम]सतति[10]व्याततैरंशु-

53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्त्तस्वरा[ण्ड]म्

54 प्रथममभिगळत्कान्तिमेवा(म)व-

55 भासे [।*] यत्बिम्ब:[11] कर्णिका[त्व]न्निव-

56 हति किरणै: केसरैराहि-

57 तश्रीरुत्[12]गाढैर्द्दिग्दळौघै-

58 रुप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपंके-[13]

---

[1] Read मुनीन्द्रान् । [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar has कर्म्मनिष्ठान्तेषामेकस्तु. Perhaps the actual reading is क]र्म्मनित्य[ा*]न्.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading of this line, in the *Trav. Arch. Series*, by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar is equally doubtful and defective. —Ed.]

[3] Read पद्मासन.

[4] Read °र्ज्जं.

[5] Read °मम्बुराशेस्तरङ्गान्.

[6] Read समयकृदसम:.

[7] The *anusvāra* is in the next line; read °स्वान्.

[8] [स्वस्य seems to be the correct reading.]

[9] Read °दस्यद्भि.

[10] Read तति.

[11] Read यद्बिम्ब:

[12] Read °रुद्गाढै.

[13] Read °पङ्के.

59 कृहस्य ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूत्तनूजो
60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूभुजाम् बीजमाद्य[1]
61 येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-
62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [।*] लोका-
63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शर्म-
64 धर्म्मप्रपचै[2]र्भास्वान् भास्वत्
65 [3]. . . . पितरमिव[4] सुतं यम् प्र-
66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्यैक्ष्वाकुरभूद्यशो-
67 भिरमकै[5]र्हिक्ष्वाततैश्शोभितस्सू-
68 नु . . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैय्यत्की-[6]
69 र्त्तिरुद्गीयते [।*] यस्यामित्त्रनराधिराजवि-

Second Pillar : First Side.

70 रहाज्जेत्रमहा(ह)स्सर्वतो [दृष्टा-
71 त्ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-
72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*] तस्याभूत्तनयस्स-
73 सुत्रतनयः प्रेत्त्री विकुक्षिश्रवो
74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्
75 क्ष्मामण्डलस्यास्य यः [।*] अन्योन्य-
76 प्रविमर्द्दनेन महतो या पार्त्थिवै-
77 र्लभ्यते तां [सू]ते श्रियमश्रमं क्षि-
78 तिभृतां यत्पादयोरानति[ः*] ॥—[११*] पुत्रस्तस्य
79 पुरञ्जयस्समभवत् संग्राममाजन्मुषां[7]
80 जेता भूमिभुजाञ्जिगीषुरसुराञ्ज-
81 न्ये स मान्यस्ततः । [जंभारिं][8] वृषभं वि-
82 धाय ककु[दे] स्थूलेस्य[9] यस्संस्थित-
83 [स्तद्दे]वैरधिकप्रमोदग[ति]ताम्[10] प्रा[पत्][11]

[1] Read माद्यं.

[2] Read ञ्चैः.

[3] [The gap may be filled up with the word सुतत्वात्.]

[4] [The text reads मिंव which has to be corrected into मिव.]

[5] Read °र्लै.

[6] Read °र्यंत्कीर्ति.

[7] Read °जग्मुषां. The *anusvāra* is in the next line.

[8] Read जंभारिं.

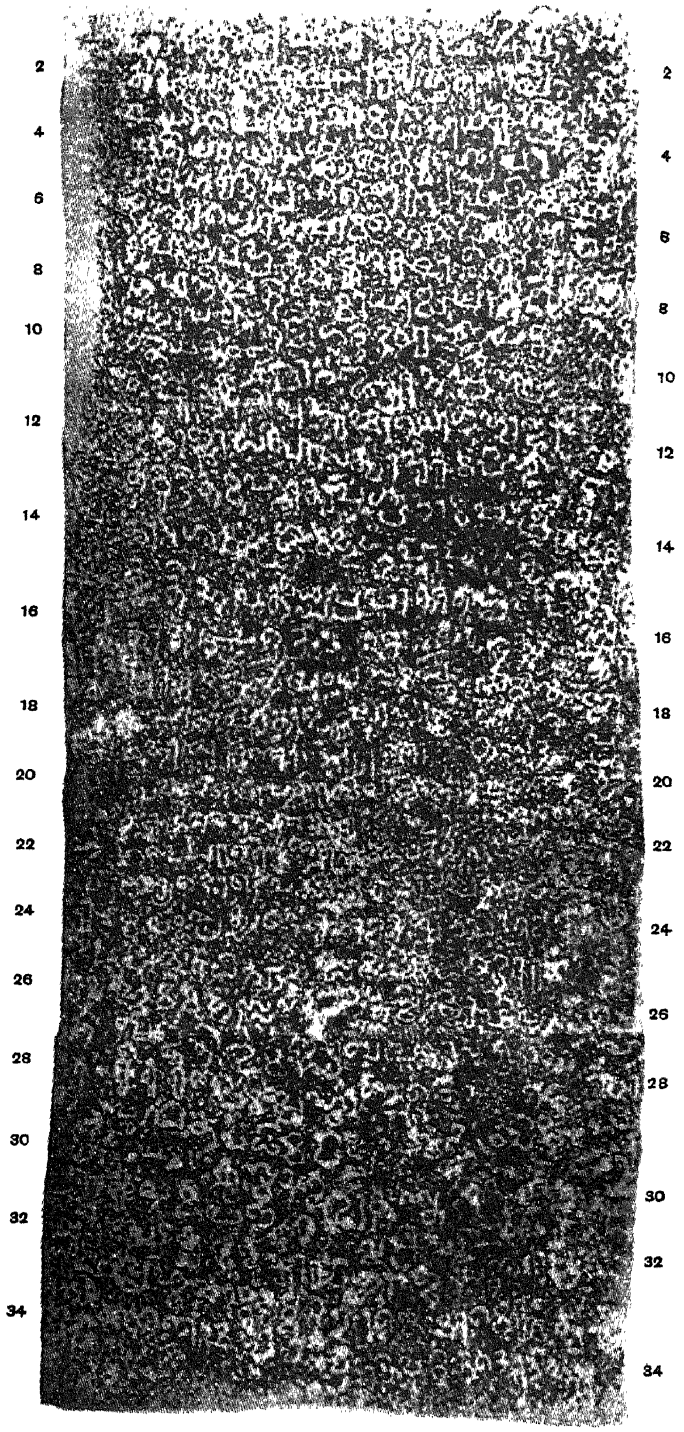
[9] Read यस्सं.

[10] Read °गदिताम्.

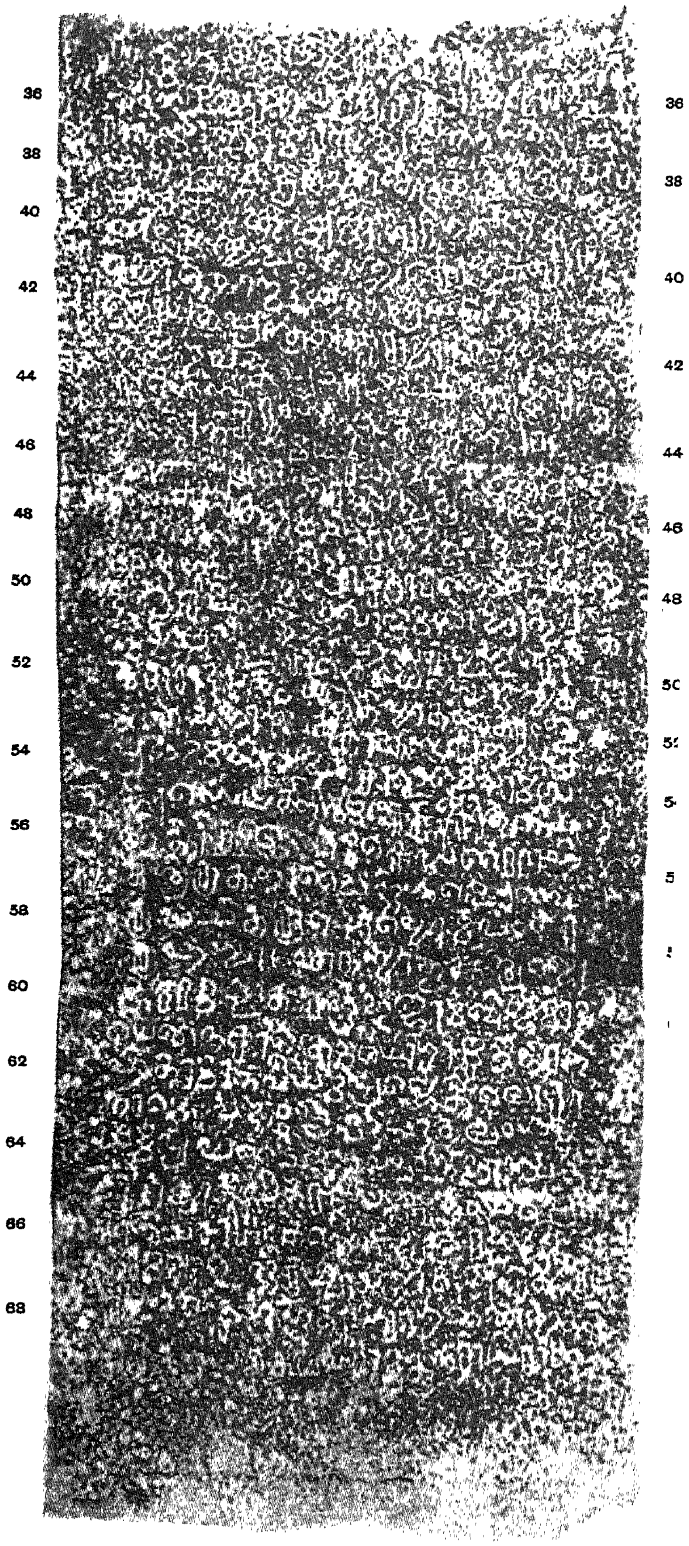
[11] [The correct reading is प्राप.]

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.

First Pillar: Front.



First Pillar: Back.

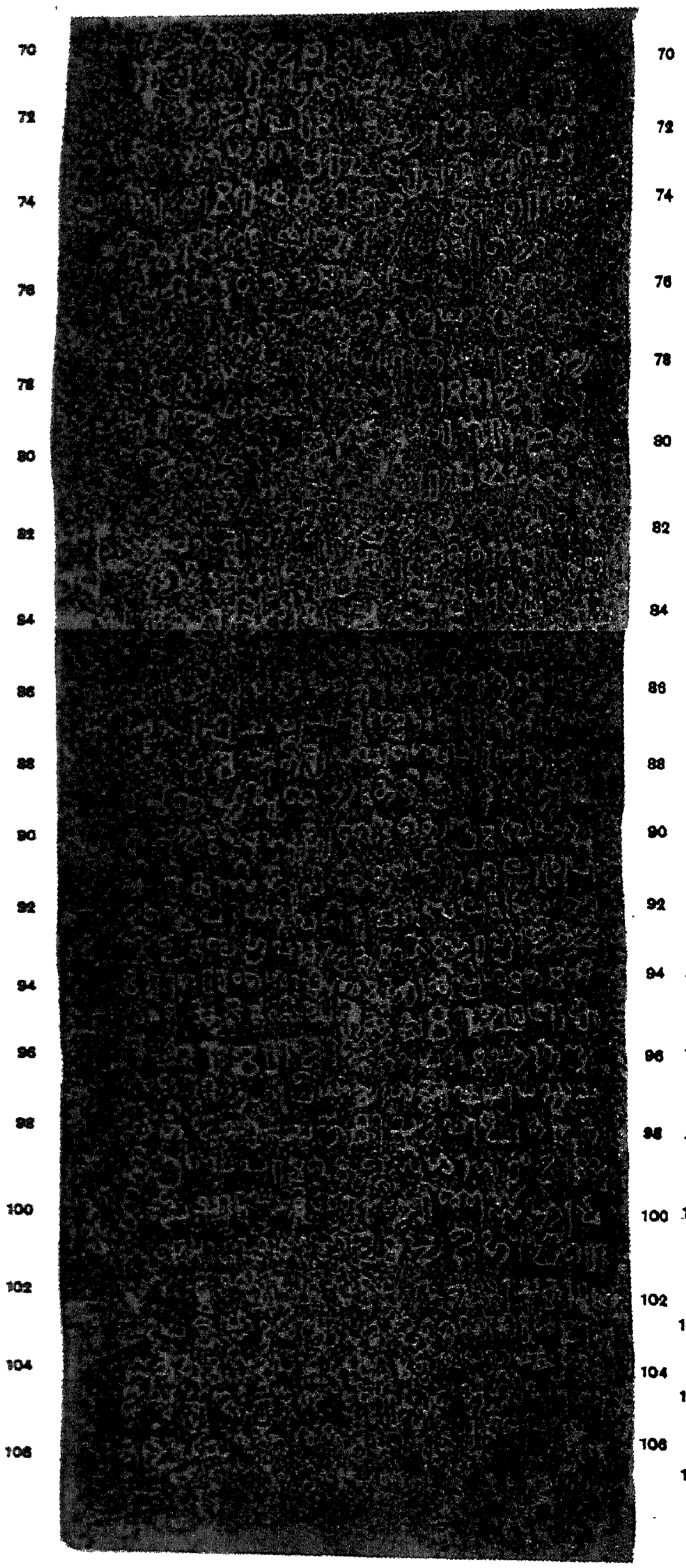


F. W. THOMAS

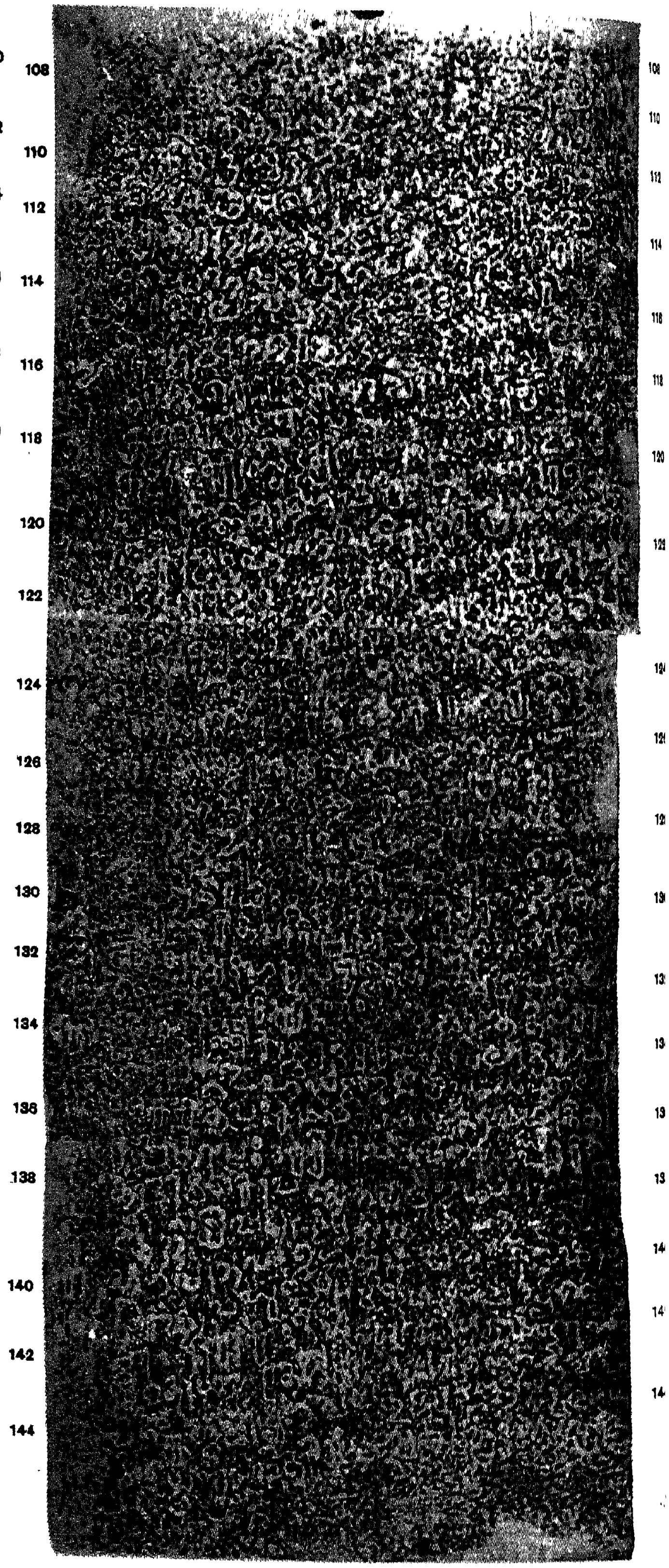
SCALE THREE-FIFTHS

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS,

Second Pillar: Front.



Second Pillar: Back.



84 काकु[त्*]स्थाभिधाम् ।[१२*] पृथुर्वंवभूव कुले

85 [कुलाद्रिणा] समस्तमस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [।*]

86 [विवेकथुस्त]न्नृपतौ[1] स नन्दथु[1]र्न्न वे[प]-

87 [2]थुर्न्नापि च याचथु[र्ज्ज]नः[3] ॥—[१३*] असुष्मिन्वं-

88 [शे]भूत्महति कुवलाश्वो नरपतिः स्फु-[4]

89 र[द्दो]र्य्यैंडुर्य्यैंरतिनिभृतसुत्भासि-[5]

90 ततनुः [।*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बहुळ-

91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-

92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्धतबलः ॥—[१४*] वंशे-

93 स्मिन्नुत्वभूवात्भुत[6]महिमभरभ्राजितस्या-[7]

94 मरारेरंशो विश्वंभरार्त्तिप्रशमनमनि-

95 शं कर्त्तुमुत्थितकीर्त्तिः [।*] मान्याता[8]

96 नाम राजा जननयनमहानन्द-

97 सं[दो]हजायी[9] यस्याधर्म्मच्चयाय व्यच-

98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमा चक्रवाळात् ॥—[१५*] त-

99 स्मिन्नृपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-

100 मिञ्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [।*]

101 सर्व्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यज[हा]द्विरो-

102 धन्धर्म्मस्त्वधर्म्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[१६*]

103 उदयमिह दधानस्तत्[10]गुणैरेधमान-

104 स्ततमसदपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये [।*] उदजनि

105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-

106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानैर्म्मयूखैः[11] ॥—[१७*]

---

[1] [Read °विवे[क]थु like नन्दथु, वेपथु and याचथु which follow, must be the abstract nouns derived from the roots विविच् etc., by adding the termination अथुच्. But विविच् is not, according to the Dhātupāṭha, a *ṭvit* root and hence the reading विवेकथु is very doubtful.—Ed.]

[2] Read °थु°

[3] Read थुर्ज्जनः.

[4] [The correct reading appears to be नरपतिर्ह्रि.]

[5] Read °र्धुर्य्यैं and सुह्रा°.

[6] Read °न्नुदभूवाद्भुत°.

[7] The length of स्या is at the beginning of the next line. [We should have rather expected सुरारे and not मरारे.—Ed.]

[8] Read मान्धाता. The secondary *ā* symbol is at the beginning of the next line.

[9] Read दायी.

[10] Read द्गु.

[11] [The correct reading seems to be मानो मयूखैः.]

Second Pillar : Second Side.

107 . . . .

108 . . . .

109 . . . .

110 . . . .

111 . . . .

112 . . . . नृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्म्म-

113 मकरोद्युद्धे हृ[तां]नामपि ॥—[१८*] अस्मिन्वं-[1]

114 शेभवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-

115 वृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्समितिषु हरिश्च-

116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः [।*] दि[त्]सामिकां दधदपि

117 नयन् कौशिकायाम्बनायां[2] स्वं व्य-

118 क्षीणात्तृणमिव तथा यस्सुपुत्रं कळ-

119 त्रम् ॥—[१९*] आसीदत्रान्ववाये सगर इति [नृ]-

120 पस्तज्जिताशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-

121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे त्रासितो

122 देवराजः [।*] यत्पुत्राणाम् प्रभावा-

123 ल्लवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-

124 न्ने शेषाणां वारिधीनामपि [स]क-

125 . . . स्सागरत्वश्चकार ॥—[२०*] आसीद-

126 त्र [भ]गी[र*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वंशे स्ववं-

127 [3][शो]द्भवानुद्धर्त्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-

128 दहनज्वालावलीभस्मितान् [।*] स्व[स्मि]-

129 न्धुं वसुधान्वय[4]न्त्रिपथगाश्चक्रे

130 स भागीरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्

131 सुरसरित्वा[5]रिप्रवाहस्पृशः ॥—[२१*] अन्व-

132 येत्र सुमहत्यवतीर्ण(:)[स्सर्व]भूपतिगु-

133 णैः परिपूर्ण्णः [।*] सज्जनस्तुतिविरा-

134 जितवर्ण्णः श्रीमरुत्वदखिलामृतुप-

135 र्ण्णः ॥—[२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-

[1] The *anusvāra* is in the next line.

[2] [The ē sign of शो is at the end of the previous line.]

[3] [The correct reading would be कौशिक्यामर्पणायां.—Ed.

[4] Read न्वयंस्त्रि°.

[5] Read रिवारि

136 कैकतीप:[1] चपित[भुवनता]पश्चातिता-

137 रिप्रताप: [।*] अरियु[वतिविलाप]स्फारि-[2]

138 [3]तोद्दामकोप[स्समिति[4] वि]जयिचा[प*][प्राप्]तको-[5]

139 र्त्तिर्द्दिलीप:[6] ॥—[२३*] अस्मि[न्वंशच]तुष्टयेन

140 भगवान् वंशेज[नि]ष्ट प्रभु: [क्लि]ष्टां

141 [वो]ढ्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैर्दृष्टै-

142 [7][र्म्मद्दा]राच्चसै: [।*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-

143 युतोथ भरतश्श[त्रुघ्न]युक्त[स्सुतद्वन्द्वं]

144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मू]र्ज्ज[स्वलं][ा*] य-

145 द्ययौ ॥—[२४*] पितरि तनयवृत्तं भ्रातरि[8] भ्रातृ-

Third Pillar : First Side.

146 वृत्तं युवतिषु पतिवृत्तं शाच-

147 वे शत्रुवृ[त्त]म् [।*] मुनिषु [9]न्टपतिवृत्त-

148 म् ब[ा]न्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकलम-

149 खिल[नाश]:[10] शिच्चवामास[11] लोकम् ॥—[२५*]

150 [नो] कोपेन[12] जघान राच्च[सप]तिं का-

151 मेन[13] न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवा[न्*] म-

152 हीशचरितं कात्स्न्र्येन चक्रे परम् [।*]

153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-

154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं

155 वानत्ययकान्तिधृ[त्यु]पचितान्त[त्या*]-

156 ज सोतां [द्रु]तम् ॥[२६*] सेतुं नेतुं क-

157 पिबलमसौ ब(न्न)न्धयन्नेकम-

158 ब्धौ चक्रे वक्रेतरगुणनिधिर्ङ्-[14]

159 मंसेतूनशेषान् [।*] केतुं हेतुं [वि]-

---

[1] Read द्वीप :.

[2] Read स्फारिती. [I would suggest विलापस्फारिती° as the more probable one.—Ed.]

[3] The ē symbol of तो is at the end of the previous line.

[4] [The correct reading is स्सतत°.]

[5] [The text reads स्फीतकी°.]

[6] Read कीर्तिर्द्दिलीप:.

[7] Read मंद्दा.

[8] [भ्रातृषु is the actual reading in the inscription.]

[9] [नृपति is the actual reading in the inscription. The ē sign of *vē* at the beginning of l. 147 is at the end of l. 146.]

[10] Read °नाथ:

[11] Read शिच्चयामास.

[12] [न क्रोधेन is the actual reading.]

[13] The ē symbol of *mē* is in the previous line.

[14] Read °र्घं°.

160 बुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
161 कामं कथयति जनस्सत्गुण[ा*]नान्निधा[नं][1] ॥—[२७*]
162 अस्मिन्वं[शे]जनि विदक्रयन्नोजसा [रा]जवृ-
163 न्द[च्चो]क्को नाम चितिपतिरतिस्कोलराज-
164 न्यकाल: [।*] यस्याशेषामवनिमवतो[2]
165 राजधानीमिव स्वां लीलोद्या-
166 [3]नैस्तुलनमदधन्सवंत: कानना[नि] ॥—[२८*]
167 विहरन् स हरप्रभ: कदाचिन्मुनिवृन्दा[4]-
168 ध्युषि[तेषु का]ननेषु [।*] अनयद्दिवु-
169 धाश्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-[5]
170 सरा[णि] वासरा[णि] ॥—[२९*] कदाचन मृग-
171 व्रजप्रमथनप्र[भु]ल्लादरश्चचार[6]
172 [वि]पिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्य: [च्च]-
173 मी [।*] तदा स मृगरूपिणा झटिति केन-
174 चिद्रक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्
175 प्रक्रतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—[३०*] मृग-
176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा-[7]
177 जिना पृथुद्रुमसमाकुलं विपि-
178 नमन्यदासादित[8] [।*] न्त[9]मन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना-[10]
181 यका: ॥—[३१*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र
182 भूप: कावेरीमनु विचचार भूरिचा-
183 र: [।*] चीरांभोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-
184 रवाप्तम् पीयूषम् भुवि सलिलच्छला-
185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—[३२*] तत्र [स्ना]त्वा . . . . द्विजे-

[1] Read सद्गुणानां निधानम्.

[2] The secondary *ā* symbol of the letter *tō* is in the next line.

[3] The *ai* symbol of *nai* is at the end of the preceding line.

[4] The secondary *ā* symbol is engraved in the next line.

[5] व looks like ब.

[6] Read प्रफुल्लादरश्चचार.

[7] The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.

[8] Read °तम्.

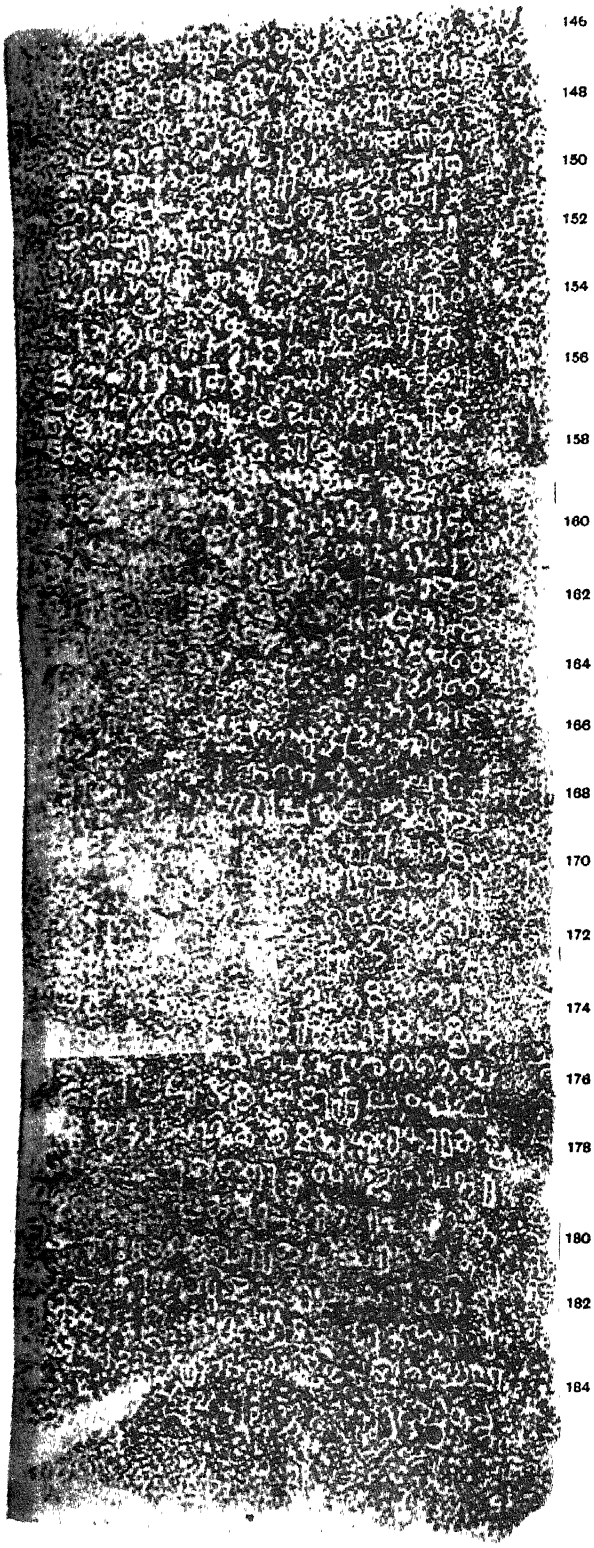
[9] Read त°.

[10] The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.

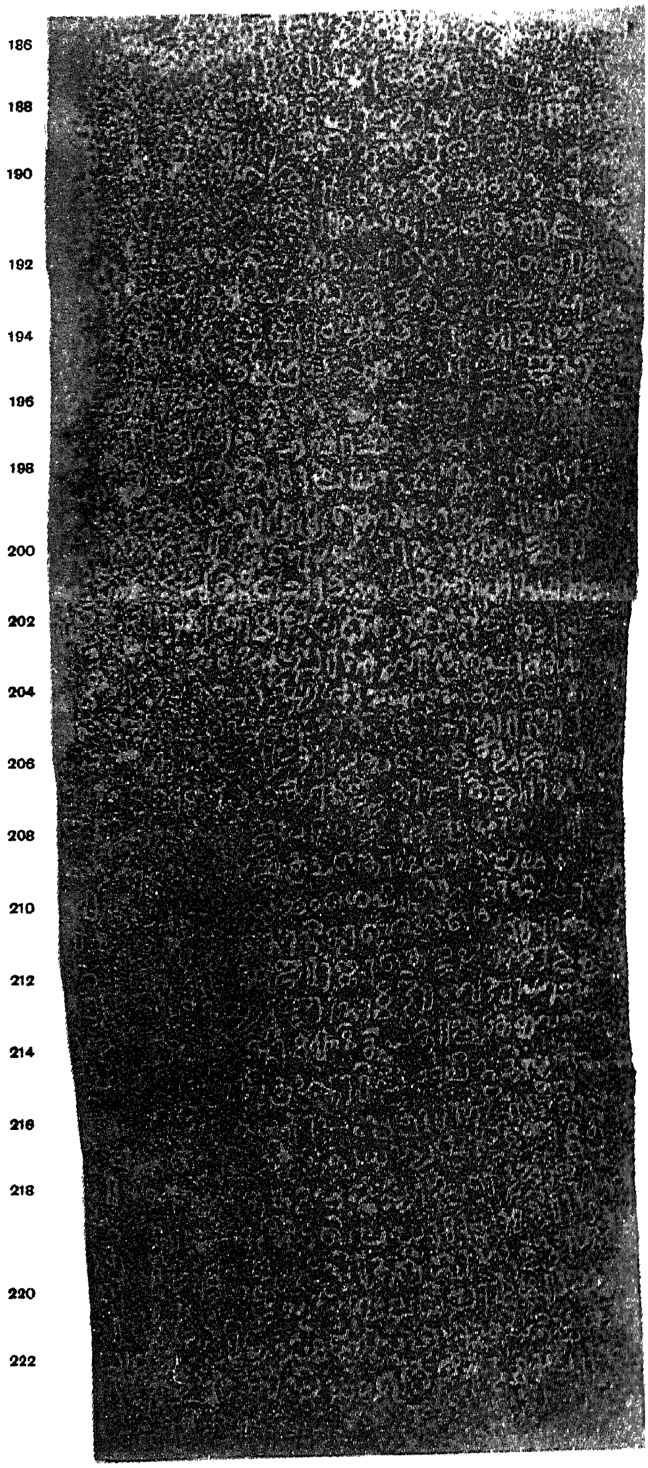
I.

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.

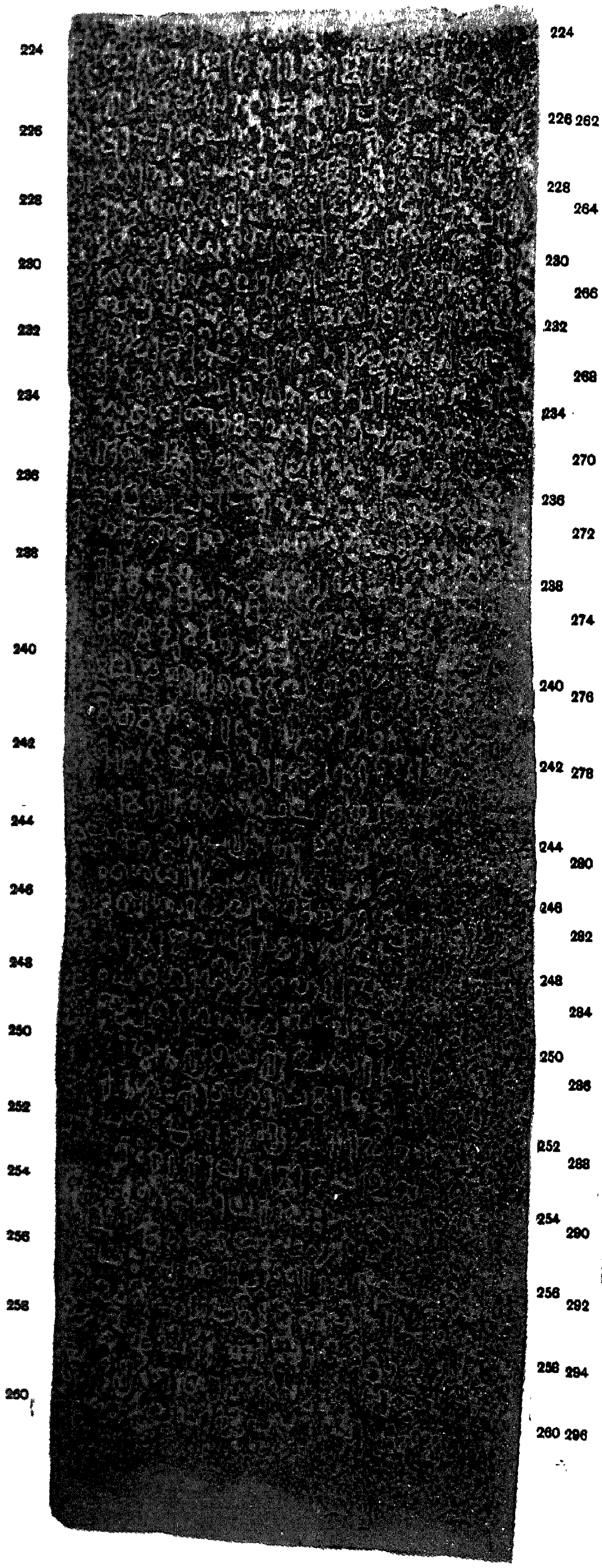
Third Pillar: Front.



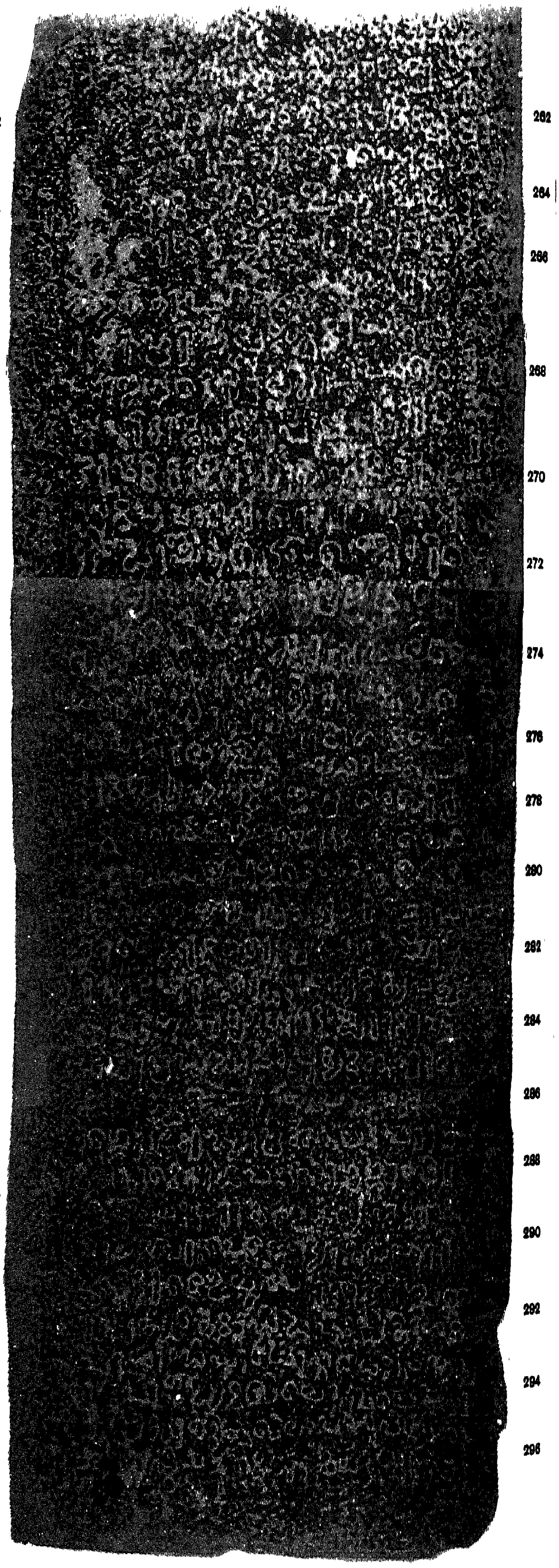
Third Pillar: Back.



Fourth Pillar: Front.



Fourth Pillar: Back.



Third Pillar : Second Side.

186 [ष्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
187 स्तदानीम् [।*] आर्यावर्तोद्दिप्रवर्या-
188 [निनका][1]नानीयाध्यावासयाका-
189 [स] तीरे ॥—[२३*] विपिनमखिलं छित्वा[2]
190 पूर्वेश्वकार वनमग्रहत्तदनु वि-
191 [दधे धी]रस्सारं सनागलताकुल-
192 [म्] [।*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः कवेर-[3]
193 सुतातटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-
194 मनेकफलां व्यधात् ॥—[२४*] अमरस-
195 रि[ति] स्नानम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्जना
196 विदधति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्रान्निविष्टप-
197 काम्यया [।*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [धीरं]
198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[ा-
199 से व]ासं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[२५*] अन्वया-
200 त्तमनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
201 समद्युतिः [।*] चोळभूपतनयो नयात्[4]
202 [विभुः] क्षोणिमाजलधि [5]वाह्निताहितः ॥—[२६*]
203 त[त्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मल्ल-
204 री [तम]निवार्यशासनः [।*] सत्सखः
205 . . . . ताम्बुरनिका-
206 रमग्रिमः ॥[२७*] अस्मिन्वंशे मृत्युजिद्वा-
207 म राजा मृत्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
208 [र्गः ।*] [रे]जे[6] यच्चैराज्ञया च प्रका-[7]
209 म[न्देवां]च्छ[न्नू]न्तोषयन्[8] श्रेयं-
210 [च] ॥—[२८*] अस्मिन्वंशे वीरसेनाभिधा-
211 [नो जा]तो नीताशेषलोकाह्नित-
212 [स] [।*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

[1] Read नेका.

[2] Read छित्वा.

[3] Between °रन्यैः and कवेर two long syllables are wanting. [Perhaps °रन्यैस्तीरं might be suggested.

[4] Read नयाद.

[5] [The correct reading is ताहिता.]

[6] [This word may also be read ज ॅ.]

[7] The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.

[8] Read °च्छक्वन्तोषयन्

213 स्थः कल्याणानामामन्दिरं सुन्दरांगः ॥—[३८*]
214 चि[चो]नाम[1] चितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
215 धिकश्रीर्विचस्तारिप्रकरविनतिव्यक्त-
216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [।*] वृत्रारातिर्झटिति[2] स-
217 मरे तज्जितो यस्य बाणैर्मित्री[3]-
218 भूतस्ताततमभजद्व्याघ्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
219 म् ॥—[४०*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
220 रा[मा]म्[4] परतनुविरतश्रीश्शासितुश्चामि-
221 [तारिः] [।*] निजभुजबललीलाक्रष्टराजन्य-
222 लक्ष्मीरिह समजनि वंशे भूपति[ः पु*]ष्पके-[5]
223 तुः ॥—[४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth Pillar : First Side.

224 धानो जातो राजा जातश्रमप्रताप-
225 काशः [।*] कृत्वा सर्व्वक्ष्माभृतां [केतु]-
226 मालां येनावाप्तं केतुमालाभि-
227 धानम् ॥—[४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिराजो][6]
228 [भुवं][7] . . . . वोर्य्यैः [।*] पूर्वापरा-
229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पण्ये]न . . .
230 श्मसुतां [स]लो[भः][8] ॥[४३*] श्रीमत्य[त्र कुले]
231 बभूव मह्रितश्रीः पद्मपाख्यो नृपो
232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्ज्जितमना य[त्रा]-[9]
233 न् स पद्मातिथीन् [।*] विद्वा पद्म[सि]रा-
234 स्वशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्साद]-
235 रं कोषान्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त तृयजा[*]तस्तु
236 [त*]त् पद्मपः ॥[४४*] अभवन्विभवैर्ज्ज-[10]
237 [य]न्दिगीशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्सुधांशु-
238 कान्तः [।*] नृमृडस्स मृडस्य सम्प्रसादाद्-

[1] Read चित्रो नाम. [2] Read °र्झटिति. [3] Read °मैत्री.

[4] [°रामे विरतिमविरत° appears to be the actual reading.]

[5] The $\bar{e}$ symbol of $k\bar{e}$ alone is in this line.

[6] The secondary $\bar{a}$ of the letter जो is in the next line. [Perhaps नराधिनाथ is the actual reading. Ed.]

[7] [वंशेन विशाल are seen before वीर्य्यैः.—Ed.]

[8] Could the passage read स लेभे.

[9] The secondary $\bar{a}$ symbol is in the next line.

[10] Read अभवद्विभवैर्ज्ज°.

239 जयन्मृत्युमनत्ययप्रभाव: ॥—[४५*] यथा[भूद]-
240 मलगुण[:*] कुलेतुलश्रोस्तेज[स्वी स]-
241 मिति मनोरथाभिधान: [।*] यो द्वत्वा
242 झटिमि[1] मनोरथानरोणाम् . .[2]
243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात्[3] बलेन ॥—[४६*]
244 एतस्मिन्परुनत्किळिप्रभृतयो वं-[4]
245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु जिता-
246 मरेश्वरबलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [।*] ये-
247 षामाजलधिचर्मांसपतनव्याप्तं[5]
248 यशोभिश्शुभैराब्रह्माण्डमख-
249 ण्डदेशसमयं विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते[6] ॥—[४७*]
250 अस्मिन् कुले कुलधराधरस[न्नि]-
251 काश: काशोपमान[विततोरु]-
252 यश:प्रतान: [।*] आसीत् च्चितीशतिल-
253 क: करिकालनामा चोळस्समुत्थितरि-
254 पुच्चितिपालकाल: ॥—[४८*] स कावेरी-
255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
256 य:पूरै[7]स्सारैरवनिम[विनीतो]-
257 द्वति[ह्व]र: [।*] प्रतीरोभूताभिर्न्नरपति[8]करा-
258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकोर्ष्ठाभिर्म्मृत्भि[9]र्न्य[रुण]-
259 दरुणाग्रेसरसम[:] ॥—[४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
260 सकलपार्त्थिववन्द्यपादो [जातो]-

Fourth Pillar: Second Side.

261 भिजात[गुण[संहति . . . श्रो: [।*]
262 [ऊ]र्जस्वलोत्भुत[10]नि[जा]प्रतिमप्र-
263 ताप(र)सन्तापितारिशिलभो[11] ब-
264 लभो महीश: ॥—[५०*] इहान्वये-
265 भूदमरेशतुल्य: परास्त्रविद-

---

[1] Read झटिति.

[2] Could the reading here be द्दीना° ?

[3] Read सत्फलान्.

[4] The *anusvāra* of वं is in the next line.

[5] Read °चर्म्मं सतपनं व्याप्तं.

[6] Read विश्वंजग°.

[7] Read पूरैः स्सारैः

[8] Read °र्न्नरपति.

[9] Read °र्न्नंह्रि.

[10] Read द्भुत.

[11] Read शलभी.

317 चपाकरसमद्युतिः त्वपित[1]-
318 [2]वैरिपचोत्करः [।*] यदीयभुज-
319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
320 सैन्दैपैरवनिभृत्गुहा-[3]
321 गृहनिवासिभि[:*] स्थीयते ॥—[६१*] श्र[य]-
322 [म*]न्न[त च*] राज्ञ[:*] स्वैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-
323 न्व्यधित विधिसमानस्सम्पदं स-
324 ज्जनानाम् [।*] अतनुत नुतवीर्यो [व्या]-
325 पदं श्चात्रवाणामतुलयदतुल-
326 श्रीश्चन्द्रकान्तिं स्वकान्त्या: ॥—[६२*] अस्य
327 सूनुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्सन्ततश्चपि-
328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [।*] चिन्तयन्यदुदग्रं स-
329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-
330 त्[4]गिरिं ॥[६३*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-
331 षाम्स्ततार[5] भूरीन्समराम्बु[राशीन्] [।*]
332 जहार तापं बुधसंहतीना[न्त]ता-
333 [न] सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[६४*] अखिल-
334 गुणनिधानात् भूमिपालादसूषा-

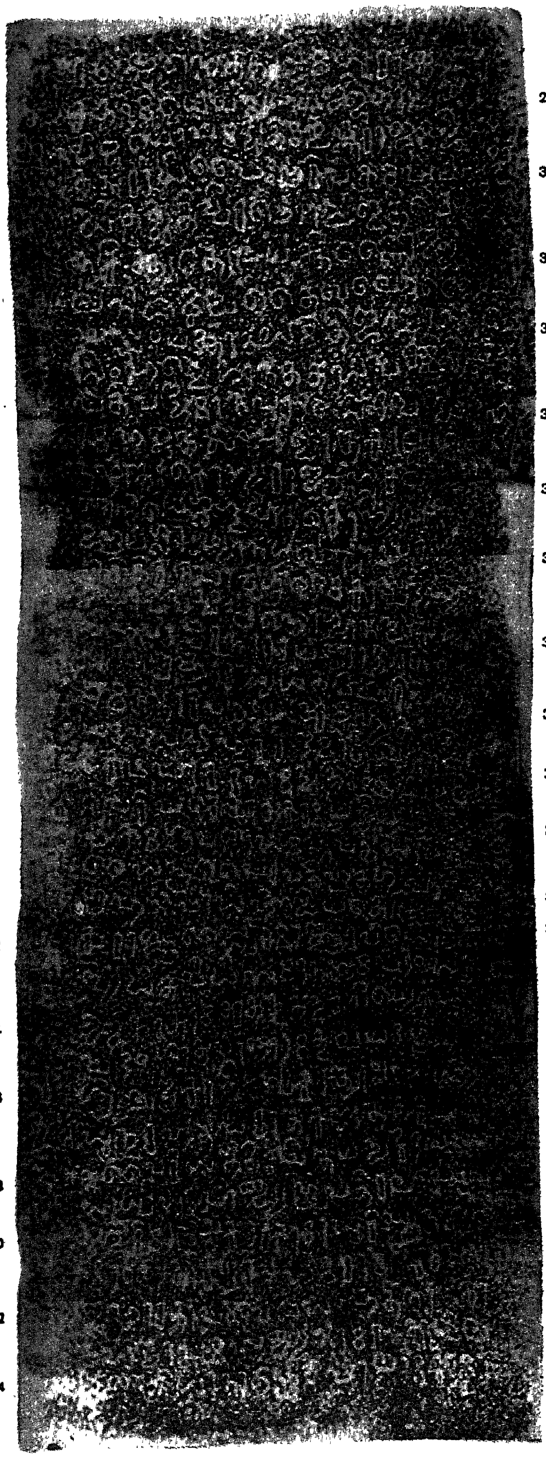
Fifth Pillar: Second Side.

335 दुदजनि नरनाथो राजराजाभि-
336 धानः [।*] [मदन*]रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
337 [ने*]त्रो[6]रविन्दो [धनद इति] परं [यश्चा]-[7]
338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—[६५*] संजहार स-
339 मरे स पार्थिवानुज्जहार विप-
340 दस्स भूतलात् [*] आजहार च मखान-
341 [8]नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] सून्टत . . त[9] ॥—[६६*]
342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-
343 जे सत्याश्रयः किल पलायत मन्द-

[1] Read क्षपित.
[2] One of the secondary ē symbols is in the next line: Read क्षपित.
[3] Read °भृद्गुहा.
[4] Read °द्रिरिक.
[5] Read द्विषां चार.
[6] Read नेत्रारविन्दो.
[7] Read यो राज°.
[8] The ē of nē is in the preceding line.
[9] Could the passage here be read as सून्टता गिरः ?

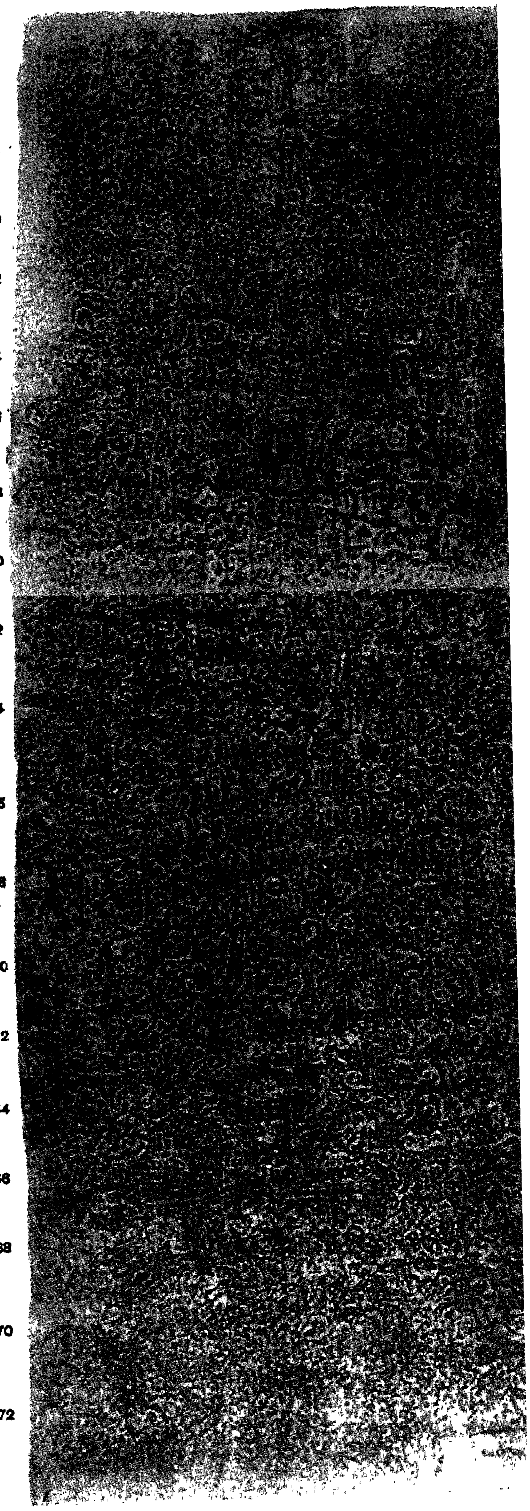
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.

Fifth Pillar: Front.



298 300 302 304 306 308 310 312 314 316 318 320 322 324 326 328 330 332 334

Fifth Pillar: Back.



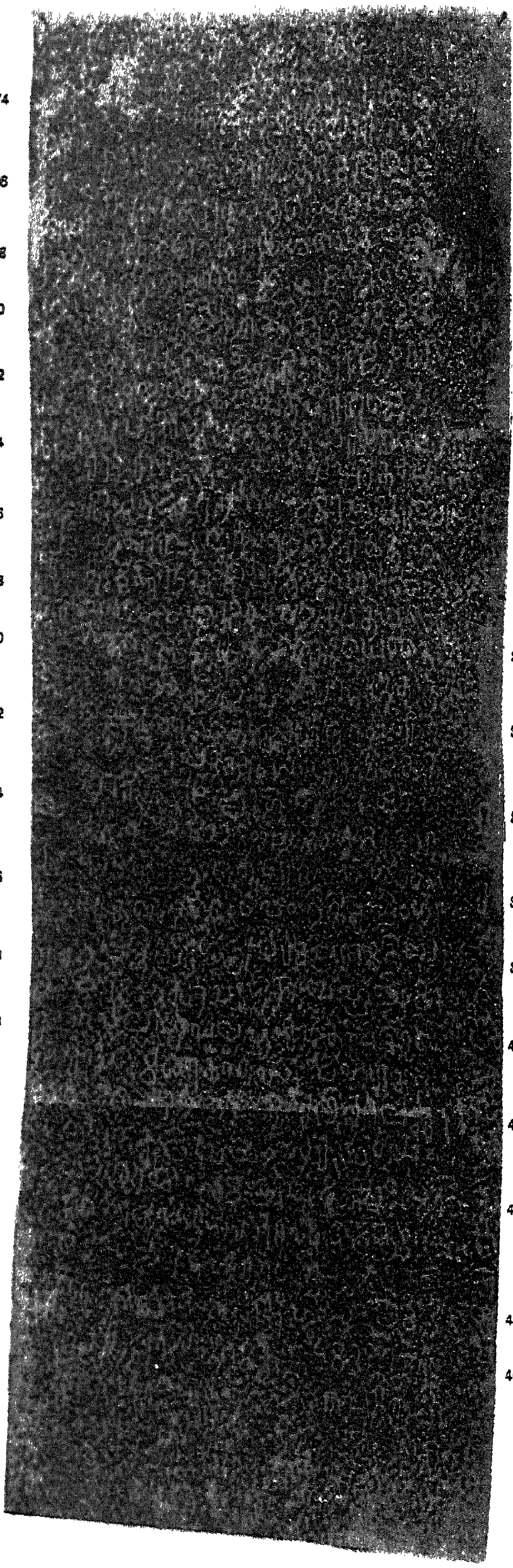
336 338 340 342 344 346 348 350 352 354 356 358 360 362 364 366 368 370 372

F. W. THOMAS

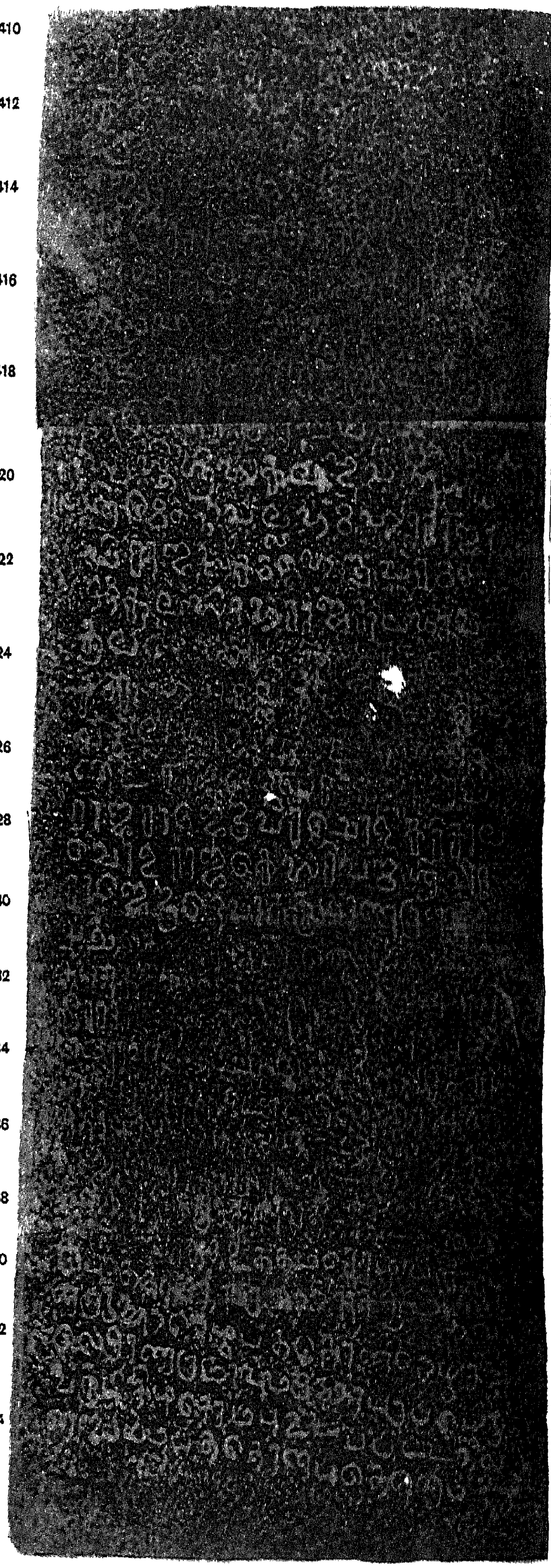
SCALE THREE-FIFTHS

WHITTINGHAM & GRIG

Sixth Pillar: Front.



Sixth Pillar: Back.



344 बुद्दिर्नत्या[1] जयन्ति स[भ]या रिपव-
345 स्समाजौ न त्वाजयत्ययमसूनरि-
346 भिरिन्नयस्तै:[2] ॥—[६७] तस्य सूनुरन[त]-[3]
347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
348 शासन: [*] शंबरारि[4][क*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
349 स्सम्बभूव मधु[रान्त]काभिध: ॥—[६८*]
350 अजयदजितवीर्य्य[:*] . . . . . शाली[5]
351 विजय इव स[मस्तान्] कुन्तळानामधी-
352 शान् [।*] अहरत स[किरीटं] क्षत्रियाणाक्षि-
353 हन्तु:[6] . . . . [जामदग्न्य]-
354 [स्य] वीर्य्यात् ॥[६९*] जहार हारस्तुहि-
355 नांशुका[न्तं] . . . तोविक्रम-[7]
356 निर्जितारि: [।*] विहारभूमिं निजसै-[8]
357 निकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥[७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-
360 ति: कलिंगान्विंशेन्द्रैस्स[हं][9]
361 बहळवीर्यान्विदळयन् [*] स [गंगा]-
362 मुतर्ज्जं[10]न्निजकरिघटापाति[त*]तटाम्[11]
363 घटैर्ज्जंहै[12] भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-
364 [13]तैरुद्धृतजलाम् ॥[७१*] उल्लंघिताम्बु-
365 धिभिरु[द्ध]नबाहुवीर्यैर्नि[र्द्धू]त-
366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रपञ्चै-
367 स्सै[न्यै:*][14] कटाहमद[ह]यमन्यै[15] राजेन्द्र-

---

[1] Read बुद्धि:न°.

[2] Read °भिरितसै:.

[3] The letter त is engraved below the line.

[4] Read शम्बरारि.

[5] [The missing syllables may be read [शौर्य*]सौन्दर्य.—Ed.]

[6] [The gap after this word may be filled with the syllables प्रबलसिहळराज°.]

[7] [The gap contains the syllables शतक्र.—Ed.]

[8] The *ai* symbols are in this line and स in the next line.

[9] [Possibly वंगेन्द्रै was meant.—Ed.]

[10] Read सुतर्ज्जं°. [The correct reading is म्रत(स)र्ज्जं°.—Ed.].

[11] Read तटां.

[12] Read घटैर्ज्ज°.

[13] The *ai* symbols are at the end of the previous line.

[14] Read °पञ्चै:[।*]सैन्यै:.

[15] Read मदहयदाश°.

368 चोळनृप[ते:] किमसाध्यमस्य ॥—[७१*]
369 तस्यासंस्तनया[स्त]यस्त्रय[1] इव
370 ख्याता: [क्रतोर]ग्नयस्तेषाम्तु प्र-
371 थम: क्षितीशतिलकों राजाधिरा-
372 जो नृप: [।*] [य:*] कल्याणपुरहवद्राक् नृप-
373 ती[र्विर्जित्य] तन्नायकानादायाहव-

Sixth Pillar : First Side.

374 मल्ल . . . .
375 . . . . ॥—[७२] त[स्मि]-
376 न् गते त्रिदिव[सु*][बु]तलोकशो-
377 कस्तस्यानुज[2] क्षितिमिमामखिला-[3]
378 मरक्षत् [*] राजेन्द्रदेवनृपतिस्स
379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो[4]
380 नभगभुज:[5] प्रळयं व्यनै-
381 षीत् ॥—[७४*] तस्मिन्याते [6]त्रिदिवमनुज-
382 [स्तस्य] न[7]स्तेजितारि: प्राज्यं रा-
383 ज्यं व्यथित[8] विधिवत् वीरराजेन्द्र-
384 देव: [*] अत्युत्भूतं[9] समधिकबलो
385 राजराजेन्द्रदेव: शत्रुव्रातं व्य-
386 जयत जवात्[10] बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरञ्च ॥—[७५*]
387 हत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभृ-
388 त: मल्लाटवंशोत्भवान्[11] सैन्यं
389 यक्षभुजां प्रवर्धयति यस्तै-[12]
390 ईंवभूयं[13] गतै: [।*] येनै-
391 वोण . . . . बलो निहत्य त-
392 च्छोणितै: [क्र]त्वान्यां सरितं[14]

---

1 Read °स्त्रय.
2 Read °नुज: क्षिति.
3 The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.
4 The secondary *ā* symbol of the letter मो is in the next line.
5 Read °पन्नगभुज:.
6 Read त्रि.
7 Read त्नि.
8 Read व्यधित° and वीर°.
9 Read त्युद्भूतं.
10 Read द्.
11 Read °वंशोद्भवान्. The *anusvāra* of न्यं is in the next line.
12 The *ai* symbols of स्तै alone are in this line.
13 Read °दैव.
14 The *anusvāra* is in the next line.

393 समुद्रवनितां संतोषितो
394 वारि[धिः*] ॥—[७६*] भ्राढ्यां समुपे-
395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-
396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरे-[1]
397 रतिबलैर्वेंगीन्कलिंगा-
398 नपि [।*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिब-
399 लां छित्वा च भीतान् बहून्त्क्षेमा-
400 न्वल्लभवल्लभक्षितिपतिः
401 क्षेमेण[2] तं सोन्वसात्[3] ॥—[७७*]
402 वोरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [।*]
404 धर्म्मशास[न*]समुच्च[4]यमुच्चं व्या-
405 तनोति[5] [हित]सारसमेतम् ॥—[७८*]
406 देवस्याद्रिसुताधिपस्य म[त][वि]-
407 [त्रे]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद्द-
408 भ्र[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणिक्य-
409 [6][का]रोपितम् [।*] मन्ये वैरिकुला-

Sixth Pillar: Second Side.

410 . . . .
411 . . . . . . ाम . . . . [न्व] . . मिजवश-
412 क्षतस . . . . . [7]स्सानुस्समारो-
413 पितः ॥—[७९*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-
414 ण्ड्येषु गंगावाटिकुळूतयोः[8] [।*]
415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[म्ना*]सौ ब्रह्म-
416 देयान[क*]अयत् ॥—[८०*] चत्वारिंश-
417 त्सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
418 न्त्रयीविददं[9] [।*] अतोषयत्[10] भूमि-
419 दानैरस्थापयदतिस्थिरम् ॥—[८१*]

---

[1] Read महीश्वरै°; the *ai* symbols of रै alone are in this line and *r* in the next line.

[2] The secondary *ē* of क्षे is in the previous line. [3] Read सोन्वशात्. [4] Read च्च.

[5] [The reading appears to be त् सरस.] [6] Read मा [7] [The reading seems to be भानु.—Ed.]

[8] The secondary *ā* and the *visarga* of यो: are in the next line.

[9] Read °न्त्रयीविदाम्. [10] Read अतोषयद्.

420 Svasti śrī[ḥ ||*] Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya
421 Śrī-mē[di]nī-vallabha[1] mahārājā-
422 dhirāja saka[la*]mahēntra parama-a-
423 shṭa-kula-siṁha rāja-kula-bhāvaka-
424 kula[śēkha]ra . . . . kul[ānta]-
425 ka Āha[vama]lla . . la Āha-
426 vamallanai . . . . [ḍi-me]ṉ-ka-
427 ṇḍa Rājaśēkhara Rājāśraya
428 Rāja-Rājēndra Vīra-Chōḷa Karikāla-
429 Chōḷa Rājakēsarivanma śrī-Vīra-
430 rājēndra-dēvarkku yāṇḍu ēḻā-
431 vadu te . . . . . . pat-
432 tiṉ . . . . .
433 Vīra-Rājēndra . . . . .
434 mma rāva . . . . Rājarā-
435 [ja]p-Pāṇḍi-nāṭ[ṭu] Uttama-Śōḷa-va-
436 ḷanāṭṭup-Puṟattāya-nāṭṭu Kumari-[k]ka-
437 ṇṇiyā-piḍāriyārkku vēṇḍum nityani-
438 vandaṅgaḷukku Chakkarava[t]ti [śrī-Vīra-Rā]jē-
439 ndra-[dēvar] kuḍutta Uttama-Śōḷa-vaḷanāṭ-
440 ṭu Puṟattāya-nāṭṭu Naṟṟirākkuḍi-nila-
441 ṉ iru-nūṟṟ-eḻubatt-oṉṟē-mukkā-
442 lē iraṇḍu māvum in-nāṭṭu-pPeru-
443 ṅguḍi kīḻkombu uṭpaṭṭa nila-
444 ṉ aiymbatt-oṉbadē-oṉbadi[2]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Line 1. Be it well : Prosperity !

Verse 1. May the moon-crested Bhavānīpati (*i.e.* Śiva), who is the sportive author of creation, protection and destruction, who is the master of speech, the only abode of omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) and by whose grace his devotees are enabled to cross the dangerous ocean of *saṁsāra* (metempsychosis), grant you good fortune.

V. 2. May Śambhu, who is full of grace towards moveable and immoveable objects, who holds one with his own body,—which is situated on the mountain (Kailāsa) and which is effulgent with light,—that of the great Māyā, who cheers the Universe, who establishes science and nescience (*jñāna* and *ajñāna*) and who is pleased with the happiness and distressed with the unhappiness of souls (*jīv-ātman*),[3]—may He save you easily from sin and protect you from downfall.

V. 3. He, who killed with his discus the hordes of the army of Asuras, who drove to the nether regions (*pātāḷa*) the emperor Bali and who is ever the protector of the Dēvas, may that Hari wipe off your sins by protecting the world through you who are so many portions of His own Self existing on earth.

V. 4. The Lord of all (*Sarvēśvara*), with a view to procreate the Universe, first ushered into existence water, which (is the primordial matter and which) is the fittest object for that purpose. Therein He sowed His eternal seed and raised from it the Mundane Egg, which envelops the three worlds. He also created Brahmā for bringing into existence all other things.

[1] [The actual reading is *mētanī*.—Ed.]

[2] The rest of the inscription cannot be traced.

[3] [Who swells with the pleasures and pains of creatures willingly borne.—Ed.]

V. 5. This Brahmā who was thus begotten, having created all the worlds, containing e kind of thing, produced other Brahmās. One among such was Marīchi who shone with a l which spread on all sides.

V. 6. Kāśyapa, who, with his omniscience, could perceive the subtlest things (*paśya* was born of Marīchi. His great beauty (*Srī*) was noticed by the eyes of Brahmā. H reckoned as the first among the men of pre-eminence (*śrēyas-sampatti*). The constant f among the Dēvas and others born of Kāśyapa, to own Prosperity appeared like the dash against each other of the waves of the ocean (which bore Lakshmī).

V. 7. From him (Kāśyapa) was born the transcendent Vivasvān,[1] who is the father time, who by his generous light or power (*prabhāva*) which is capable of affording protect to the world, subordinates the planets, and by the contact with whose rays the lotus issu from the navel of the Lord of all (Vishṇu) as also the lotuses, the faces of Brahmā, renoun sleep for the first time.

V. 8. When the rays of the sun began to dispel darkness from every quarter, the shin golden Brahmāṇḍa appeared as though (the gold) was emitting the flaws (*kālimā*) in it; the disc of the sun looked like the pericarp of the Sky-lotus of which the petals were directions of the compass, and the filaments the solar rays.

V. 9. The patriarch of all kings (who ruled over the earth later on) was Manu, the son Vivasvān[2]; from whose connection the human race received the name Mānava. Manu worthy of being praised by the world; he created and promulgated laws and made humar happy. Vivasvān made his son Manu as resplendent as he did his father (Kāśyapa).

V. 10. To Manu was born Ikshvāku[3], who had unblemished fame spreading in all quart and sung by the hosts of Dēvas. The all-pervading prowess of this conquering king, hav had no enemies (*amitras*) to conquer, vanquished the sun (Mitra, a word which means a "a friend")

V. 11. Vikukshiśrava of high ideals of justice and of great intelligence was the son Ikshvāku.[4] This powerful king afforded protection to this earth. Kings used to acqu wealth by warring against each other, and they have now the easy method to attain it, nam to worship the feet of this king.

V. 12. The son of Vikukshiśrava was Purañjaya who subdued those king who offe him battle.[5] Having transformed Indra into a bull, he stood on its high hump to conquer Asuras; the gods in great joy addressed him as Kakutstha (he who stands on the *kakud*, hu of a bull), and this became thenceforth his name.[6]

V. 13. Pṛithu, who was comparable to the great mountains (*kula-parvatas*) and who v respected by all other kings, was born in this family.[7] During his regime all the people w wise and pleased. There did not exist then trembling (for fear) or beggary.

V. 14. In this great dynasty appreared the king Kuvalāśva. He was famous for powerful horses. This powerful sovereign, in order to afford protection to the world, killed Asura named Dhundhu, who had taken refuge in the sandy river Sindhu.[8]

Vv. 15-16. Of astounding greatness, the incarnation of *Asurāri* (Vishṇu), the king Mā dhātṛi was born in this race[9] to remove the distress of humanity residing on this ear

[1] See *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, *Rāja-pārampariyam*, v. 9; *Vikkirama-Śōlaṉ-ulā* ll. 1-6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV 59, vv. 6 & 7; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 4 and *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

[2] See *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, v. 10, *Vikkirama-Śōlaṉ-ulā*, ll. 6-8 and *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṉ-ulā*, ll. 2-4.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 5.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 6.

[5] *Ibid.* v. 7.

[6] *Ibid.* v 8.

[7] *Ibid.*, v. 12.

[8] *Ibid.*, v. 14.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 394, v. 16.

He afforded pleasure to the eyes of his subjects (by his personal appearance, perhaps). To drive off unrighteousness (*adharma*) his discus (*chakra*) travelled as far as the Chakravāḷa mountain. While this famous monarch ruled the earth, the lion and deer lived together amicably. All objects renounced their mutual hostility (that is, became friends); but *dharma* alone became an exception to this statement, for *adharma* did not exist (that is, it could not become a friend of *adharma*).

V. 17. The king Muchukunda of many good qualities was born of this race, which is never exposed to danger and which is ever prospering; this sovereign shone bright like the moon with his fame, which was white (unblemished) as the *kunda* (jasmine) flowers.[1]

V. 18. . . . . The king made it impossible for even those who fell in battle to enter heaven.

V. 19. In this family was born Hariśchandra, who subdued by his prowess hosts of kings and who delighted in war. Valuing them as a mere straw, he sold his own body and his wife and son to pay the money of Kauśika (Viśvāmitra).

V. 20. In this dynasty was a king named Sagara, who was dreaded by all other kings. When this monarch began to perform a number of *aśvamēdha-yāgas*, Indra began to tremble (lest his position be lost to Sagara by the virtue which he was going to acquire by his meritorious deeds). Owing to the greatness of the sons of Sagara, the salt oceans obtained the name *sāgara*, and this name began to apply to other seas also.

V. 21. Bhagīratha was born in this race. Having brought down from heaven the river Gaṅgā to raise his ancestors (the sons of Sagara) to heaven from the ashes to which they were reduced by the fire of the anger of the sage Kapila, he caused the celestial river to flow in three regions (that is, heaven, earth and hell) and the men who touched its waters to become immortal.

V. 22. Ṛituparṇa, who was full of kingly virtues and who possessed a fame which was praised by all good men, sprang from this dynasty and protected the earth.

V. 23. In this family was born king Dilīpa; he was like a lamp to the universe; he had removed from the world misery and had destroyed the power of his enemies; his anger drew tears from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings (that is, if any hostile king excited his wrath, that king was sure to meet with his death at the hands of Dilīpa). He was a famous sovereign whose bow was ever destined to be crowned with success.

V. 24. Seeing that the earth was groaning under the evil deeds of the powerful and wicked Rākshasas, the Lord of the Universe, Bhagavān, became incarnate in four different aspects as Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. The two first and last pairs of brothers resembled the right and the left pairs of arms of Vishṇu.

V. 25. This universal Lord taught the world the modes in which a son should conduct himself towards his father, a brother towards his brother, a young man towards his wife, an enemy towards his enemy, kings towards Ṛishis and relations towards relations.

V. 26. It was not out of anger that he killed the king of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa); nor was it out of his (carnal) love for his wife that he rescued her (from her captivity under Rāvaṇa); he only discharged his duty, which as a sovereign he was bound to do. If it were not so, why then should he have killed a Śūdra who was doing penance on the Malaya mountain or soon after (rescue), abandoned his wife, Sītā, of resplendent beauty and rare courage?

V. 27. Śrī-Rāma, of straight (uncrooked) virtues, had a bridge constructed across the sea for the army of monkeys to march over. (By his act of killing Rāvaṇa, a monster having evil ways), he firmly established all *dharmas* (*dharma-sētu*) on the earth. This Rāma, full of good qualities, is praised by men as the *dhūmakētu* (comet) to the misery of the gods (caused by the Rākshasas) and the source of chagrin to the Asuras.

[1] *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 17.

Vv. 28-35. In this race there was a king named **Chōḷa.**[1] To this king, by whom world was governed as though it was but his capital city, the forests appeared like so m pleasure-gardens. Once upon a time this king, who was resplendent as Hara, was spen his time in sport within the forests inhabited by hosts of sages. At another time strayed into other forests, with a band of his army, for the purpose of hunting deer ; then he allured by a Rākshasa, who had assumed the shape of a deer, and was beguiled into southern regions. In the pursuit of this (pseudo-) deer the horse of Chōḷa took him gradu into another forest thickly studded with trees. The commanders of his rapidly marching a who were prepared to accompany their sovereign to distant lands, kept pace with swift horse. Having killed the deer-asura, the king began to march along the bank of river Kāvērī. It seemed from the sweetness of her water that the river Kāvērī was carr the very ambrosia (*amṛita*) which the Dēvas churned (with great effort) out of the oc After bathing in her water, the king (looked for) Brāhmaṇas . . . . but fo none in that region. Therefore, he brought a large number of Brāhmaṇas of superior vir from the Āryāvarta and settled them down there (on the banks of the Kāvērī). He cle the jungle and planted betel-vines and areca trees in large numbers. He created several o kinds of gardens, whereby the country was rendered shady (and cool) and also productiv fruits. People bathe in the river Gaṅgā and do penance in order to obtain *svarga* ; but bath in the Kāvērī and penance on her bank would take those who do them to regions hi than *svarga.*

V. 36. After him (Chōḷa) his son **Rājakēsari,**[2] who was bright as the sun and who d his enemies to the brink of the ocean, ruled the earth.

V. 37. . . . . Rājakēsari's son was **Parakēsari**[3] . . . . . .

V. 38. In this family there shone the king **Mṛityujit,**[4] who conquered Mṛityu (Dea He felled the hosts of his enemies, pleased the Dēvas by the *yāgas* performed by him made his foes tremble.

V. 39. The king **Vīrasēna,** who removed the sufferings of his subjects, who was res dent as the sun, who was the abode of all auspicious qualities and who possessed beau limbs, was born in this race.

V. 40. There was born in this dynasty a king named **Chitra,**[5] whose anger would disap if his enemies prostrated themselves before him. Being terrified in battle by the ar of this king, Indra forthwith made friends with him and adopted Vyāghrakētu's [*i.e.* Chit banner of tiger.

V. 41. **Pushpakētu,** who by the spell of his prowess playfully drew towards himsel wealth of all other kings, was born in this family to rule the earth as far as the borders o seas.

V. 42. **Kētumāla,** who shone as bright as the lightning, was born in this race. Ha seized the rows of standards (*kētu-mālā*) of other kings he came to be known by the n of Kētumāla.

V. 43. In this race was born a king named **Samudrajit.** He made the eastern ocean the western one and as a prize for it obtained the hand of the daughter of a kin marriage.[6]

V. 44. **Pañchapa,** who delighted in treating guests, belonged to this family.[7] Ha been requested by five Yakshas, who came to him as guests, he cut open five arteries in his

---

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 394, v. 28 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol XV, p. 60, v. 12.

[2] and [3] *Ibid*, p. 395, v. 30.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 395, v. 36.

[5] *Ibid*, v. 37.

[6] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, V. 18.

[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 394, v. 24.

and offered the blood issuing from them with great tenderness to the Yakshas to drink. From this act of hospitality he came to be known as Pañchapa.

V. 45. Surpassing the *dik-pālas* in greatness and similar to the moon in his splendour, king **Nṛimṛiḍa** was a member of this family. This king of undying fame conquered death by the grace of the god Paramēśvara.

V. 46. King **Manōratha** of unblemished character and of incomparable wealth was born in this dynasty ; he was powerful in war ; through having been able to destroy the desires of the enemies and fulfil those of his (friends and dependants) . . . . . he was dubbed **Manōratha**.

V. 47. **Perunatkiḷḷi**[1] and other kings who surpassed Indra in strength, wealth and reputation, were born in this family. Their fame extended to the very borders of the earth and sea, and reached even the sun and the Brahmāṇḍa and was ever shining.

Vv. 48—49. **Karikāla-Chōḷa**, who was firm as the *kula-parvatas*, who possessed great fame, as white and unblemished as the flowers of the *kāśa* plant and who was Death to the hostile kings who met him in battle-field, was born in this family. Seeing that the river **Kāvērī** was overflowing its banks and not allowing crops to flourish, this monarch, who curbed the haughtiness of insubordinate kings, caused the embankment of this river to be constructed with the earth carried by (such insubordinate) kings in baskets on their hands, and afforded protection to cultivation.[2]

V. 50. In this dynasty was born the king **Vaḷabha**,[3] who possessed good qualities, wealth and prowess which compelled other kings to prostrate themselves before his feet ; he burnt with the flames of his admirable valour the insects (*śalabha*), his enemies.

V. 51. **Jagadēkamalla**, who was comparable to Indra, drove off poverty from learned men, and wielded the weapon called the *bhalla* (spear), which was Death to other kings, was born in this family.

V. 52. The king **Vyāḷa (or Vairi ?)-bhayaṅkara** was born in this family. The hostile kings prostrated themselves before his feet. The fire of the anger of this powerful king, who fought with the sword held in his long arm, could be quenched only by the tears flowing from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings.

Vv. 53-54. The lord of all the earth, the king **Vijayālaya**, was born in this family. All kings bowed before his feet. He established in the **Chōḷa** country the city of **Tañjāpurī**, which was praised even by Brahmā and other gods. Being a newly founded town, it flourished with all good qualities.[4]

V. 55. The son of this Vijayālaya was **Ādityavarman**, better known by the name of **Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma**. He fell on the **Pallava** monarch, who was seated upon a maddened elephant, and killed him in battle.[5]

Vv. 56-60. To him (Āditya) was born a son named **Parāntaka**, who was the abode of the goddess of valour (*vīra-śrī*). By the water flowing from the temples of the *mast* elephants of this king, which were sporting in the gardens adjoining the shores of the seas, the water of the seas became scented. Parāntaka destroyed the **Pāṇḍya** king with his whole army, took all his

[1] *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 395, v. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. 42.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 18.

[4] विजयालयोऽजनि तदन्वये जयी विजिताखिलावनितलो महायशाः ।
प्रणमन्नृपेन्द्रमकुटस्खलत्स्खलन्मणिरश्मिरञ्जितपदाम्बुजद्वयः ॥
Leiden Grant.

[5] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 47 and 48.

wealth and burnt (his capital) **Madhurā**; for this achievement he received the title of **M rāntaka.**[1] This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the thitherto uncon king **Krishṇarāja,** and thereby augmented his own glory. In recognition of this feat h entitled **Vīra-Chōḷa.** Parāntaka, who is respected by all kings, caused his army to cross t and defeat the king of **Siṁhaḷa,** who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and t received the true surname of **Siṁhaḷāntaka**[2]. Who could stand comparison with this kir abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquer enemies in battle and who was the only residence for prowess? The destroyer of the en Parāntaka, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like **Vīranārāya** just as Brahmā created *svarga*, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas.

Vv. 61-62. The son of this king (Parāntaka) was **Arindama,**[4] of glory similar to t the moon. He destroyed the power of his enemies. Many a king, who had heard valour of this sovereign, took refuge in mountain caverns. He brought all other kings his sway; like Vidhi (Brahmā), he conferred riches upon good men; this king of re prowess caused grief to hostile kings. This sovereign of unparalleled beauty made the of the moon comparable to his own splendour.

Vv. 63-64. **Parāntaka,**[5] who always destroyed the hosts of his enemies, was born to **dama.** Taking into consideration the advent of this sovereign, the **Pāṇḍya** king cross mountain and fled away. Parāntaka imprisoned all his enemies and fought successfully battles. He satisfied the needs of learned men and was a terror to bad ones.

Vv. 65-67. To this monarch (Parāntaka), the abode of all virtues, was born the I men, **Rājarāja.**[6] This king, who had a body as beautiful as that of Cupid and han lotus-like eyes, was comparable to Kuvēra (otherwise known as Rājarāja) only munificence.[7] He killed in battle the enemy kings and rooted out evil from the eartl celebrated several *yāgas* and was ever veracious. **Satyāśraya,** when he could have ob strong support in **Rājarāja,** ran away senselessly from the battle-field.[8] In fact, the te enemies of Rājarāja win him over in battle by quietly bowing before him; nor will he d such suppliants of their life or property.

Vv. 68-72. The king **Madhurāntaka,** who punishes those who do not submit to him chastises his enemies and who possesses a body as handsome as that of Cupid himsel born as the son of **Rājarāja.** This monarch, as powerful as Arjuna, defeated all the ki **Kuntaḷa** (*Kuntaḷānām=adhīśān*). This king, who wore a *hāra* on his neck, abstracted the of the moon (that is, caused the glory of the moon to wane before his own). Conquering l kings by the power of his arms, he made **Mānyakhēṭa** a sporting ground for his army caused the kings of the **Kulūta** and **Utkala** countries to be defeated by his general

---

[1] & [2] His achievements are described in *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 51-52 & *Ep. Ind.*, Vo p. 61, V. 21. See also *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, Rājapāram, Vv. 22 and 23.

[3] *Compare:* ग्रामान्निवेश्य विविधान्महतो यशोभिर्यश्चकार शरदभ्रनिभैर्दिगन्तान् ।

Leiden Grant.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 61, v. 23.

[5] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 55 and 56.

[6] He is said to have been born under the asterism, Śadaiyam, to have captured Udagai (*Kalingat.* v. *Kulōtt.* ll. 46-48) and to have taken Malai-nāḍu (*Vikkiram.* ll. 33-34).

[7] King Rājarāja was a great giver of wealth (*dhana + da*), and in this respect resembled Kuvē bore the name Dhanada. But Kuvēra was, as his name indicates, ill-shaped in body while king Rājarāja v One of Kuvēra's eyes was yellow. Rājarāja, the king, had none of these drawbacks.

[8] His conquests of Maṇṇai, Kiḍāram and Gaṅgai are mentioned in the *Kalingat.*, v. 25, *Vikkiram.*, l and *Kulōtt.* ll. 49-50.

kings of **Kaliṅga** and the **Viṁśēndra** (?)[1] were also vanquished by his generals, who reached the **Ganges**, whose banks slipped down the river through the battering of his elephant brigade; the water of the (holy) Gaṅgā was carried in pots on the heads of kings (to his capital city). He made his powerful army, which uprooted several hostile kings, cross the sea and set fire to **Kaṭāha**,[2] which it was not possible for other kings to conquer. What act was impossible for this monarch Rājēndra-Chōḷa ?

V. 73. This king had three sons, comparable with the three fires in a *yāga*. Of these, the preeminent **Rājādhirāja** was his first son. He set fire to **Kalyāṇapura**,[3] defeated its king [and did something to king **Āhavamalla**, ...].

V. 74. When this king went to heaven, his younger brother who removed the sorrow of the world, ascended the throne. **Rājēndra-dēva**, the monarch, who had arms resembling in shape the snake Ādi-Śēsha, killed all his enemies.

Vv. 75-81. When this sovereign also went to heaven, his younger brother **Vīra-Rājēndra** who caused the valour of his enemies to wane, succeeded to the throne with due formality. He conquered not only his outside enemies, but also his own five senses.[4] He killed the kings of the **Maṇṇāṭa** family (?) at **Kūḍalsaṅgama**[5]; these kings augmented the army of the Dēvas (in the celestial world).[6] The ocean was gratified by this king, who by killing hosts of men in battle-fields created a new river, a river of blood, and made her join her lord, the sea.[7] The countries of **Vēṅgī** and **Kaliṅga**, which had been in his family for a long time, but, being abandoned by his elder brothers, were then in the occupation of his enemies, were recovered by **Vallabha-vallabha**[8] by driving off some of those enemies and defeating others by the power of his arms, and were ruled over by him. **Vīra-Chōḷa** (that is, Vīra-Rājēndra), also known as **Karikāla-Chōḷa**, having deprived the world of the evils of the Kali age, established several *dharma-śāsanas* which afforded succour, were full of substance and were lofty in their aims. To the Lord of Pārvatī, who is dancing in **Chirrambalam** (*Dabhra-sabhā*), he made a gift of the valuable ruby known by the name of *trailōkyasāra* . . . . He created several *brahmadēya* villages in the **Chōḷa**, the **Tuṇḍira**, the **Pāṇḍya**, the **Gaṅgavāṭī** and the **Kulūta** countries. He also furnished forty thousand Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vēdas, with gifts of lands.

Ll. 420-445. In the seventh year (of the reign) of **Rājakēsarivarman**,—who bore the *birudas* and surnames the 'Asylum of the whole world,' 'Lord of the Earth,' Mahārājādhirāja, ... Ashṭakulasiṁha, Rājakula (?), [Ra]vikulaśēkhara, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Āhavamallakula-Kāla, he who defeated **Āhavamalla**

[1] [See note 9 above, p. 45, Ed.]

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 400, v. 117 :—
विजितैस्तदीयतटभूमिनायकैः सलिलं तदीयमथ पावनं वरम् । निजनायकाय मधुरान्तकाय तत्समनीनयत्सपदि दण्डनायकः ॥

Ibid., v. 123:—अवजित्य कटाहमुन्नतैर्निजदण्डैरभिलङ्घितार्णवैः ।

[3] His conquest of Kalyāṇa and the planting of a pillar of victory are mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, v. 26, and *Vikkirama-Śōlan-ulā* ll. 36-38.

[4] "The outside and the inside enemies" is the expression employed in the text. The senses of sight, smell etc., are always considered the enemies of man, which reside in his own body.

[5] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, *Rājapāram*. v. 29 and *Vikram*. ll. 42-44.

[6] It is a belief that one who dies on the battle-field goes to heaven. The number of warrior kings who were despatched to the other world by Vīra-Rājēndra-dēva being great, the army of the Dēvas must have been greatly strengthened by these new recruits.

[7] The sea is considered to be the husband of all rivers. Vīra-Rājēndra caused a river of blood to flow from the multitude of human beings he killed in battles, and gave her in marriage to the sea, which pleased the latter very much.

[8] So named because he subjugated the Vallabha (Chālukya) king.

five times,[1] **Rājaśēkhara, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājēndra, Vīra-Chōḷa** and **Karikāla-Chō** . . . . in **Puṟattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttama-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu** in **Rāja Pāṇḍi-nāḍu** . . . . . . to the **Kanyā-bhaṭāraki** . . . . the land, two hundred seventy-one and three-quarters and two *mī* (in extent) comprised in the village of **Naṟṟa kuḍi** in **Puṟattāya-nāḍu** in **Uttama-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu**, together with **Peruṅguḍi-Kīḻkomb** the same *nāḍu*, containing fifty-nine and nine *mī* of land . . . . the emperor (*chakravartti*) śrī-Rājēndra-dēva . . . .

No. 5.—NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

A set of ink-impressions of this inscription was sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Kri Sastri, who had received the original plates for examination[2] from Mr. M. Ramakrishnal M.A., Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The inscription is engraved on **three ob copper-plates**, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the inscribed sides are only very slightly raised into rims. The plates measure 2″ in hei The two first are 7″ in breadth, while the third is cut on the right margin and hence meas only 6⅔″. The plates are strung on a **ring** which is 2⅝″ in diameter, and which is pa through a hole of about ⅝″ in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed in the base circular **seal** of about 1½″ in diameter which bears, in relief, the legend *Śrī-Sarvvasiddhi*, wi crescent at the top and an expanded lotus-flower of nine petals at the bottom. The weight the plates, with ring and seal, is 70 tolas.

The writing is in a tolerably good state of preservation; but some *aksharas*, *anusvā* and vowel-marks are indistinct, and at the end of the first five lines of the third plate, two three letters are lost. The **alphabet** resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya gra A final form of *t* occurs in *-vāsakāt* (l. 1) and *vasēt* (l. 24). The syllable *ṟu* is used in Telugu proper names *Gaṇḍēṟu* (ll. 9 f. and 10), *Vannēṟu* (l. 10), *Niḍupaṟu* (l. 18 f.) *Niḍubaṟu* (l. 11).

The **language** is Sanskrit prose as far as line 19. The last plate contains four Sansk verses. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, except in *-ātti-* (for *-ārtti-*, l. 3), *pravarddha°* (l. *-mantrārtthi°* (for *-mantrārtthē°*, l. 16), *=āryya-* (l. 19), *°bhir=vvasudhā* (l. 22). As the notes the text will show, the rules of Sandhi are frequently neglected. For *-kalāpa* (l. 8) the se requires the instrumental *-kalāpēna*.

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Niḍupaṟu** or **Niḍubaṟu** to the lear Brāhmaṇa Kāṭiśarman (read Kōṭiśarman ?) by **Jayasiṁha (I) Vallabha**, son of **Vishṇuvardha (I)** and grandson of **Kīrtivarman (I)** of the **Chalukya** family. Vishṇuvardhana I bore surname **Makaradhvaja**, *i.e.*, Cupid, whom he is stated to have surpassed in beauty (l. The donor, Jayasiṁha I, had the surname **Sarvvasiddhi**,[3] by which he is designated on the se of his two grants.[4]

The king's order was issued from **Asanapura** (l. 1), and the donee's grandfather was inhabitant of the same town (l. 12).[5] The village granted was included in **Gaṇḍēṟuvāṭī** a

---

[1] [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar reads in l. 426 *mummaḍi* and translates: 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla three ti —Ed.]

[2] See *Ep. Rep.* for 1917, App. A., No. 7 and p. 113.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 97.

[4] See the first paragraph of this article, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137.

[5] The grandfather of the donee of a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II also resided in Asanapura; *Ind. A* Vol. VII, p. 192.

was situated on the river **Vannēru**, north of the **Vyāghra** river, and two *gavyūtis* east of the royal residence of **Gaṇḍēṟu**. The district of Gaṇḍēṟuvāṭī is evidently the same as **Kaṇḍēṟuvāḍi** or **Kaṇḍravāḍi** in other inscriptions from the Telugu country.[1] Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has identified Gaṇḍēṟu, the chief town of this district and the residence of Jayasiṁha I, with the village of Kantēru in the Guntūr Tāluk of the Guntūr District, and the village granted, Niḍuparu or Niḍubaṟu, with the modern Nidamarru 'which is actually about two *gavyūtis* (*i.e.*, eight miles) to the east of Kantēru.'[2] Mr. Sewell informs me that Kantēru is a few miles N. E. of Guntūr near the main road leading to Bezvāḍa, and that Nidamarru is a few miles N. N. E. of it. He is unable to trace the Vyāghra and Vannēṟu rivers, and the town of Asanapura.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-**Asanapura**-vāsakāt svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ **Hārītī**-putrāṇā[ṁ] Mānavya-

2 sagōt[r]āṇāṁ Mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālitānāṁ[4] aśvamēdha-yājināṁ **Chalukyānāṁ** vi[ś]uddha-vaṁ[ś]-ōda-

3 yagiri-śikhar-ōdita-kshitipaty-ahimadīdhitēḥ sakala-jagad-ā[r*]tti-hara-karmaṇa[ḥ]

4 **Śrī-Kīrtivarmaṇaḥ** priya-naptā śaśalāñchhanasy=ēva sakala-jagan-ma[n]ō-nayan-āna-

5 ndana-karasya sva-rūpa-lāvaṇy-āvajita-Makarathva(dhva)jasya **Makaradhvaj-āpara**-nāmnaḥ śrīmad-aida[ṁ*]yugīna-

6 Vishṇōḥ[5] **Vishṇuvardhana**-mahārājasya[6] priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamān-ōdaya-pratāp-ōpanata-sama-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 sta-sāmanta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-maṇi-mayūkha-mañjarī-puṁja-piṁjarita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalaḥ(lō) nija-

8 guṇa-dīdhiti-kalāpa[7] Kaliyuga-dhvāntaṁ nirākarishṇuḥ[8] Ākhaṇḍala iv=ākhaṇḍita-paura(ru)shaḥ pa-

9 rama-brahmaṇyō mātāpitṛi-pāt-ānudhyātaḥ[9] śrī-**Jayasiṁha-Vallabha**-mahārājaḥ(jō) **Gaṇḍē**-

10 **ṟuvāṭyā[ṁ]** **Vyāghra**-nadyāś=ch=ōttarataḥ(tō) **Vannēṟu**-nadyāś=cha tīrē **Gaṇḍēṟu**-rājadhānyāḥ

11 pūrva-dig-vibhāgē gavyūta(ti)-dvayē **Niḍubaṟu**-nāma-grāmam=adhivasataḥ kuḍuṁ(ṭuṁ)binaḥ samavētā-

12 n=ājñāpayati [||*] Viditam=astu vō yath=**Āsanapura**-sthāna-nivāsinō ghaṭikā-sāmānya-

---

[1] See above, Vol. VI, p. 148, and Vol. XII, p. 62.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916-17, p. 115. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 37 and 39, there is a pair of other villages of the same name (Kaṇṭēru and Niḍamarru) in the Tanuku and Bhīmavaram Tāluks of the Gōdāvari District. At my request Mr. Sewell has kindly looked up the Tāluk maps in the British Museum, and he quite agrees with Mr. Krishna Sastri's identification, because the village of Kantēru in the Guntūr District 'is a far more important place than the little out-of-the-way village of the same name in the Tanuku Tāluk of the Gōdāvari District,' and because the two villages of Kaṇṭēru and Niḍamarru in this last district are 'not very close together, and seemingly quite small places.'

[3] From the ink-impressions.

[4] Read °*tānām=*.

[5] Read *Vishṇōr=*.

[6] As there was no room for the group *shṇu* of *Vishṇu*° at the bottom of the plate, the engraver placed a dash (*virāmá*) above *sh* and added *ṇu* after it.

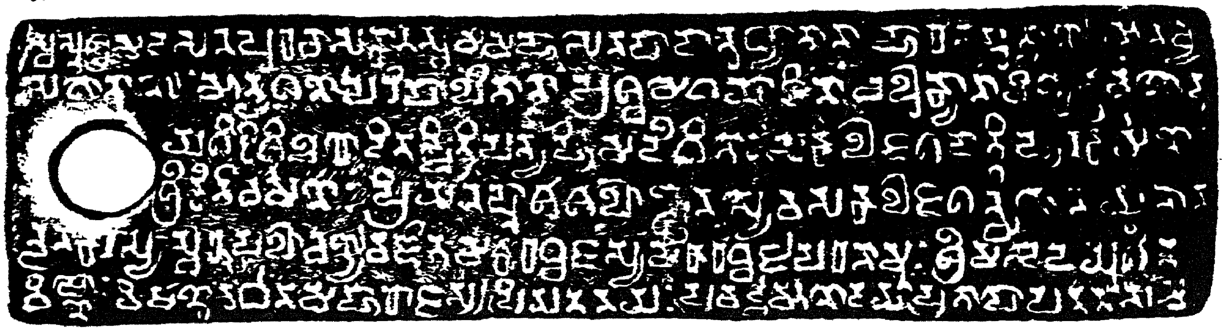
[7] Read *-kalāpēna*.

[8] Read °*rishṇur=*.

[9] Read *-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*.

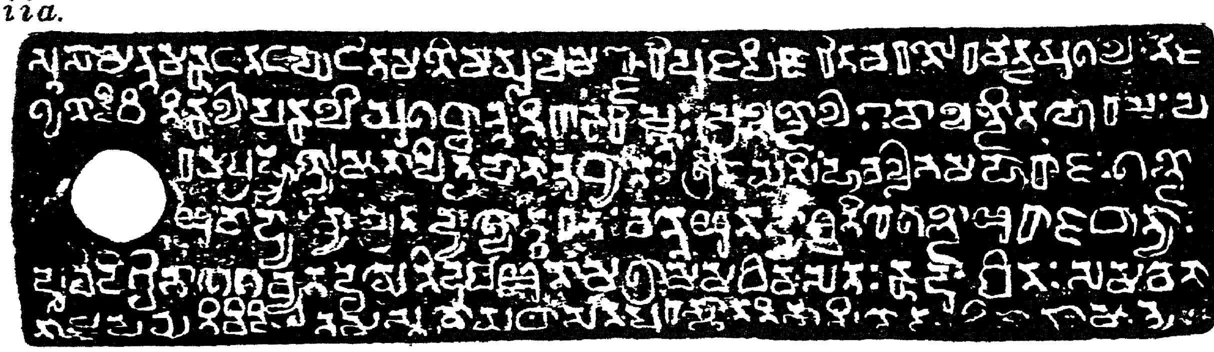
Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I.

i.



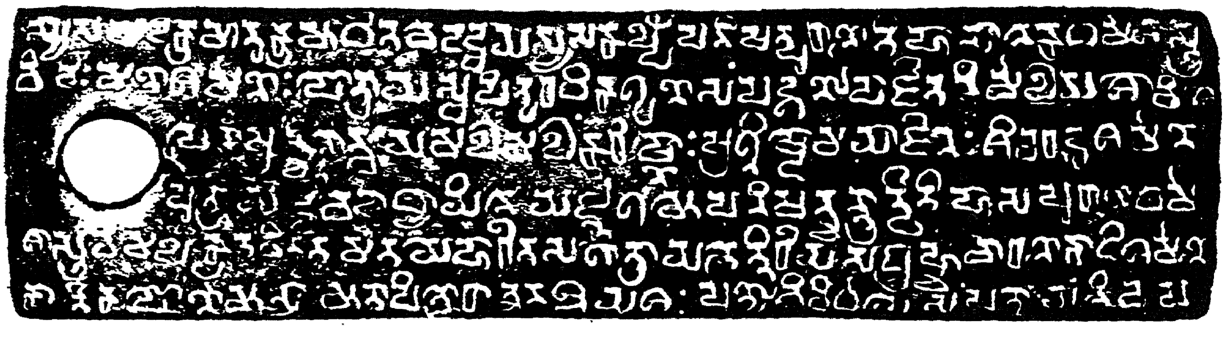
2 4 6

iia.



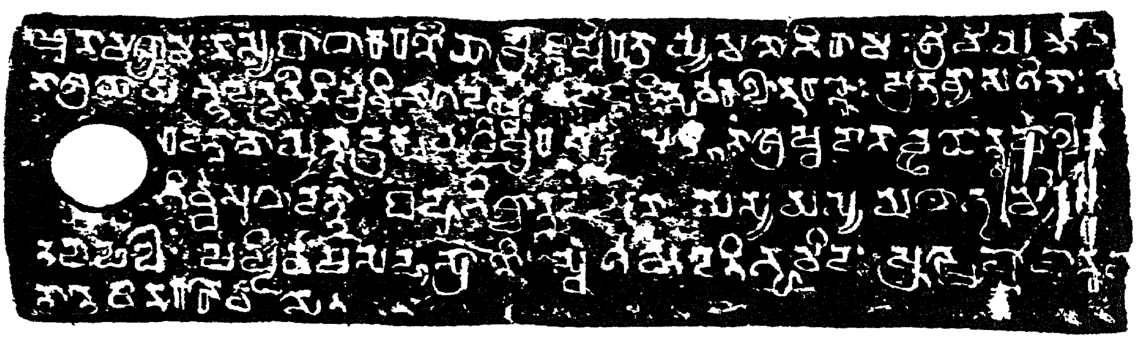
8 10 12

iib.



14 16 18

iii.



20 22 24

SEAL OF THE NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.



SEAL OF THE KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.



Second Plate; Second Side.

13 sya sa-[pa]da-kram-ānukram-ādhīta-vēda-dvayasya sa-kalp-ōpanishat-purāṇ-ētihās-ā dharmaśāstra-

14 Vidaḥ(dō) Maṇ[ḍa]śarmaṇaḥ pautrāya sva-pitur=adhika-guṇa-sampad-gaṇ-ā(ō)pā nirmala-yaśō-viśē-

15 shē[ṇa][1] [ā]tmanō=nvayam=alam=alaṁkarishṇōḥ[2] agnishṭōma-yājinaḥ Śivarudraśarma

16 putrāya dvi-v[ē]d-ādhyāyinē yajñāgam-ōpanishan-mantrārtth-i(ē)tihāsa-purāṇa-dh

17 śāstra-vimalīkṛita-vina(nī)ta-matayē Hārita-sagōtrāya Taittirīya-sabrahmachāra(Kāṭiśarmaṇē

18 Kārtika-paurṇamāsyāṁ mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha yaśaḥ-puṇy-ābhivirdhayē[3] sampr yaṁ Niḍupa-

Third Plate; First Side.

19 ṟu-nāma-grāmaḥ [|*] N=āsya bādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Ājñaptir=atr=āryya-n bhirāmaḥ śrī-vīrya-[m]ā[tsa] . . . .

20 nāśrayō=yaṁ[4] [|*] bhūpēndra-nīti-pravibhāga-dakshaḥ(kshō) [vē]dāṅga-vit=sarva āntaraññaḥ(jñaḥ) [|| 1 ||*] Atra Vyāsa-gītāḥ [||*] [Sva][dattāṁ pa*]-

21 ra-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] [mahīṁ mahī][ma*]tāṁ śrēs dānāch=chh[r*]ēyō=nu[p]āl[naṁ] [|| 2 || Bahu*]-

22 bhir=vvasudhā [da]ttā bahubhiś=ch=ānu[pāli]tā [|*] yasya yasya yathā(dā] b . . [sya] [tasya*][5]

23 tadā phalaṁ [|| 3 ||*] Shashṭi[ṁ*] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarga(rgē) mōdati bh daḥ [|*] ākshēpta ch=ānu[ma][ntā cha*]

24 tāny=ē[va] narakē vasēt [|| 4 ||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail! From (his) residence in the prosperous **Asanapura** (l. 1), **Jayasiṁha-Valla** Mahārāja (l. 9),—the dear son of **Vishṇuvardhana**-Mahārāja (l. 6) whose other name **Makaradhvaja** (l. 5), and the dear grandson of **Kīrtivarman** (l. 4) of the family of the **Ch kyas** (l. 2),—commands (as follows) the assembled ryots inhabiting the village named **Niḍu** (which lay) in (the district of) **Gaṇḍēruvāṭī**, north of the **Vyāghra** river and on the ban the **Vannēru** river, at (a distance of) two *gavyūtis* on the eastern side of the royal resid (*rājadhānī*) of **Gaṇḍēru** (ll. 9-12).

'Be it known to you that, **on the full-moon (tithi) of Kārttika**, (I have) given this vi named **Niḍupaṟu** (l. 18 f.) to **Kāṭiśarman** of the Hārita *gōtra* and of the Taittirīya (*char* (l. 17), son of Śivarudraśarman (l. 15), and grandson of Maṇ[ḍa]śarman (l. 14) who resid the town (*sthāna*) of **Asanapura** and was a member of (its) college[6] (l. 12).' Maṇ[ḍa]śa is stated to have 'studied two Vēdas together with their Pada, Krama, and Anukrama' an have 'known many law-books, together with Kalpa, Upanishad, Purāṇa, and Itihāsa;' Śivaru śarman, to have performed Agnishṭōmas; and Kāṭiśarman, to have 'studied two Vēdas' a have 'purified and trained his mind by sacrificial lore, Upanishad, the meaning of Man Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Dharmaśāstra.'

---

[1] Read *shēṇ=ātmanō*. [2] Read °*rishṇōr=agni*°. [3] Read -*ābhivṛiddhayē*.

[4] Read perhaps *śrī-vīryavān=Sarvajanāśrayō=yam*.

[5] Read *bhūmis=tasya-tasya*.

[6] For *ghaṭikā* see above, Vol. VIII, p. 26 and n. 1; *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, pp. 502, 510 f.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) was . . . . who knew royal politics, the **Vēdāṅgas**, and all arts[1] (verse 1, l. 19 f.). The record ends with three verses 'sung by **Vyāsa**' (l. 20).

No. 6.—ĪPUR PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

I am editing the inscription on these plates from a set of ink-impressions supplied to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates were found while digging in an unspecified village of the Kistna District and now belong to the collection of Mr. Brindavanam Gopalacharlu at Īpūr, a village in the Tenāli Tāluk of the Guntūr District.[2] These are **three** oblong **copper-plates**, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are slightly **raised into rims**. The three plates have a slight inward curvature in the middle of the long edges and measure 6½" by 2½". They are strung on a **ring** of about 3" in diameter, which passes through a hole of about ⅜" in diameter and bears a circular **seal** of 1¼" in diameter. The seal bears, on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Vishamasiddhi* in Telugu characters, with an expanded lotus-flower of seven petals at the bottom and a crescent enclosing a star (or the sun?) at the top. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 35 tolas.

The writing is in a state of good preservation. The **alphabet** resembles that of other Eastern Chalukya grants of the same period. The **language** is barbarous Sanskrit prose, and two verses are quoted in lines 21-24 of the last plate. Owing to the dense ignorance of the drafting clerk, orthography,[3] Sandhi rules, and grammar are disregarded in every line. Still the inscription is an interesting historical document and can be made out almost completely. It records an order issued **in the twenty-third year of his reign** by **Vishṇuvardhana**, son of **Vijayasiddhi**, and grandson of **Vishṇuvardhana** of the **Chaḷukya** family. As Vijayasiddhi is known to have been a surname of **Maṅgi-yuvarāja**,[4] his father has to be identified with **Vishṇuvardhana II**, and his son with **Vishṇuvardhana III**. From the seal of the subjoined grant we learn that the latter—like his two ancestors Vishṇuvardhana I and II—bore the surname **Vishamasiddhi**.

The king's order refers to a grant of a field and of a house-site with a flower-garden to a Brāhmaṇa residing at **Kommara**. The field granted formed part of the village of **Jaḷayūru** in the district of **Plōlnāṇḍu** and was situated to the west of the **Eliyēru** river and to the east of **Kākaṇḍivāḍa**. None of these local names I am able to identify. But the district of Plōlnāṇḍu is evidently the same as **Prōlnāṇḍu** or **Prōlunāṇḍu** near **Piṭhāpuram**.[5]

The grant was made by the daughter of **Maghinduvarāja**, **Pṛithivīpōthī**, who seems to have been one of the queens of Vishṇuvardhana III. The second member of the queen's name cannot have anything to do with Hindī *pōthī*, 'a book.' Perhaps it is a misspelling of *pōtī*, a feminine derivative of *pōta* which is known to have formed part of the names of Pallava kings.[6] I hope I am not considered too bold if I further propose to identify the name of Pṛithivīpōthī's father, Maghinduvarāja, with **Mahēndravarman III**, the Pallava king of Kāñchī.[7]

[1] Perhaps he was a Brāhmaṇa minister of the king. His proper name is uncertain because of the break at the end of line 19 of the text. It may have been Sarvajanāśraya.

[2] See above, Vol. XVII, p. 334 and *Ep. Rep.* for 1920, App. A, No. 10 and pp. 99 ff.

[3] Note the spelling *pavutrāya* for *pautrāya* (l. 13), and *ñy* for *jñ* in *āñyāpayati* (l. 12) and *āñyapti* (l. 24).

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 237.

[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 230, and Vol. V, p. 74.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 341.

[7] Above, Vol. X, p. 4.

The period of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III (A. D. 709—746)[1] would suit this identification. A close connection between both dynasties might be gathered also from the fact that the panegyrical descriptions of kings in the Eastern Chalukya grants remind of those of some Pallava grants.[2]

TEXT.[3]

First Plate ; Second Side.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatā[ṁ*] sakala-bhuvana-saṁstu(stū)yamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrā-
2 ṇ[āṁ*] Hāriti-putrāṇ[āṁ*] Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājy[ā*]nāṁ Mātri(tṛi)-gu-
3 ṇa-paripālitānā[ṁ*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-sam[ā*]sādita-
4 var[ā*]ha-lāñcha(ñchha)nānā[ṁ*][4] aśvamēth(dh)-āvabhri(bhṛi)tha-snāna-pavi[trī*]kri(kṛi)ta-vapushāṁ
5 Chhaḷukhyānā[ṁ*][5] kulam=ala[ṁ]karishṇō[ḥ*] śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārāja-
6 sya sūnōr=anēka-samara-sa[ṁ*]ghaṭṭ-ōpalabdha-yudha(ddha)-vijaya-ya-
7 śaḥ-prasu(sū)ty-[ā*]mōda-gandh-ādi(dhi)vāsita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya[6] śrī-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 Vijayasiddhi(ddhēḥ) priya-tanaya[ḥ*] sva-vikram-[ā]krānta-mahi(hī)-maṇḍalasya ari-
9 timira-pral[a]y[ā]ditya(tyō) yuvati-jana-Makha(ka)radhvaja(jō) vidvaktavi-[8]vipra vandita-[9]pā-
10 ṭaka-[10]jana-Kāmadhēnuni[11] machhchājy-[12][ā]lasya-naishṭūrjyarishya-[13]paiśū(śu)nya-
11 rahita strī-bhāḷa-[14]vri(vṛi)ddha-buddha-praha[r]shaṇi(ṇī)ya-ru(rū)pa[ḥ*] śrī-Vishṇu va[r]ddhana-ma-
12 hārājasya[15] ē[va]m=āñyā(jñā)payati [||*] Kommara-v[ā*]stavy[ā*]ya[16] Ātri(trē)ya-gō
13 trāya [Hi*]rē(ra)ṇyakēśī-sūtrāya[17] Agniśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] pavutrāya[18] Tāḷiśa-[19]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

14 rmmaṇa[ḥ*] putrāya Kēśavaśarmmaṇ[ē*] Plōlnāṇḍu-vishayē Jaḷayūru-n[ā]ma-
15 grām[ē] paśchima-diśāyā[ṁ*][20] Eliyēṟu-nadi(dī)-pa[śch]imata[ḥ*] Prabhākara kshētra-[21]
16 u[ttara]ta[ḥ] Kākaṇḍivāḍa-kshētra-pū[r*]vvata(tō) valmī[ka]-dakshiṇata ētat(ch)-cha
17 tur-avadhi vi[ṁ]śa[t]i-khaṇḍikā-bri(vrī)hi-bīja-pariprāmāṇa[ṁ][22] kshē-
18 tra[ṁ*] śakraṁti-nimittē[23] o(u)daka-pū[r]v[va][ṁ*] [da]tta[ṁ] griṁ(gṛi)ha st[ā](sthā)n[a]ṁ pushpa-vāśi(ṭi)-
19 -kā-sahita[ṁ*] sarvva-kara-parihārē[ṇa*] prava[r]ddhamāna-vijaya-rā-

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 99.
[2] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 237.
[3] From the ink-impressions.
[4] Read °*nānām=*.
[5] Read *Chaḷukyānāṁ.*
[6] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 105, text line 7 f.
[7] Read -*maṇḍalō=ri*-.
[8] Read *vidvat-kavi*-.
[9] Read -*vandi*-.
[10] Read -*pāṭhaka*-.
[11] Read °*dhēnur* =.
[12] Read *mātsary*-.
[13] Read -*naishṭhury-ārishṭa*-.
[14] Read -*bāla*-.
[15] Read °*rāja.*
[16] Read °*vyāy=Ātrēya*-.
[17] Read -*sūtrāy=Agni*°.
[18] Read *pautrāya.*
[19] The syllable *śa* was corrected by the engraver from *rmma.*
[20] Read -*diśāyām=* or -*diśy=*.
[21] Read -*kṣētr-ōttarataḥ.*
[22] Read -*parimāṇaṁ.*
[23] Read *saṁkrānti-nimitta.*

Third Plate; First Side.

20 **jya-saṁvachha(tsa)rē viṁśati-trir-varshē**[1] **śrī-Maghiṁduvarāja**-priya-duhit[ā*]

21 **śrī-Pri(pṛi)thivi(vī)pōthī**-[2]nāma[3] datta[m ||*] Bahubi(bhi)r=vv asudā(dhā) dattā bahubi(bhi)ś=ch=ānu-

22 pālitā [|*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[4] tasya-tasya tadā ba(pha)la[m] [|| 1 ||*] Sva-da-

23 ttāṁ para-dattā vāṁ[5] yyō(yō) harēriti[6] vasundharā[m | *] śashṭir=[7]varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭ[ā](shṭhā)-

24 y[ā][ṁ*] jāyatē kr[i*]mi[ḥ] [|| 2 ||*] Āñya(jña)pti[ḥ*] kaḍa-eṟeya(yō) Vātaṭṭa-nāma(mā) [|*] Tinasya[8] gri(gṛi)-

25 ha-stā(sthā)naṁ datta[m ||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja (l. 11 f.),—the dear son of **Vijayasiddhi** (l. 8), the son of **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja** who adorned the family of the **Chaḷukyas** (l. 5 f.), —orders as follows:—

'**On the occasion of a Saṁkrānti** (l. 18) **in the year twenty-three of (my) reign** (l. 19 f.), a field (and) a house-site accompanied by a flower-garden were given to **Kēśavaśarman** of the Ātrēya-*gōtra* and Hiraṇyakēśi-*sūtra*, who resided at **Kommara** (l. 12) and was a son of **Taḷiśarman** and a grandson of Agniśarman, by **Pṛithivīpōthī**, the beloved daughter of **Maghinduvarāja** (l. 20 f.).' The field granted lay in the western part of the village named **Jaḷayūru** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Plōlnāṇḍu** (l. 14 f.). Its four boundaries were to the west of the **Eliyēṟu** river, to the north of the field of Prabhākara, to the east of the fields of **Kākaṇḍivāḍa**, and to the south of an anthill (ll. 15-17). It required as seed twenty *khaṇḍikās* of paddy[9] (l. 17).

The executor (*ājñapti*) was the chief of the camp,[10] Vātaṭṭa (?) by name. By him the house-site was given to the (donee) (l. 24 f.).

No. 7.—VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA.

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

The record belongs to the Museum of Perth, to the authorities of which I am indebted for permission to edit and reproduce it. It was presented to the Museum some time ago by Mr. J. Greig of Calcutta. The Museum possesses a paper signed by him and containing a copy of a

---

[1] This curious expression is meant for *trayōviṁśē varshe*.

[2] The *th* of *pōthī* slightly differs in shape from the *th* of *Prithivī* and of *aśvamēth(dh)-āvabhri(bhṛi)tha-* in ne 4; but it cannot be *ṛ*, as it has been read in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919-20, p. 99 f. Cf. the *ṛ* of *Eliyēṟu-* (l. 15) and *-eṟeya* (l. 24).

Instead of *-duhitā* (l. 20) and *-nāma* we would have expected *-duhitrā* and *-nāmnyā*. The next word is a superfluous repetition of *dattam* in line 18.

[4] Read *bhūmis=*.

[5] Read *-dattāṁ vā*.

[6] Read *harēta*.

[7] Read *shashṭiṁ*.

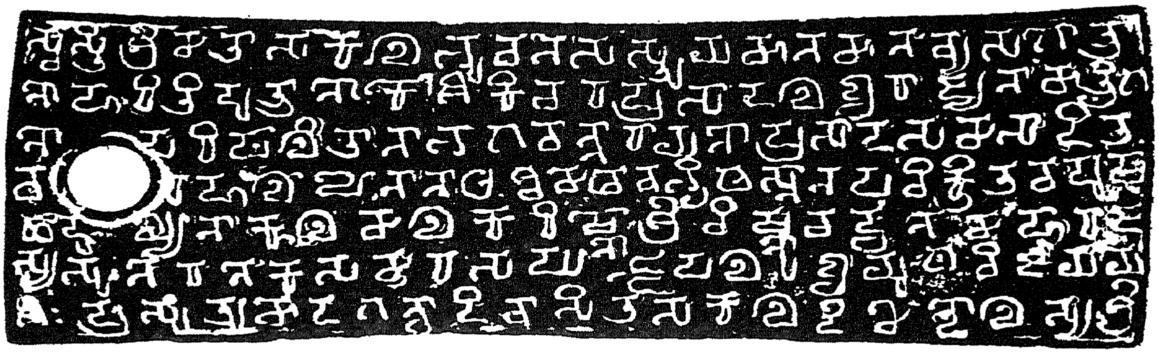
[8] Read perhaps *Tēṉ=āsya*.

[9] Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 121, n. 6, and Vol. XII, p. 62, n. 2. In Vol. X, p. 48, text line 8, read कोड्रव° for कोरद्वे.

[10] As suggested in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919-20, p. 100, *kaḍa-eṟeya* is the same as *kaṭaka-rāja*, 'the chief of the royal camp,' for which see above, Vol. VII, p. 184 f., and Vol. IX, p. 49 f. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v. *eṟe. 1*, the Kanarese noun *eṟeya* (= Tamil *iṟaivan*) is a synonym of the Sanskrit *rāja*.

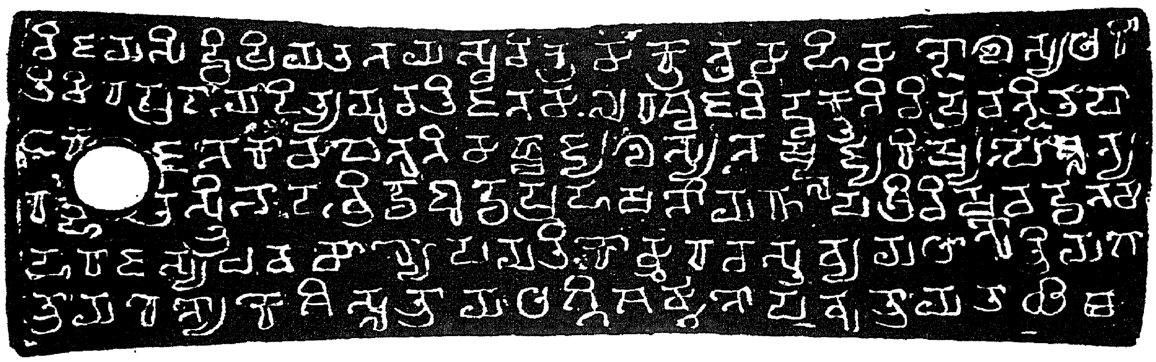
i.

2 4 6



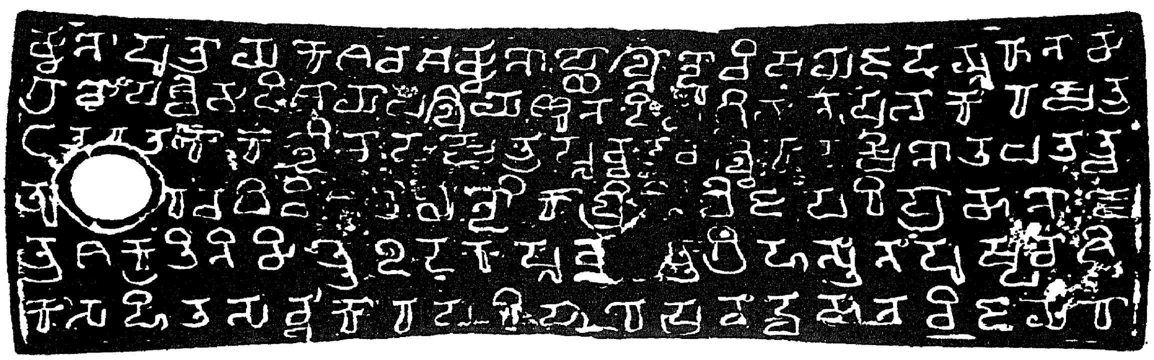
iia.

8 10 12



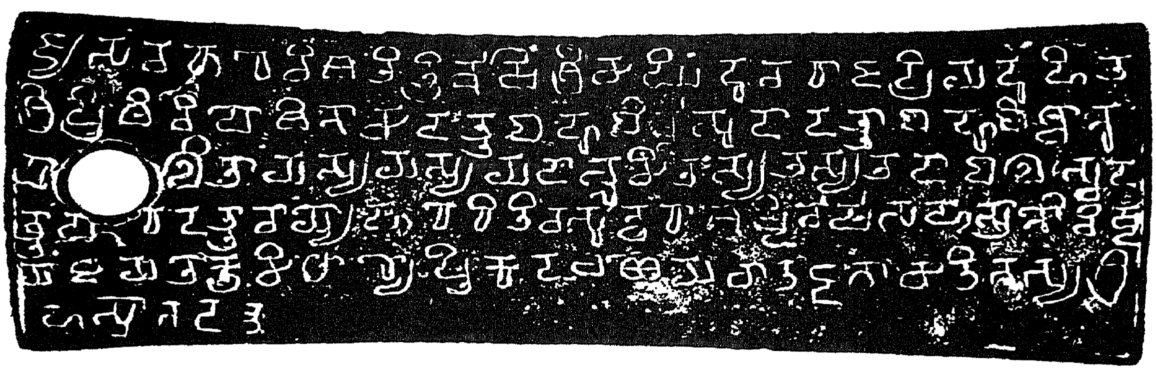
iib.

14 16 18



iii.

20 22 24



somewhat unsuccessful attempt to translate and annotate the plate, which bears the subscri tion: "R. Mittro, Asiatic Society, 6th December 1854," and to which Mr. Greig has prefix the note "Translation of a Copper Plate found in the Indigo Estate at Mallia[1] by one of M James Smith's villagers, and presented to me by that gentleman in January 1855."

It consists of a single rectangular plate of copper, slightly irregular in shape, abo $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. in width and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, with a circular seal about 3 in. in diameter soldered the proper left side. The seal, which is very much worn, shews traces of an upright fem figure, apparently Lakshmī, with either one or two elephants performing the *kumbhābhishē* over her, while in the exergue below there are the remains of a now illegible inscription. T plate itself, which is inscribed on one side only, is in very good preservation, except for a cra running down it, which has been repaired by a small rivet. Two or three letters at the end l. 14 and a whole line of writing immediately following the latter have been deliberate erased.—The characters, which have been picked out comparatively recently with wh paint, are of a well-formed upright Gupta type, apparently of the latter half of the sixth ce tury, and average in height a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ in. In most respects they are archaic enou to justify an ascription to the fifth century; but the forms of the initial *i* (*iti*, l. 11) and t bipartite *y* (*passim*), make the latter date more probable. The conjunct nasals and consonar are used in preference to the simple consonants with preceding *anusvāra* (e.g. *-sambhōga-*, l. *V* and *b* are confused (e.g. *-sāmbatsarē*, l. 2, *Audumvarī[ka-]*, l. 3, but *sa-vrahmachāriṇē*, l. *-vrāhmaṇānāṁ*, l. 8, etc.). Internal *ā* is denoted either by a doubly waving line curving upwar towards the right from the top of the shaft (cf. the 8th and 18th syllables of l. 1), or by a sho upward tick at the right corner of the top (cf. the 14th syllable of l. 1), or by a downward lo from the right corner of the top (cf. the 15th syllable of l. 2). Internal *ē* is represented usual by a waving line similar to the first type of *ā* but in the opposite direction (e.g. the 18 syllable of l. 2), rarely by a perpendicular tick on the left corner of the top (*-svāminē*, l. Internal *ō* is made with the waving *ē* combined with either the ticked or the downwar looped *ā*. The curve of internal *ī* is sometimes single (e.g. *śrī*, l. 2, *-sīmā*, l. 9), sometim double (e.g. *grāmīṇa-*, l. 14). The angularity of the base of the *th* (*dāsyath=ēti*, l. 7) is not worthy; so also is the combination of the syllable *ti* with a following *daṇḍa*, in which the curvi line denoting *i* is carried around the *t* and upwards to the right of it, terminating there in small horizontal tick on a level with the top of the *t* (see ll. 4, 7, 13), a peculiarity which seer to have been affected by Eastern scribes, as we find it again even as late as the Tālchēr plat of Gayāḍa-Tuṅgadēva (see Nagendranath Vasu's *Archæol. Survey of Mayurabhanja*, plate to fa p. 154. and *J. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XII, 1916, No. 6, pl. 4, last line).—The cursive *rya* in *Sūry* (l. 3) is also significant. The language is Sanskrit prose, becoming in parts loose and almc dialectal. As already remarked *b* and *v* are confused. Lexically we may note the words *ākshaya dharman* (l. 6); *gaṅginikā* (l. 9 bis), the modern *gāṅginā*, which possibly may be used here as common noun meaning "dry river-bed" (see above, Vol. XII, p. 66, n. 3, and p. 78, n. 5), b more probably is the name of a particular river (see below); and *tāmra-paṭṭa* (ll. 8, 11, 13, bi which here, instead of its primary meaning of "copper-plate" (as above, Vol. VII, pp. 87, 9 98, Vol. VIII, pp. 152, 157-59), signifies an estate granted under a warrant engraved on copper-plate.[2]

The object of the document is to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vapp ghōshavāṭa granted to the Brāhmaṇ Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīra Svāmin by the Sāmanta Nārāyar bhadra, and is dated in the reign (the word qualifying the *saṁvatsara* is unfortunately effaced

[1] As I am unable to locate "Mallia" with certainty, I have judged it advisable to designate this charter by name of the village granted in it.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. II, p. 333, *grāmaṁ . . . tāmrakam . . . lēbhē* The word *paṭṭa* by itself is someti used to denote a piece of land: cf. *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 104 & n.

of king **Jayanāga**, who was at the time residing in **Karṇasuvarṇaka**, and who, to judge from his title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, must have been a ruler of considerable importance. The document was drawn up in accordance with Narāyaṇabhadra's instructions by his commissioner (*vyavahārin*) **Sūryasēna**. On the principles of this administrative hierarchy the student may profitably compare the observations of Mr. Radhagovinda Basak in his paper on the Dāmōdarpur Plates (above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff).

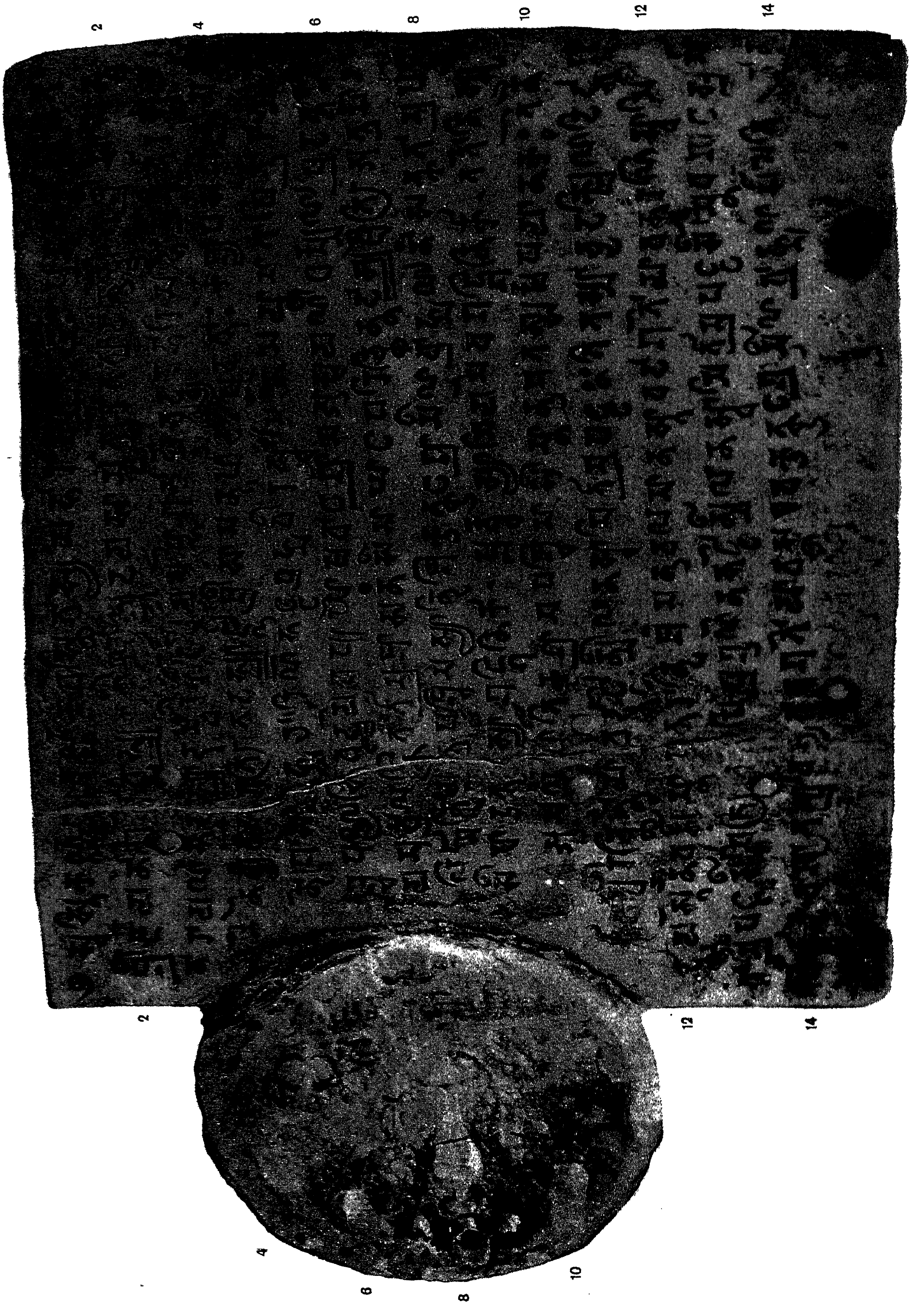
Of Jayanāga we know nothing from other sources. But Mr. John Allan has suggested to me that he may be the same as the king whose coins, described in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*), pp. lxi., civ., cvi., cxxiii, 150-51, and pl. xxiv, bear on the obverse the abbreviated name *Jaya* and on the reverse a seated Lakshmī with an elephant sprinkling her. This connection seems highly probable. In any case, the present document furnishes an important fact concerning the early history of Karṇasuvarṇa, which, taken in connection with the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 65), supplies material for interesting speculation.

The names of places mentioned, besides **Karṇasuvarṇaka** (l. 1), are the **Audumvarika-vishaya** (l. 3); the villages of **Vappaghōshavāṭa** (l. 6), **Kutkuṭa-grāma** (ll. 8, 14), and **Amala-pautika-grāma** (l. 10) ; **Gaṅginikā** (l. 9, bis), literally " river," which here is perhaps used as a proper name ; the **Sirshapa-yānaka** or " mustard-channel" (l. 10); and the pool of **Vakhaṭa-Sūmālikā** (ll. 13-14). On the geographical position of Karṇasuvarṇaka, the ancient capital of the kingdom of the same name, see T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 191-93, and H. Beveridge, *The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa*, in *J. A. S. B.*, 1893. pp. 315 ff., the latter of whom identifies it with Rāṅgāmāṭi, near Murshidābād, which is said to have been formerly known as Kāṇsōṇā or Kānsōnā, a name which phonetically corresponds perfectly to *Karṇasuvarṇaka*, through an intermediate Prakrit form *Kaṇṇasoṇṇaa*.[1] On the other names I am indebted to Mr. S. K. Chatterji, M. A., D. Lit., for the following observations. The Gaṅginikā seems to be the river Jalaṅgī, a branch of the Ganges or Padmā which unites with the Bhāgīrathī near Nadiyā, the classical Navadvīpa. The Bengali poet Bharatachandra Raya (c. 1740 A.D.) in his *Annadā-maṅgala* (pp. 136 and 151 of Muktārāma Vidyāvāgīśa's edition, Calcutta, 1857) speaks of the ancestors of the Rājās of Nadiā as living in the *parganah* of Bāgwān (Bāgoān) at a village called Ānduliyā : " Gaṅgā herself *i.e.* the Bhāgīrathī to the west, to the east the Gāṅginī ; there is the village of Baḍagāchī ; opposite to it, on the other side of the river, is Ānduliyā." In the Survey map of the Nadiā District. Bāgwān is a village in the Meherpur sub-division, and close to it, on the two sides of the Jalaṅgī, are the villages of Baḍagāchī (" Burgachee ") and Ānduliyā (" Andooleea "), as stated by Bharatachandra. It seems likely that this river Jalaṅgī is the Gaṅginikā of the present record. North of Bāgwān, at some distance from the Jalaṅgī, is an important village named Gāṅganī, which may possibly preserve the name of the Gaṅginikā. Rivers in the plains often change their courses. None of the other place-names can be located. But it may be noted that Vappaghōshavāṭa (*vappa* is the Bengali *bāp*, "father," and *ghōsha-vāṭa*="dwelling of herdsmen") would be a likely village-name in Southern Murshidābād and Nadiā, where there was much cattle-breeding. A Ghōshpāḍā exists in the south, on the Bhāgīrathī, and is well known as the home of the founder of the Kartābhajā sect ; cf. Gōās (i.e. Gō-vāsa or Gōpa-vāsa) in Nadiā and Murshidābād, Gōāḍī (i.e. Gōpa-vāṭikā), a suburb of Krishnagar, near Nadiā town, etc. An extended stem *Vakhaṭaka* is apparently the origin of the Middle Bengali place-name *Bahaḍā* or *Bahaṛā*, in Modern Bengali *Bay(a)ḍā* or *Bay(a)ṛā*, which is found in the names of e.g. Jōt-Bayṛā,[2] opposite Kumārkhālī

[1] This identification is not accepted by Mr. Manmohan Chakravartti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1908, p. 280 f. But he admits that in quite recent times a suburb of Murshidābād was named Karṇasuvarṇa (see v. 2 of the preface to Rādhākānta's *Śabda-kalpa-druma*).

[2] *Jōt* is from *yōktra*, " yoke of oxen," hence a measure of land ; but the name is sometimes falsely sanskritised into the pretentious *Yadu-Bayarā*.—S. K. C.

Vappaghosha-vata Grant of Jayanaga.



in the Kushtiyā sub-division of Nadiā; Bayṛā on the Kabadāk or Kabatākh, in the **Bongong** (Vanagrāma) sub-division of Nadiā; Hāṭ-Bayṛā (i.e. Haṭṭa-Vakhaṭaka), and elsewhere.

TEXT.[1]

1 (symbol) Svasti **Karṇṇa[s]uvarṇṇak-āvasthitasya** mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ(ja)-parama-bhāgavata-
2 śrī-**Jayanāga-[d]ēvasya** . . ī . [bh]yudaya-sāmbatsarē[2] tat-pād-ānuddhyāta-śrī-sāmanta-
3 **Nārāyaṇabhadrasy=Audumvarīka-[visha]ya**-sambhōga-kālē cha [ta*]d-vyavahāri-mahā-pratihāra-**Sūrya**-
4 **sēnē** vyavaharati | tad=asy=ājñā śrī-sāmanta-pādaiḥ pradattāḥ(ttā) Kāśyapa-sagōttrāya Chhā-
5 ndōga-savra(bra)hmachāriṇē **bhaṭṭa-Vra(bra)hmavīra-svāminē** mayā mātā-pitlrōr=ātma[na]-
6 ś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē **Vappaghōshavāṭa-grāma** ākshayaṇi-dharmmaṇā pra-dattaḥ visha-
7 ya-mudr-ālaṅkri(ṅkṛi)ta-tāmra-śāsanaṁ sīm-āghāṭa-parichchhinna[ṁ*] dāsyath=ēti | attra sīmā-
8 liṅgāni yattra paśchimasyāṇ=diśi Kutkuṭa-grāmīṇa-vrā(brā)hmaṇānāṁ satka-tāmra-paṭṭa-
9 sīmā utta[ra]syāṁ gaṅginikā . pūrvvasyām=iyam=ēva gaṅginikā . tatō nissṛitō
10 Āmalapautika-grāma-paśchimā(ma)-sīmn=ānugatas=Sarshapa-yānakaḥ . tēn=ai[va sī]-
11 [mn]ā [sa]mparichchhinnō yāvad=**Bhaṭṭ-Ōnmīlana-svāmi**-tāmra-paṭṭa iti tasmāch=cha dakshiṇa-diṅ(g)-bhāgā-
12 d=bhūyas=tēn=aiva sīmnā uttarāṇ=diśam=anuvalamānas=tāvad=āgatō yāva[d*] **Bharaṇi-svāmi**-
13 tāmra-paṭṭa-sīm=ēti | tatō=pi praguṇēna **Bhaṭṭ-Ōnmīlana-svāmi**-tāmra-paṭṭa-sīmni Vakhaṭa-[S]ūmā-
14 likā-dēva-khātam=praviśya tāva[d*] gatō yāva[t*] sa ēva Kutkuṭa-grāmīṇa-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-sīm=ēti . . .
15 (Effaced)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year of the rise . . . of the Great Emperor, the supreme worshipper o the Lord, the fortunate king **Jayanāga,** when he is resident at **Karṇasuvarṇaka,** at the time tha the Baron **Nārāyaṇabhadra,** who meditates upon his feet, is in the enjoyment of the **Audumba rīka province,** his commissioner the Mahāpratihāra **Sūryasēna** acting as administrator: the com mand given to him by the noble Baron is as follows: "The village of **Vappaghōshavāṭa** has bee given by me to **Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīra Svāmin,** a member of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and colleague o the Chhāndōgas, for the increase of the merit of my mother, my father, and myself, as a perpetua endowment[3]: you are to give (*a deed engraved on*) a copper-plate adorned with the seal of th province and specifying the boundaries." The signs of the boundary therein are: on the wes the boundary of the grant belonging to the Brāhmaṇs of Kutkuṭa-grāma; on the north, th river-bed; on the east, the same river-bed; issuing thence and running along the wester boundary of Āmalapautika-grāma, (*the boundary*) is the Sarshapa-yānaka; it is limited b

[1] From the plate.
[2] Read *saṁvatsarē*.
[3] Apparently *ākshayaṇī-dharman* denotes the same form of tenure as *akshaya-nīvī* or *nīvī-dharma*, on whic see Mr. Radhagovinda Basak's note above, Vol. XV, p. 131, n. 8.

the same [boundary], as far as **Bhaṭṭa Unmīlana-svāmin's** grant; from the south thereof, (*the boundary*), turning along further by the same boundary to the north, proceeds as far as the boundary of **Bharaṇi-svāmin's** grant, thence in a straight line enters the pond of Vakhaṭa-**Sīmālikā** on the boundary of **Bhaṭṭa Unmīlana-svāmin's** grant, and goes as far as the same **boundary of** the Brāhmaṇs of Kutkuṭa-grāma.

No. 8.—NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined two inscriptions are engraved on the south wall of the Śiva temple at **Nīḍūr**, a village situated on the north bank of the Kāvērī in the Mayavaram taluk of the Tanjore district. This temple is one on which the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār of the 8th century has composed hymns. Though the preservation of the records is not good, there are enough traces left in them to make out the inscriptions almost completely. It would have been certainly much better if they had not suffered damage. I am editing the inscriptions from impressions secured during the field season of 1921-22 by Mr. A. S. Ramanathier of the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and registered as Nos. 534 and 535 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year, where, however, the importance of these metrical records has not been noted.

The two inscriptions are dated in the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa**. The king bears no distinguishing epithets: but to judge from the characters employed, the records appear to be of the time of **Kulōttuṅga I**, who reigned from A.D. 1070 to 1119. The high regnal years 46 and 38 given to the king in these records also point to the same conclusion. As will be shown below, the inscriptions are of great value to students of Tamiḻ literature as they almost fix the time of one of the most important works on Tamiḻ Prosody.

Inscription A is dated in the 46th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa and registers that a certain **Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ**—called also **Miḻalai-nāṭṭu-Vēḷ**, **Toṇḍai-Kāvalaṉ**, and chief of **Kuḷattūr** (**Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** in B)—caused to be made of stone the shrine of **Śoṉṉavāṟarivār** and constructed a pavilion for expounding the **Purāṇas** in the temple at **Tillai**, *i.e.* Chidambaram. Incidentally reference is made to the Tamiḻ Prosodist **Amudasāgara** and his work **Kārigai** which was begun and completed at Kuḷattūr as well as to the construction of the temple at Nīḍūr with stone, by the same chief, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Chōḷa king (*Nēriyaṉ*).[1]

Inscription B, which is dated in the 38th year of the king's reign, states that this same Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ—who receives here also the epithets *Miḻalai=nāṭṭu-Vēḷ* and *Toṇḍai-Kāvalaṉ*—is stated to have built the excellent stone *vimāna*[2] at Nīḍūr. This inscription further tells us that Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ was the *marumagaṉ* (*i.e.* nephew or son-in-law) of an un-named person at whose instance **Amudasāgara-Muṉi** of **Tamiḻ** fame composed the work called **Kārigai**, and was the chief of **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** in **Śiṟu-Kuṉṟa-nāḍu** in **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam** (*i.e.* the ancient Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam).

The mention of the name of the **Jaina** teacher **Amudasāgara-Muṉi** and of his composing the work **Kārigai**, by which is no doubt meant the well known Tamiḻ work on Prosody **Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai**, is of great interest inasmuch as it enables us to determine the age when that author flourished. The fact that Amudasāgara was a contemporary of the uncle or father-in-law of Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ shows that he lived in the 12th century A.D., the date

[1] *Nēriyaṉ*, *Śeṉṉi*, *Poṉṉi-tturaivaṉ* and *Nēri-verpaṉ* are some of the synonyms of "Chōḷa," according to the Tamiḻ lexicon *Chūḍāmaṇi-Nigaṇḍu*. (See *Makkaṭpeyar-toguḍi*, v. 19.)

[2] By *vimāna* is meant 'the temple' for the other inscription uses the word *kaṟṟaḷi* in its place.

Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai is generally believed to be a much earlier work. In discussing the date of *Chūḷāmaṇi*, one of the five smaller *kāvyas* of Tamiḻ, the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai wrote the following :[1]—

"Several stanzas from the *Chūḷāmaṇi* have been cited as examples in the *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti* and in the commentary[2] written in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 by Guṇasāgara on the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* of Amudasāgara which was based on *Yāpparuṅgal-avirutti.* As it is known from the introductory verse of the *Chūḷāmaṇi* that that work was composed during the reign of Vijayarāja who ruled from the city of Kārvēṭinagar in Chōḷamaṇ-ḍalam and as that city was earlier than Uṟandai, the work must be not less than 1,500 years old."

It is not possible to ascertain whence Mr. Damodaram Pillai obtained the date "between Śaka 200 and 300" for Guṇasāgara's commentary and what his authority was for the statement that "Kārvēṭinagar in Śōḷamaṇḍalam was earlier than Uṟandai (*i.e.* Uraiyur)." There are literary evidences to show that Uṟaiyūr in the Trichinopoly district and Kāvirippūm-paṭṭiṉam in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were the capitals of the Chōḷas prior to Tanjore. But there is none so far to the effect that Kārvēṭinagar was even a famous city. Neither was this situated in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam. Evidences, both literary and epigraphical, would point to Kārvēṭinagar having been included in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. We shall discuss the upper limit of Guṇasāgara's age after citing the opinion of Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar on the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai.* Writing on the age of **Maṇḍalapurusha**, the author of the Tamiḻ *Nigaṇḍu*, he says that "there are ample reasons that confirm that **Amṛitasāgara** could not have lived before the 10th century A.D."[3] and it is pretty certain that he must have with him materials to prove his point. These are the only two definite pronouncements that we know of regarding the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, besides the statement of Mr. Narasimhacharya which will be referred to later on.

It is interesting to note here the account preserved in the Tamiḻ literature respecting Amudasāgara and his work. From the invocatory stanza of his work it is learnt that the author was a Jain, for it is addressed to the Arhat under the shade of the Aśōka tree[4]. Guṇasāgara, the Jain commentator on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, has the following say on the name of the work and the method adopted in its composition :—

"Like the Prākrit grammar *Pāḷittiyam* and *Piṅgalam* otherwise called *Chhandōpiśitam*,[5] this work (i.e. *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*) is made of *Kārigai*[6] verses; and like the *Karnāṭaka Chhandas Guṇakāṅkiya*, each stanza is addressed to a female and is concise. It cites examples like the *Mahēśvara-Yāppu*[7] ; like the *Śeyyuṭṭuṟaikkōvai* of Tamiḻ music; like the *Vargakkōvai*[8] of the Ashṭakas in the Vēdas and like the *Nīṭaka-ślōkas* of the *Rūpāvatāra*, it gives the commencing portions of the verses cited as examples. As the *Nirutta*

---

[1] See his introduction to the work.

[2] For citations of the *Chūḷāmaṇi* stanzas in the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, see the comment on verse 13 of *Uṟup-piyal*, v. 13 of *Śeyyuḷiyal* and v. 6 of *Oḻibiyal*.

[3] Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIII, page 490

[4] *Nandamaḍivil kaḍi-malar-ppiṇḍi-kkaṇṇ-ār-nilaṟ-kīḻ*
andam-aḍigaḷ-iṇaiy-aḍiy-ētti eḻutt=aśai śīr
pandam=aḍi toḍai pāv-iṉaṅ=kūruvaṉ pallavattiṉ
sandamaḍiyar-aḍiyāṉ maruṭṭiya tāḻ-kuḻalē.

[5] [Perhaps Chhandōvichiti.—Ed.]

[6] The word *Kārigai* means beauty, woman, the metre called *Kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai* and the work on prosody known as *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. It is here used in the sense of the last. According to the *Amara, Kārikā* means *Vṛitti*. In Sanskrit it means the concise statement in verse of any certain doctrine.

[7] Though this work is not now extant, stray stanzas from it are found quoted by Guṇasāgara himself in his commentary, *e.g.* see his comment on v. 17.

[8] *Kōvai* is a short verse indicating the commencement or end of a passage ; or sometimes the number and order of words or sentences in the Vēdas and Upanishads. It is both an aid to memory and a measure of the contents.

(i.e. *Nirukta*) is to the Vēdas, as the *Kārikās* are to the Vyākaraṇa, as the *Nālaḍi* Forty is to Avinaya's *Yāppu*, so is this work a component part of, and a jewel to, the Prosody called *Yāpparuṅgalam*; it is hence called by the name *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. The author who is stated to have made into *Kārigai* the great ocean of Āriyam (Sanskrit Prosody) and rendered it in Tamiḻ, was a saint who bore the name Amudasāgara-Āchārya. The work is divided into three chapters, *viz.*, *Uruppiyal*, *Śeyyuḷiyal* and *Oḻibiyal*; there are 44 *kārikās*, containing 90 *granthas* and 28 letters,—a *grantha* being equal to 32 letters inclusive of vowels and vocalic consonants, excluding non-vocalic consonants. Of the 44 Kārigai, 21 commence with *nēr-aśai* (long syllables) and have in each foot 16 letters exclusive of non-vocalic consonants; and the remaining 23 verses begin with *niraiy-aśai* (short syllables) and have in each foot 17 letters: thus making in all 2,908 letters (which when divided by 32 give 90 *granthas* and 28 letters)."[1]

From the extract given above, it will be observed that Guṇasāgara, the commentator on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, was acquainted with Piṅgala's *Chhandōvichiti*, the *Rupāvatāra* and the *Guṇakāṅkiya*, a work on Kanarese Prosody. By Piṅgala[2] may be meant either the earlier Sanskrit Pingala or the Prākṛit Pingala[3] on which was based Nāgavarma's *Chhandas*.[4] There were more works than one bearing the name *Rūpāvatāra*. The author of one of them was Dharmakīrti, who has been identified by Prof. M. Rangacharya with the Buddhist *bhikshu* of that name who flourished in the court of Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon, and who, as such, belonged to the 13th century A.D. It is worth pointing out that a lithic record found at Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, detailing a boarding educational institution maintained in the temple at that place, states that as many as forty students were learning the *Rūpāvatāra*[5] and this must refer to an earlier work bearing that name and cannot refer to Dharmakīrti's treatise mentioned above. The best way to take it is that *Rūpāvatāra* was the name of a subject taught and that there were some treatises written bearing the name of the subject, one of which being earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D. and another belonging to the 13th century A.D. It is not certain which work Guṇasāgara alludes to in his commentary. If it is to the latter, he should have lived after the 13th century A.D. As regards *Guṇakāṅkiya*, Mr. R. Narasimhacharya has shown that Nāgavarma, called also Nākiga, the author of the Kannaḍa work *Chhandōmbudhi*, flourished during the reign of the Western Gaṅga kings Rāchamalla and his younger brother Rakkasa-Gaṅga; and that his patron was Chāmuṇḍa-Rāja, his own elder brother. He, therefore, belongs to the end of the 10th century A.D. when also lived Bhōjarāja of Dhārā, who is said to have made a present of horses admiring the author's other work *Kādambarī*. It appears to me that the most relevant say on the authorship and time of the Karnāṭaka *chhandas Guṇakāṅkiyam* is what has been made by Mr. Narasimhacharya who in his introduction to *Kāvyāvalōka* identifies its author with Nāgavarma, the earliest writer on Kanarese Prosody, and the work Guṇakāṅkiya with *Chhandōmbudhi*, equating Guṇakāṅka (Guṇagāṅka) with Rakkasa-Gaṅga (Intr., pp. 5 f.). He has also shown from internal evidence that Nāgavarma was a resident of Śaiyaḍi, a village in the Western Gaṅga territory, though his grandfather is stated to have belonged to a village in the Vēṅgi country. It may be noted also that this *chhandas* of Nāgavarma bears the description given above by Guṇasāgara.

[1] This mode of noting the contents of a work is not common to Tamiḻ writers but is peculiar only to Sanskrit. The commentator's knowledge of Sanskrit and Prākṛit *chhandas* shows that he was a good Sanskrit scholar.

[2] See Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 376, and the 8th Vol. of Dr. Weber's '*Indische Studien*.'

[3] Kittel is of opinion that this work is later than the Sanskrit Piṅgala but not later than the 6th century A.D., *i.e.* the time of Varāhamihira.

[4] See Kittel's introduction to the work.

[5] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, Part II, pp. 145-6.

Śēkkiḻār in the time of the Chōḷa king Anapāya,[1] identified with Kulōttuṅga II.[2] It is very likely that the *maṇḍapa* referred to in A is the same as this thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*, though we cannot be sure that the *purāṇa* expounded in it was the *Periyapurāṇam*. If the identity of Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I instead of with Kulōttuṅga II could be conceded, then the *Purāṇa* referred to in our inscriptions might be the *Periyapurāṇam* itself. In this connection it may be pointed out that the titles or surnames *Abhaya* and *Anapāya* are found applied to the Chōḷa king who was the contemporary of Śēkkiḻār.[3] We have references to gifts made by the author of the *Periyapurāṇam* and his brother Pālarāvāyar in two inscriptions[4] which come from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and Kaḷappāḷ (Mannargudi Taluk), where the full names of the donors are given as Śēkkiḻāṉ Ammaiyyappaṉ Parāntakadēvaṉ *alias* Karikālaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṉ of Kuṉṟattūr in Kuṉṟattūr-nāḍu, a district of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu and Śēkkiḻāṉ Pālaṟāvāyaṉ Kaḷappāḷarāyaṉ of Kuṉṟattūr in Kuṉṟattūr-nāḍu. The shrine of **Śoṉṉavāṟaṟivār** in the temple at Chidambaram referred to in inscription A may have been built in honour of the visit of the Śaiva saint Śēramāṉperumāḷ-Nāyaṉār who was also called Kaḷaṟiṟṟaṟivār of which Śoṉṉavāṟaṟivār is only a synonym. It is recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* that the Chēra king visited Chidambaram, Tiruvārūr and many other Śaiva places in company with Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār.[5] From the Tamiḻ work *Tiruppādirippuliyur-Kalambagam*, we learn that there was a shrine of Gaṇapati called Soṉṉavāṟaṟivār in the Śiva temple at Pādirippuliyūr[6] (Cuddalore). But there could not be a reference to this shrine in our inscription as the phrase *Tillaiy-ambalattē vaḍakīḻppāl* (*i.e.* on the north-east side of the temple at Chidambaram) clearly shows that the shrine referred to in our epigraph was situated in the Chidambaram temple.

TEXT OF A.[7]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Kūri][8]ya[v=u]lag-anaittaiyuṅ=kuḍai-kkīḻ-ā-
2 [kkiya] **Kulōttuṅgaśōḷarkk**=āṇḍ=**oru-nā**[ṟ]**patt**-**ār**-adan-iḍai t**Tillai-ambalat-**
3 **tē**[9] vaḍakīḻ[p*]pāl pōr-iyal-amattadu **Śoṉṉavār-aṟivār**-kōyilum purāṇa-nūl-virikkum
4 puriśai-māḷigaiyum variśaiyāl viḷaṅga=pporuppināl viruppura=chchēdōṉ **Nēriyark**=āṇ-
5 ḍ=ēḷ-aiñj=u[ḍa]ṉ-mūṉṟinil nigar-ilā=kkaṟṟaḷi **Nīḍūr**-nilāviṉārk=amaitta nilāviṉāṉ=
6 **Amudasāgaran**=eḍutta . . togutta-**Kārigai kKuḷattūr**-Maṉṉavaṉ Toṇḍai-
7 kāvalan Śiṟukuṉṟa-nāṭṭ . . karpagam Miḻalai-nāṭṭu Vēḷ=āṇḍava-
8 ṉ **Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavanē**[10] [||*]

TEXT OF B.[11]

1 Svasti śrī ஓ Eṉ-ḍiśai-ulagai oru-kuḍai-niḻaṟkīḻ iruttiya **Kulōt-**
2 **tuṅgaśōḷaṟk**=iyāṇḍ=**oru-muppatt-eṭṭiṉiṟ**=Chōṇāṭ-iśai
3 vaḷar Tiruvindaḷūr-nāṭṭ=uṉ . . . . ḍai nīḍiya **Nīḍūr** Umaiyō-
4 ḍu-nilāviṉa-Perumāṟk=uvandu . . . . lai malai[y*]-eṉa=chchilaiyāl-utta-

[1] See *Periyapurāṇam* where it is stated that it took one full year to read the work in the *maṇḍapa*.
[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, p. 60.
[3] Veṉṟi-veṉ-kuḍaiy-Anapāyaṉ śeyya-vēl-Abhayaṉ (*Periyapurāṇam, tirumalai-chchiṟappu*).
[4] No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and No. 445 of the same collection for 1912.
[5] See the life of Śēramāṉperumāḷ-Nāyaṉār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.
[6] See verse 1 of this book where Śoṉṉavāṟaṟiyum-yānai means the elephant-(faced god called) Śoṉṉavāṟaṟivār.
[7] This inscription is registered as No. 535 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.
[8] These two letters are almost completely worn out in the original; but as it ought to rhyme with *pōriya*, *Nēriya* and *Kārigai* and alliterate with *ku*, they have been pretty surely filled in.
[9] The *ē* sign is in the previous line.
[10] This is a *viruttam* in fourteen *śīr*, the measure being *viḷam-mā-viḷam-mā-viḷam-viḷam-mā* repeated twice in each foot.
[11] This inscription is registered as No. 534 of Appendix B of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22.

In any case, from internal evidence alone, it might be said that Gunasāgara could not have written his commentary on *Yāpparungalakkārigai* in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 as stated by the late Mr C W Damodaram Pillai. Now that we have definite information that Amudasāgara wrote his work in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I (A D 1070—1119), it is clear that Guṇasāgara should have commented on it in still later times, *i. e.* after the beginning of the 12th century A D. An earlier Gunasāgara-Bhatāra, also a Jain by religion, is known from inscriptions. He figures as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ in two inscriptions[1] of Kaḻugumalai in the Tinnevelly district, dated in the 3rd year of the king's reign This Gunasāgara,[2] who flourished long before his namesake—the commentator on the *Yāpparungalakkārigai*—seems to have made a gift of land for meeting the expenses of feeding certain *Vairāgyas* (?) who were required to expound the *Siddhānta* From palæographical grounds as well as from references made in these epigraphs to the tank *Vīranārāyana-ēri* evidently called after Parāntaka I and the field called *Uttamaśōḻaṉ* it might be inferred that this Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ must have been a successor of the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha III in whose reign the bigger Śiṉṉamaṉūr copper-plates were issued

Besides settling the date of the Tamiḻ work *Yāpparungalakkārigai*, the extract given above from the commentary of Guṇasāgara enables us to know definitely the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Chhandōvichiti* which is referred to by Dandin in his Kāvyādarśa (First Parich. v 12) and which has been considered by some to be one of Daṇḍin's own works, while others regard it to be an earlier treaties. As Guṇasāgara states that *Chhandōpiṭita (Chhandōvichiti)* is otherwise called *Pingalam*, it is clear that the latter name must have been derived from the name of its author who must have been no other than Pingala and by *Chhandōvichiti* must be meant Pingala's *Chhandas Śāstra*, if there was not a different work of the name *Chhandōvichiti* by the same author.

Of the places mentioned in the two inscriptions, **Nīḍūr,** as stated already, is in the Māyavaram Taluk, and is reputed as the birth-place of one of the 63 Śaiva saints called Muṉaiyaḍuvār who gave away all the wealth acquired by him to Śiva temples and Śaiva devotees[3] **Tiruvindaḷūr,** the district in which Nīdūr was situated, is a village near Nīḍūr. It is very likely that the epithet **Kārigai** was applied to Kulattūr in commemoration of the composition of the work at the place or by the fact of its gift to the author. I am not sure if we can identify this place with Kulattūr, a village near Nīḍūr. **Miḻalalai-nāḍu** is stated to be a sub-division of Virudarājabhayankara-valanāḍu in an inscription of Vēppattūr[4]

Śiṟukuṉṟa-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuṉṟattūr-nāḍu, whence Śēkkiḻār, the author of the Tamiḻ *Periyapurānam*, hailed.[5]

In connection with the construction of the pavilion at **Tillai** for expounding the **Purānas** it is interesting to note that according to the Tamiḻ *Periyapurānam* the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* in the temple at Chidambaram was the place where originally that work was first expounded by

[1] Nos. 116 and 117 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894

[2] No 45 of the same collection refers probably to a female disciple of this Gunasāgara-Bhaṭara.

[3] See the life of Muṉaiyaḍuvār in the *Periyapurānam*.

[4] No 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

[5] Kulattir-periyōr pēr-padaitta gunattiṟ periyōr kodai-pperiyōr
talattir-periyōr-Anapāyaṉ-ṟaḷaitta-samugantaṉil āṟi
ppalattiṟ-peṟu pañchākkara nil-pṟḍiyiṟ Periyapuranattai
valattiṟkulav-arang ēṟṟi-vaittāi Śoḻa-maṇḍalamo.

v 76, *Śōḻamandalaśadagam*

Viṉṉiṟ-piṟakkum pugaḻ kKuṉṟa-nādaṉ viḷaṅgu Tamiḻ ppaṉṉir-piṟakkum
Periyapurāṇam pagarndapirāṉ.

v 19, *Tondaimandalaśadagam.*

Oṟār mali Puliyūr kkōṭṭa naṟ-Kuṉṟattūril ulla tirar valamali-pākkiḷavōṉ pugal Chēkkiḻavon

v 66, *Tondaimaṇḍalaśadagam.*

5 ma-vimāṇam=iṅg-amaittāṉ [taṉ-Ḍa[1]]mil-Amidasāgara-Muṉiyai Jayaṅgo-
6 ṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu=ttaṉ-Śiṟukuṉṟa-[nāṭṭu][2] ttirutti . . . . [3]
7 nūṟ-Kārigai avaṉāṟ=kaṇḍavaṉ-marumāṉ **Kārigai-Kuḷat[tūr]=**
8 kkāval-nilāvināṉ evarkkuṅ=karuṇaiyun=ti[yāgamuṅ][4]=kāṭṭiya Miḷa-
9 lai-nāṭṭu-Vēḷ **Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉē**[5] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

Hail! Prosperity! In the forty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who had brought under (his) parasol all the known worlds, **Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ,** the *Vēḷ* of Miḷalai-nāḍu, and the ruler of Toṇḍai, who had earned fame by constructing in the year seven times five added to three (*i.e.* 38) (*of the reign*) of the **Nēriyaṉ** (*i.e.* the Chōḷa king), the incomparable stone temple of the resplendent god of **Nīḍūr,** who was the chief of **Kuḷattūr,** where **Amudasāgara** began [and] completed (*his work*) **Kārigai,** and who was (*as it were*) the *kalpaka* (wish-giving tree) to the people (?) of Śiṟukuṉṟa-nāḍu, was pleased to construct of stone the shrine of **Śoṉṉavāṟaṟivār** in the great . . . . . . on the north-eastern side of the hall (*ambalam*) at **Tillai** and the walled pavilion (*in it*) where works on *Purāṇas* were expounded and which were thus made to appear extensively splendid.

B.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **thirty-eighth year** (*of the reign*) of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa,** who had brought the world with its eight quarters under the shade of his single (*i.e.* incomparable) parasol, **Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavaṉ** the *Vēḷ* of Miḷalai-nāḍu, who was the nephew (or son-in-law) of him that caused the fine work **Kārigai-[Yāppu]** (prosody), to be composed by **Amudasāgaramuni** of **Tamiḻ** fame, who was the chief of **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** ...... Śiṟukuṉṟa-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam and who showed mercy and generosity to all, was pleased to construct an excellent stone *vimāna* as high as a mountain to the god who was resplendent with (*his consort*) Umā at **Nīḍūr** of high (mansions) and . . . . (situated) in Tiruvindalūr-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōṇāḍu.

No. 9.—A NOTE ON MANIGRAMATTAR OCCURRING IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

The word *Maṇigrāmam* was first met with in some copper-plates belonging to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. It is found, for instance, in the plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and of Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartti preserved in the Seminary at Kōṭṭayam. The meaning of this word was discussed by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in his article on the plates mentioned above, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, Part II. In it he takes the word to mean what he believes to be one of the four immigrated merchant tribes and quotes in support of it the following extract from the *Payyanūr-paṭṭōla*, an old Malayāḷam poem:—

Chāvāḷarē-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
chaṅṅātam vēṇam perigay=ippōḷ
Kōvātalachcheṭṭi Añjuvaṇṇam
kūṭṭam Maṇikkirāmattār-makkaḷ
nammaḷāl nālu nagarattilum
nālarē-kkoḷka-kkuḍikku chērnnōr.

---

[1] The letters in brackets are much worn out and the traces would admit the reading given.
[2] *Nāṭṭu* has been filled in with references to inscription A.
[3] This gap may be filled up with the syllables *yāppu*.
[4] The traces for *yāgamuṅ* are very faint and doubtful.
[5] *ē* is expletive. The metre is the same as in A.

which he translated thus :—"* * * * Strong guards (or companions) are now required (to) take the children of the Gōvatala-Cheṭṭi, of Añjuvaṇṇam and of the Maṇigrāmam people, who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns."[1] The later view of Dr. Gundert regarding the meaning of the terms Maṇigrāmam and Añjuvaṇṇam is that they are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Drs. Gundert and Burnell later on took the persons denoted by the term Añjuvaṇṇam as the colony of the Jews and that denoted by Maṇigrāmam as that of the Christians. It was Mr. Venkayya who first rejected the idea. But he has not expressed his opinion as regards the religion of the members of the *Maṇigrāmam*; nor are we able to infer from his comments on the plate of Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartti whether he took them for Christians or Hindus. Some time after the interpretation given to the term *Maṇigrāmam* by Dr. Gundert, the Rev. Peet made the following observation on it :—"*Maṇigrāmam* is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māṇikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *maṇi* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a sub-division of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaeans, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon."

Some years ago I copied the inscriptions in the rock-cut Śiva temple at **Tiruveḷḷaṟai** and gave them to the late Pandit S. M. Naṭēśa Śāstri for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. In one of them belonging to the reign of a **Rājakēsarivarman** the following passage occurs :—

> Tiruveḷḷaṟai Tiruvāṇaikkal-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ-uchcham-bōdu amudu-
> śeydaruḷumbōdu Vēdam-vallāṉ oru Brāhmaṇaṉai ūṭṭuvidāga Uṟaiyūr
> Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṉ Āchchaṉ ivv-ūr-kkallāl vachcha poṉ
> añpadiṉ-kaḷañju [||*] poṉṉiṉ paliśaiyiṉāl . . . . . .[2]

Here Nārāyaṇaṉ Āchchaṉ is said to belong to the community of Maṇigrāmam of Uṟaiyūr.

The next reference to Maṇigrāmam is in a stone inscription in **Siam**; this inscription has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April **1913**, and states that (the tank) Śrī-Nāraṇam was placed under the supervision of the Maṇigrāmattār and the Śēṉāmukhattār. Thus far are the references in inscriptions to the words *Maṇigrāmam* and *Maṇigrāmattār*.

The word *vaṇigagrāmattār* (a clear mislection of *Maṇigrāmattār*) is given, as an instance of *kuḻuviṉ peyar* (the name denoting a community), by Nachchiṉārkkiṉiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* (*sūtra* 11, *Peyariyal*)

In medieval Tamiḻ literature, the word *Maṇigrāmattār* occurs in the grammar called *Nēminādam*. In the commentary on verse 31 of that work we find the words *araiyagattār*, *attikōśattār* and *maṇigrāmattār*[3] given as instances of *kuḍiyārpēr*, that is, of the common appellation of groups of men or communities. This grammar was composed in the reign of the king Tribhuvanadēva,[4] that is, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1178 to 1216).

---

[1] I would prefer to translate the passage thus: "You are going a long distance like the *sāvāḷar* and you (therefore) necessarily want escort; the chief Cheṭṭi of Kōva, Anjuvaṇṇam-kūṭṭam, the children of Maṇigrāmam and ourselves—we of the four *nagaram*—are the only four communities esteemed as Kō-kkuḍi (families held in high estimate by the king)."

[2] Nārāyaṇaṉ Āchchaṉ, a member of the Maṇigrāma community of Uṟaiyūr, gave (to the temple) fifty *kaḷañju* of gold for feeding a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vēdas at the time the god of the Tiruvāṇaikkal is offered the mid-day offerings; the gold was weighed by the standard stone of the town of Tiruveḷḷaṟai in which the temple is situated.

[3] These are the very examples given also by Nachchiṉārkkiṉiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*.

[4] [We know of Tribhuvanavīra-dēva—another name for Kulōttuṅga III—but not of Tribhuvanadēva.—Ed.]

From the above extracts the chief points to be noted are :—

1. That the *Payyanūr paṭṭōla* does not name the four communities mentioned in it as professing Christianity or any other religion; it simply implies that there resided four communities closely allied to each other by similarity of interests, namely, trade, etc.

2. That the Maṇigrāmam community is not peculiar to the Malabar Coast alone and that it was found in the interior also, as evidenced by the Tiruvellarai inscription.

3. That Hindu institutions were placed under their protection, which would not be possible if they belonged to the Christian community[1]; and

4. That it is simply the name of a certain corporation or community, perhaps engaged in trading, like the Valañjiyars, as Mr. Venkayya suggested.

The Rev. Mr. Peet opined, as already referred to, that the Maṇigrāmakkārs were originally Christians and that a sorcerer, Māṇikkavāchakar, converted them to Hinduism. It is hard to believe that the conservative Hindus, who in these days of free thought refuse to take back even converted Hindus into Hinduism, would in those ancient times have consented to take wholesale communities of entirely alien religionists into their fold. Again, it is well known, that Māṇikkavāchakar never visited the Malabar Coast; the religious discussion in which he took part was with the Bauddhas of Ceylon, and that was at Chidambaram, according to the *Vādavūrar-purāṇam*.

If *Maṇigrāmattār* in the Tiruvellarai inscription, were to be taken as the name of a Christian trading community of the Malabar Coast, how was it possible for Nārāyaṇan Āchchan, who, from his name, may certainly be taken to be a Hindu and not at all a Christian, to belong to the Christian community of traders of the Malabar Coast, but living then in Uṟaiyūr? Again, how could the tank mentioned in the Siam inscription bearing the distinctly Vaishṇava name of Śrī-Nāraṇam, meant evidently for the use of the Hindus, be placed under the protection of the Christian traders of Malabar then residing in Siam?

In dealing incidentally with the Siam inscription I beg to differ from the interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch, and offer the following fresh reading of it as I am able to make out from the impression reproduced by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

1\. . . . . [ya]varmatku [y] . . . . .
2\. . . . [m]ān tān nañ[gu] rayai . . . . .
3\. . . [t]toṭṭa kuḷam [||*] pēr Śrī-
4\. Nāraṇam [||*] Maṇikkirāmattār-
5\. [k*]kum Śēṇāmugattārkkum
6\. [ku]la[t*]tārkkum aḍaikkalam [||*]

Dr. Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarman* in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Maṇigrāmattār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar Coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Ravivarman. That this notion of his was the cause of the mistake is corroborated by the following extract from his paper: "Maṇigrāmam occurs in Tamil inscriptions of the Malabar Coast; as shown by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, it is the designation of a trading corporation." Later on he adds: "We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the Western Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Vishṇu." Again, he remarks: "If the words which I have given are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained

[1] [The fact that some persons or a body of men were required to protect a certain gift or charity made to an institution of a particular nationality cannot by itself argue that the men belonged to that nationality. If this wrong premise is allowed to stand, Maṇigrāmattār can well be said to be Christians because they were required to protect the gift made to the Christian church of Tarusāppaḷḷi in the Sthāṇu Ravi plates.—Ed.].

"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with the Gōthakābhaya of the *Mahāvaṁśa*, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Māṇikkavāśagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendents of those families, who are still known as Maṇigrāmakārs, are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A. D. 270. If that date be at all nearly correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of the arguments from the history of Tamil̤ literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Māṇikkavāśagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.[1] If he really lived so early, his relation with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

Evidently the name Saṅghamitra, occurring in the *Mahāvaṁśa*, could not belong to the Jain or Hindu community; but since he is called a Tamil̤ heretic therein, we must take him to be a Mahāyānist, who, to the Hīnayānist, is a heretic. There is nothing against his being a Tamil̤ Buddhist, but it is impossible to identify him with a Tamil̤ Hindu, as was attempted by Mr. K. G. Sesha Ayyar. The description of Saṅghamitra as "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth" clearly evidences his mastery of the Bauddha Tāntrism and never points to a Hindu. Māṇikkavāśakar refers to Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya twice in his *Tiruchchiṟṟambala-kkōvai* and this Varaguṇa is the same as the Varaguṇa-Mahārāja who was crowned in A. D. 862; and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that Māṇikkavāśakar lived in the first half of the 10th century.[2]

No Tamil̤ work dealing with the life of Māṇikkavāśakar states that he went to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. They are uniform in asserting that he went to Tirupperunduṟai, or the modern Āvaḍaiyārkōyil, in the eastern part of the Presidency. He must have gone to purchase horses brought down from Pegu and other places in the east—places which were familiar to the Tamil̤s. It is only when the Arabs came to the West Coast in mediaeval times that horses were imported from Arabia. Till then the chief sources of the supply of horses must have been the Eastern Archipelago and Burma.

No. 10.—INSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM GOPALPUR.

BY THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The village of **Gōpālpur** is situated some three miles to the south-east of Bherāghāt popularly known as 'The Marble Rocks,' in the Jubbulpore District; it lies on the right bank of the Narmadā. The village contains only a few scattered houses: owing to its secluded position the place is seldom visited by travellers or tourists. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer archæologist, however, seems to have visited the spot in the winter of 1874; for in one of his reports he gives an account of an inscribed stone tablet of the Chēdi dynasty which, he says, was discovered there previously by Professor Hall.[3] It was this fact alone which induced me to explore the place while I was encamped at Bherāghāt some eight years ago. Although, unfortunately, the inscription in question could no longer be traced, I was lucky enough to discover within a fortified enclosure, which, I learnt, was then in the occupation of a certain *sādhu*, named Vindhya-sūri, five elegantly carved stone images of the mediæval period. At

[1] *Ibid* pp. 73--79., and pp. 53—55; and Mackenzie. p 138. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Māṇikkavāśgar lived not later than the fourth century (*Tam. Ant., ut. supra, p.* 54).

[2] See my article on the "Age of Māṇikkavāchakar" in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1905.

[3] *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

the remaining portion." This statement appears to me to be doubtful, for the inscription, as in the case of many others, begins with the name and regnal year of the king, and at the most, a few words such as *svasti śrī* and *yāṇḍu* and the numeral expressing the regnal year and the first portion of the name of the benefactor, the capitalist who dug the tank, all amounting to about five or six words could be supposed to have been lost. Dr. Hultzsch interprets Sēnāmukha according to Winslow's Tamiḻ Dictionary by (1) 'the front of an army', and (2) 'a division of an army'. Its meaning may be settled, however, from the following quotations, to be the name of a military cantonment. The *Mayamata* says :—

सर्वजनैस्सङ्कीर्णं नृपभवनयुतं तदेव तथा ।
बहुरक्षोपेतं यत् सेनामुखमुच्यते तज्ज्ञैः ॥

And the *Kāmikāgama* defines it thus :—

राजवेश्मसमायुक्तं सर्वजातिसमन्वितम् ।
गुह्यप्रदेशसंयुक्तं सेनामुखमिहोच्यते ॥

Consequently, the place where the tank was dug was perhaps a military cantonment, consisting of a large Hindu population, and this latter was exhorted to protect the charitable institution, *viz.*, the tank Śrī-Nāraṇam. Dr. Hultzsch says that "*Nāraṇam* is a neuter formed of *Nāraṇaṉ*, a *tadbhava* of the Sanskṛit *Nārāyaṇa*, and means 'a temple of Vishṇu'", but Śrī-Nāraṇam is distinctly stated to be a tank and not a Vishṇu temple.

The translation of the record must be "(The year) . . . . . of (the reign of the king) . . . . . yavarman . . . .; . . . . . . man . . . . dug a tank in our . . . . Its name is *Śrī-Nāraṇam.* This is placed under the protection of the Maṇigrāmattār, the Śēṇāmugattār and (his own) descendents".

We thus see that there is no ground for taking the Maṇigrāmattār to be exclusively the merchants of the West Coast of Southern India; they were found wherever trade flourished. Nor were they Christian, since Hindu institutions were placed under their protection.

From the foregoing discussion, we arrive at the conclusion that Maṇigrāmam never meant or implied a community of immigrated Christian merchants who were received and settled by a Malabar king in his country and that they were peculiar only to the Malabar Coast.

Regarding the *Maṇigrāmattār* Mr. Vincent A. Smith, collecting facts from the articles of a number of writers on the subject, adds an appendix (M) to chapter IX of his *Early History of India*. In it he summarises his opinion on the word thus :—

"Historical traditions of India and Ceylon, when read together, seem to carry the evidence for the existence of the Church in Malabar back to the third century. We learn from the Ceylonese chronicle the *Mahāvaṁśa* (ch. xxxvi), composed about the beginning of the sixth century, that in the reign of king Gōthakābhaya or Mēghavarṇābhaya whom Geiger places in A. D. 302-15, a learned Tamil heretic overcame an orthodox Buddhist theologian in controversy and gained the favour of the king, who placed his son under his tuition. The *Mahāvaṁśa* represents the victor in the disputation as being a monk named Saṅghamitra, 'versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth'. Mr. K. G. Sesha Ayyar interprets this statement as meaning really that the successful controversialist was a Hindu, and identifies him with the famous Śaiva saint Māṇikka (or Maṇi-) Vāśagar.[1] The Tamiḻ account of that personage affirms that the saint actually converted the king of Ceylon towards the end of his career. That king may be identified with Gōthakābhaya, and it is possible that the author of the *Mahāvaṁśa* may have misrepresented the Śaiva Hindu Māṇikkavāśagar as Saṅghamitra, a Buddhist heretic.

[1] *Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 54. The writer does not cite the statement in the *Mahāvaṁśa* correctly. The Tamil legend is given *ibid*, p. 66, and in Pope, *Tiruvāśagam*, p. xxxi.

the time when I noticed these images they were almost completely buried under the ground. However, sufficient remained visible to prove that they possessed great archæological value and were worth acquiring for the Central Museum at Nagpur, which contained scarcely any Buddhist specimens of this period. I, therefore, had them extricated from the earth and carefully cleaned. And my trouble was more than repaid by the discovery of dedicatory records on three of them.

Four of these images represent the **Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara**, while the fifth is that of his consort **Tārā**. They all wear elaborate ornaments and are seated in an easy posture under a richly decorated canopy, consisting of seven umbrellas rising one above the other like the familiar *hti* on Buddhist stūpas. Numerous attendant figures are ranged on all sides and portrayed as paying devotion to the main deity in the centre. From their technique and the scheme of decoration it appears that they are products of the "Magadha school."

As I have already remarked, only three of the sculptures bear dedicatory inscriptions, and of these latter, two contain barely the Buddhist formula "*ye dharmā hētuprabhavā*," etc. The remaining one is more detailed and, therefore, more important. The characters are **Nāgarī** and belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Subjoined are a transcript and translation of this record.

TEXT.

Line 1 Yē dharmā hētuprabhavā hētu[ṁ] tēshāṁ **Tathā[ga]tō** hy=avadat [*] tēshā[ṁ] cha yō nirō[dha*] ēva[ṁ] vādī **Mahāśrava(ma)[ṇa]ḥ** || [Dē]yadha[r]mōyam pravara-mahājānujāyi[naḥ][1]

2 param-ōpāsaka-kāyastha-śrī-**Subhakta[sya]**[suta-śrī-Satka(kta)-davvā(dauvā)rikā(ka) **Dēnuvāyā** [Ya*]d=atta(ttra) puṇyaṁ [ta]d=bhavatv=ā[ch]āry-ōpā[dhyā]ya-mātāpitri(tṛi)-pūrvva[ṅga]maṁ [kṛi]-

3 tvā sakala-satva-rā[śēr]=anu[tta]ra-jñā[n-ā*]vāpta[yē=stu][2]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Whichever phenomena are cause-born, of them the cause the **Tathāgata** (Buddha) alone has said, and what annihilation also there is of them. Such is the lore of the **Great Śramaṇa** (Buddha).

Ll. 1-3. This [is] the pious gift of the follower of the renowned Mahāyāna school, the gate-keeper **Dēnuvā**, devoted to the illustrious Satka[3], son of the great lay-worshipper, the famous Subhakta, a *kāyastha*. Whatever merit there is herein, let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom by all classes of sentient beings, particularly, beginning with my spiritual guide, my preceptor and my parents.

No. 11.—THE GHUGRAHATI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMACHARA-DEVA.

BY NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

An article on this plate by Mr. R. D. Banerji, under the title 'Kotwālipārā spurious grant of Samāchāra-Dēva', with a prefatory note from Mr. H. E. Stapleton, appeared with a facsimile plate in the August, 1910 number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, wherein Mr. Banerji upheld Dr. Bloch's opinion (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1907-8, p. 255) that the plate wa a forgery.

---

[1] Read °*yān-ānuyāyinaḥ*.

[2] One of the two verbs *astu* or *bhavatu* (l. 2) must be cancelled.

[3] Possibly Satka or Śrī-Satka was the name of the master under whom Dēnuvā served as a gate-keeper.

Three other copper-plates[1] of a similar nature had, however, been found in the Faridpur district in 1891 and 1892 and been purchased for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoernle. These, after various vicissitudes, were taken in hand by Mr. Pargiter and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of July, 1910, in a very able and critical article. The publication of these plates necessitated reconsideration of Mr. Banerji's propositions, which he did in an article published in the *J. A. S. B.*, June, 1911. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Pargiter published an article in the August, 1911 number of the *J. A. S. B.*, which was based on the first article of Mr. Banerji and was evidently written before Mr. Pargiter had occasion to see Mr. Banerji's second article. In it, Mr. Pargiter very ably defended the genuineness of the Faridpur plates and published a revised reading of the **Ghugrāhāti** plate, which went a long way towards clearing it from the aspersion of ambiguity and unintelligibility cast on it by Mr. Banerji. Mr. Pargiter also showed, by discussing the palæography of the grant, that it was not spurious, but a perfectly genuine one. Mr. Banerji answered this article in his paper entitled "Four forged grants from Faridpur" in *J. A. S. B.*, Dec., 1914, but had no better success than before in maintaining his ground. The recent discovery of five plates from the village of Damodarpur in the Dinajpur district of Bengal, and their publication by Prof. R. G. Basak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, must perhaps induce Mr. Banerji now to reconsider his decision, as these plates bear close family resemblance to the Faridpur plates both as regards palæography and documentary form. In this article I shall not only try to furnish additional reasons, if any are at all required, for the recognition of the Faridpur plates as genuine, but also hope to identify the Mahārājādhirāja Samāchāra-dēva as one of the kings who took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India towards the end of the 6th Century A. D. It will be seen that in the presentation of the text and translation also, I have been able to improve upon Mr. Pargiter's reading of the plate in several important points.

I refrain from giving the usual description of the plates, its orthography, etc., since these have been completely dealt with by Messrs. Banerji and Pargiter, but proceed at once to give the text which I have read from the original plate, now in the Dacca Museum. Before doing so, I give, in brief, the contents of the inscription. It refers itself to the **14th year** of the reign of a hitherto unknown emperor **Samāchāra-dēva** who is styled **Mahārājādhirāja.** In that year, **Jīvadatta** was the viceroy or governor in **Navyāvakāśikā**, which appears to have been the Divisional head-quarters. The District Officer in the district of **Vāraka-maṇḍala** approved by **Jīvadatta** was **Pavittruka.** The latter was assisted in his administration by **a District Court** presided over by the **Judge Dāmuka.** The affairs of the village or locality to which this refers, were in the joint care of a number of Elders (*Vishaya-Mahattarāḥ*), of whom six are mentioned as in the second plate of Dharmmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, July, 1910 p. 200). Other men of experience in the village had also a say in village affairs. These represented the villagers and like the Panchayets of the present day, transacted the ordinary civil and criminal affairs of the village.

Supratīka Svāmī, a Brahman, approached the District Court presided over by Dāmuka as well as the Elders[2] and men of experience of the locality and applied for a piece of waste land of that locality for settling himself on it. The Elders and the men of experience decided to give him the piece of land free of any consideration, and after authorising Kēśava, Nayanāga and

[1] All my attempts at determining the exact find-spot of these three plates have hitherto been unavailing. Dr. Christie, Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his letter No. 2234 of the 26th September, 1919, informed me that the plates had originally belonged to one Mohiluddin and were purchased from Abdul Kak Abid, but he could not tell me in which particular village the plates were found.

[2] It deserves to be noted, as already noted by Mr. Pargiter, that the name-endings of these Elders were Kuṇḍa, Pālita, Ghōsha, Datta and Dāsa, all of which are to be met with in the surnames of the present day *Kāyasthas* and *Navaśākhas* of Bengal.

others to mature the transaction on their behalf gave the piece of land to Supratīka Svāmī. The transaction was ratified by the District Court by the issue of a copper-plate deed. The measurement of the land, which was situated in the village of Vyāghrachōraka, is not given; but it included the whole of that place, minus three *kulyavāpas*, which had already been granted to some one else and which were, therefore, separated before the present grant was made.

TEXT.[1]

Obverse.

1 ९ स्वस्त्यस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे नृगनहुषययात्यम्बरीषसम-

2 धृतौ महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमाचारदेवे प्रतपत्येतच्चरणकरल-[2]

3 युगलाराधनोपात्तनव्यावकाशिकायां सुवर्ण्ण[3]वो [4]थ्याधिकृतान्तर-

4 [5]ङ्गउपरिकजीवदत्तस्तदनुमोदितक[:*] वारकमण्डले विषय-

5 पति[:*] पवित्त्रुको यतोस्य व्यवहरत: सुप्रतीकस्वामिना ज्येष्ठाधि-

6 करणिकदामुकप्रमुखमधिकरणम्वि[6]षयमहत्तरवत्स-

7 कुण्डमहत्तरशुचिपालितमहत्तरविहितघोषशूरद[त्त*]-[7]

8 महत्तरप्रियदा[8]स्तमहत्तरजनार्द्दनकुण्डादय: अन्ये च

9 वहव: प्रधाना व्यवहाणश्च[9] विज्ञाप्ता इच्छाम्यहं भवता[10] प्रसा-[11]

10 दाच्चिरो[12]वसन्नखिलभूखण्डलकं वलिचरुसत्त्रप्रवर्त्तनाय[13]

11 ब्राह्मणोपयोगाय च ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य तदर्हथ प्रसादकर्त्तु[14]-

12 मिति यत [15]एनदभ्यर्थनमुपलभ्य ग्रंथो[16]परिलिखिता-

---

[1] From the original plate.

[2] Read *kamala*.

[3] The second *ṇa* looks like a *ta* and is probably a sign for doubling.

[4] Mr. Pargiter read *vōthyā*, but on a comparison with the other *ō* and *ī* marks used in this inscription, it would appear that the correct reading is *vīthyā*.

[5] Read °ङ्गोपरिक

[6] [Read °करणं विषय.°—Ed

[7] The omission of the adjective *mahattara* before the name Śūra-Datta, is probably due to carelessness. The *ū* mark is indicated by the sign for *u* accompanied by a short horizontal stroke or dot below, to the right. Here, the left limb of the *u* mark is curtailed for want of space, and of the two dots to the right, one is probably a natural depression.

[8] The engraver originally inscribed *Priyadāsa*, which was subsequently emended to *Priyadatta*, with the result that the word now appears like *Priyadāsta*.

[9] Read *vyavahāriṇaścha vijñaptā*. [Rather, we must read *vijñāpitā* as in the Damodarpur Plate—Ed.]

[10] Read *tāṁ*.

[11] Only the left half of the letter *sā* is seen. The other half was not engraved on the plate for want of space.

[12] Read *rā*.

[13] The letter *nā* at first sight appears to be *ni*, but it is in reality *nā* as it should be. Compare the other long letters in the inscription, especially *syā* in l. 1.

[14] Read प्रसादं कर्त्तु°

[15] Read *ētad*. [This correction is unnecessary—Ed.]

[16] Mr. Pargiter had much trouble with this word which cannot be anything else than *ग्रंथो*. The left loop of *ya* is clearly visible in the original plate, but is incised much shallower than the other letters.

Reverse.

13 र्व्यैर्व्यवहारिभिः सस्मृत्य[1] सावटा[2] श्वापदैर्जुष्टा राज्ञोधम्मर्थं[3] निष्फला

14 या तु[4] भोग्योकृता भूमिर्न्नृपस्यैवार्थधर्म्मकृ[5]तदस्मै ब्राह्मणादा[6]यतामि-

15 त्यवधृत्य करणिकनयनागकेशवादीन्कुलवाराम्भकस्य प्राक्काम्रपट्टी-

16 कृतक्षेत्रकुल्यवापत्रयंमपास्य[7] व्याघ्रचोरकौ[8] यच्छेषं तच्चतुःसीमा-

17 लिङ्गा[9]निर्द्दिष्टं कृत्वास्य सुप्रतीकस्वामिनः ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य प्रतिपादित[10]

18 सीमालिङ्गानि चात्र:[11] पूर्व्वस्यां पिशाचपर्कटी दक्षिणेन विद्या-

19 धरजोटिका पश्चिमायां चन्द्रवम्म[12] कोटकोणः[13] उत्तरेन[14] गो-

20 पेन्द्रचोरकग्रामसीमाचेति ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः षष्टिम्वर्षसह-[15]

21 स्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता वा तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।

22 स्वदता[16] म्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु[17]न्धरां स्वविष्ठाया[18] कृमिभूत्वा[19] पितृभि[20]

23 सह पच्यते ॥ सम्वत् १० ४ कार्त्ति दि २[21] ॥

---

1 The word, as Mr. Pargiter very reasonably brought out, is undoubtedly *sȧṁsmṛtya*, but the projection of the perpendicular stroke of *sa* upwards, cannot be taken as an *anusvāra* as the other *sa's* in this incription have also this peculiarity. The *anusvāra* over *sa* seems to have been left out through the engraver's mistakes. [The reading is सम्मत्य and not सस्मृत्य. I do not see the ṛ=sign of स्म on the impression—Ed.]

2 Mr. Pargiter's suggestion of *shaṭā* here as the irregular instrumental case of the numeral *shash* is inadmissible, as it would give *shashā*. The second letter of the word looks like *ba*, but it has also a very close resemblance to *pa*, occurring in the same line. If it is a *ba* which has in no other place been used in this plate, it is an incorrect use, as the word *avaṭa*, meaning hole, is spelt with *v* and not *b*. The letter may, however, be either *p* or *sh* and should be emended to *v*.

3 Read *dharmmārtha*. The *ā* mark is left out. Mr. Pargiter's suggestion that the word is *bhāvyartha* cannot stand. The letters clearly read *dhammārtha*, the doubling of *m* being indicated by a peculiar stroke (*vide suvarṇṇa* in 1, 3). The tube which makes the double *m* is broken. It is not the sign which is used in doubling *ṇa*; for in other cases of double *m* in the inscription it is not seen.—Ed.)

4 The second letter on this line is clearly *tu*. The first letter has certainly been ill-formed and the simplest and the most probable emendation is *yā*.

5 Read *kṛitta°*.

6 Read *Brāhmaṇāya dīyatām°*.

7 Read *°trayamapāsya*.

8 Read *chōrakē*.

9 Read *liṅganirddishṭaṁ*.

10 Read *taṁ* [1*].

11 Omit *ḥ*.

12 Read *garmma*. *Mma* is not *mpa*, as Mr. Pargiter takes it to be. Cf. *dharmma* on line 14.

13 The word is *kōṇaḥ* and not *kēṇaḥ*. The right stroke of *ō* over *k* is represented by a series of short shallow strokes, which are clearly visible on the original plate. Neither Mr. Banerji nor Mr. Pargiter observed these strokes, and thus missed some very important historical information furnished by the plate.

14 Read *uttarēṇa*.

15 Read *shashṭiṁ varsha°*.

16 Read *svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā*.

17 Mr. Pargiter read *sū*, but there is no justification for it. The right horizontal stroke in the middle, which makes *ū*, is absent.

18 Read *yām*.

19 Read *rbhū*.

20 Read *°bhissaha*.

21 The figure is 2 and not 1. Both Mr. Banerji and Mr. Pargiter have overlooked that there is a symbol like a comma [Possibly it is not intentional—Ed.] below the usual mark for 1 which makes the figure 2.

(Lines 12—17.) Wherefore, the above-enumerated Elders and others who were skilled in Law, receiving this petition and calling to mind (the following *ślōka*) :—' The land which is full of pits and which is infested with wild beasts, is unprofitable to the king both as regards revenue and religious merit. That land, if made capable of being used, does bring revenue and merit to the king himself';—and having decided—' Let it be given to this Brāhmaṇa '—and having recognised (*i.e.* constituted) the Karaṇikas Naya-Nāga, Kēśava and others as the representatives of the public[1] and having separated the three *kulya* sowing areas[2] of land previously granted away by a copper-plate, (the aforesaid gentlemen) established the land that remained in **Vyāghra-chōraka** by the issue of a copper-plate, after the demarcation of boundaries, as being (henceforward) in the possession of this Supratīka Svāmī.

(Lines 18—20.) And the boundary indications are these :— On the east, the goblin haunted Parkkaṭṭī tree; on the south, the Vidyādhara Joṭikā[3]; on the west, the corner of **Chandravarmman's** fort; on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndra-chōraka.

(Lines 20—23.) And here apply the verses :—The grantor of land delights in heaven for sixty thousand years. The confiscator or one who approves of confiscation resides in hell for an equal number of years. Whoever takes away land granted by himself or others becomes worm in his own ordure and rots there along with his ancestors.

The year 14, the 2nd day of Kārttika.

Now, I propose to discuss the various issues raised by the inscription. The first point is the determination of the identity of **Samāchāra-dēva.**

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that even if the grant were spurious, no forger would be so foolish as to date it in the reign of a king who never existed (*J. A. S. B.*, August, 1911, p. 499). We can adduce stronger proofs of his existence. I refer to the two gold coins, described as ' Uncertain ' on pp. 120 and 122 of the *Catalogue of Coins*, I. M. C., Vol. I, and illustrated as Nos. 11 and 13 on Plate XVI. They are both of gold (considerably alloyed with silver). One of them, of the Rājalīlā type, was found near Muhammadpur in the Jessore district of Bengal along with a gold coin of Śaśāṅka, and another gold coin of the light-weight "Imitation Gupta" type, as well as silver coins of Chandra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta and Kumāra-Gupta (Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, Introd., Sec. 171, and *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, Plate XII). The provenance of the other coin is unknown. It is of the common Archer Type of Gupta coins. The king's name occurs below the right arm of the king. A letter occurs between the feet of the king which Dr. Smith recognised as *Cha*. The reverse legend is recognised as Narēndra-Vinata with some hesitation. Of the Rājalīlā coin, he read the name of the king on the obverse as *Yamadha* written in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D. and the reverse legend as Narēndrāditya. Mr. Allan, in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins, attributes the ' Archer Type ' coin to a period earlier than that of Śaśāṅka (Intro., p. LXI), and, from the supplanting of the Garuḍa Standard of the Guptas by the Bull Standard on this coin, surmises that the coin was of a devout *Śaiva*. The

[1] Mr. Pargiter explains *kulavārān* as referees or arbitrators. The word is composed of two sections, *kula* and *vāra*; the former means the chief, the head; and the latter means the common populace, the public. Hence the meaning ' the chief men of the people '.

[2] As much land as could be sown by a *kulā* (winnowing basket) full of seed. The term *Kuḍavā*, equivalent to Bigha, the most current land-measure in Bengal, appears to be a corruption of the term *kulyavāpa*. The name survives in the form of *Kulavāya* (कुलवाय), the name of the standard land-measure in the Sylhet District.

[3] Mr. Pargiter explains *Joṭikā* as equivalent to Bengali *Jot*, meaning cultivating tenure. This is hardly defensible, though the word is a derivative form *Joṭa*. *Jot* is most likely derived from the Sanskrit word *yautaka*, which means, one's exclusive private property, any property in general. The word *Joṭa* is derived from the root *Juṭ*=to come together. *Joṭa* is still a very common word in Bengali, meaning union or coming together. The term *joṭikā*, with the shortened form *joṭa*, occurs also in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmmapāladēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249, text ll. 36 ff.). Reference is to the corrected reading of the plate in *Gauḍalēkhamālā* by Mr. A. K. Maitreya.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 5.) May success attend.[1] May welfare accrue.[2] While the Mahārājādhirāja (the supreme lord of kings), Samāchāra-dēva, who is without a rival on this earth and who is equal in prowess to Nṛiga, Nahusha, Yayāti and Ambarīsha,—is (ruling) in splendour, **Jīvadatta**, of the intimate class of servants (of his Majesty), master of the bullion market,[3] (flourished as governor) in **Navyāvakāśikā**[4] through paying court to the twin lotus-like feet of that monarch (Samāchāra-dēva) and the district officer in (the district of) **Vāraka-maṇḍala**,[5] approved of him (Jīva-datta), (was) **Pavittruka**.

(Lines 5 to 11.) While he (Pavittruka) was administering, whereas his District Court presided over by the Chief Judge (*Jyēshṭhādhikaraṇika*) Dāmuka, as well as the Elder[6] Vatsa-Kuṇḍa, the Elder Śuchi-Pālita, the Elder Vihita Ghōsha, (the Elder) Śūra-Da[tta], the Elder Priya-Datta, the Elder Janārddana-Kuṇḍa and others in charge of affairs[7] (of the village in question), and many other leading gentlemen (of the village) skilled in Law[8] were apprised by **Supratīka Svāmī** (thus) :—I wish through your honours' favour for a piece of waste land which has long lain neglected, for the establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra*[9], (thus) getting it to be of use to a Brāhmaṇa; do ye favour me (with it) by issuing a copper-plate deed.

---

[1] For this explanation of the symbol at the beginning see my remarks, above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

[2] This phrase expresses the force of the word *svasti* better than the usual 'Hail'.

[3] *Suvarṇavīthyādhikṛita* is in all probability a title, honorary or otherwise. *Vīthi* means a market, a stall a shop in the market; and hence I have translated the phrase literally as above. The real title, however, may have been 'Master of the Mint or Treasury'.

[4] *Navyāvakāśikā* was, without doubt, the Divisional head-quarters.

[5] The name of the district was Vāraka-maṇḍala. The expressions such as *Vāraka-maṇḍalē vishayapati-Pavittrukaḥ*, *Vārakamaṇḍalavishayādhikaraṇasya* suggest that the name of the *vishaya* itself was Vāraka-maṇḍala. From a study of the Bengal plates, it appears that *bhukti* was the largest territorial division of a kingdom; it was divided into a number of *vishayas* or districts. These were again divided into *maṇḍalas* or circles, which were again sometimes sub-divided into *khaṇḍalas* or parts.

[6] *Mahattara* is a title, something like the 'Honourable' of the present day. It is of frequent use in the epigraphs of this period and survives in the term *Māhāto* applied to village Elders down to the present day. It carries with it the idea of dignity and superier worth and may adequately be translated by the term Elder. [In Tamil Chōla inscriptions of the 11th Century, we have the corresponding title *perundanam* or *perundaram* conferred on officers and other private persons (*S. I. Inscrs.*) Vol. II, p. 98, 141, etc.—Ed.]

[7] *Vishaya-Mahattara* has nothing to do with the territorial division *Vishaya*. *Vishaya* here means affairs. Compare the phraseology of this part of the present deed with the second plate of Dharmmāditya, *viz.* Jyēshṭha-kāyastha-Nayasēnapramukhamadhikaraṇam Mahattara Sōmaghōsha-puraḥsarāś=cha Vishayāṇāṁ Mahattarā vijñāptāḥ. These deeds were the issues of a District Court, namely that of the district of Vāraka-maṇḍala, and the Mahattaras cannot reasonably be supposed to have jurisdiction in districts other than the district of Vāraka-maṇḍala as *vishayāṇām*, used in the plural number, would indicate, if, *vishaya* were to mean,—'a district', here. Thus *vishaya*- here becomes a plain word meaning 'affairs'. [In the first plate of Dharmāditya a very large number of *vishaya-mahattaras* 'the leading men of the district' are mentioned in connection with a grant in the very same Vāraka-maṇḍala. Perhaps *vishaya-mahattara* like *mahattara* was a title without any particular reference to a function. In our inscription Vatsa-Kuṇḍa may have been a District Elder (Vishaya-Mahattara) in this sense, while the others were only ordinary Mahattaras (Elders) that formed a sabhā for the occasion, being the 'leading men' of the village, they were not necessarily men of law (*vyavahāriṇaḥ*).—Ed.]

[8] The technical term *vyavahāra* is ordinarily used to mean law, and Vyavahārins are these who are experts in law and legal procedure.

[9] Manu (Chap. III, verses 67ff.) enjoins on all householders the performance of the five great sacrifices (*Pañcha-mahā-yajñas*), *viz.* :—(*i*) Study and teaching, which together is called *Brahmayajña* or *Ṛishiyajña*; (*ii*) offering oblations to departed ancestors=*Pitṛiyajña* ; (*iii*) giving food to all creatures=*Bali* or *Bhūtayajña* (*iv*) entertaining guests=*Nṛiyajña* ; (*v*) *Hōma* or sacrifice=*Dēvayajña*. Of these, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th (which are equivalent to *Charu*, *Bali* and *Sattra*) appear to have been the most important, and the term *Bali-Charu-Sattra-pravartanam* (*i.e.* establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra*) came to mean the establishment of a householder.

king's, name he reads hesitatingly (Sec. 165) as *Saha* or *Samācha* or *Yamācha*, and thus wants to connect it with the Rājalīlā coin on which he reads the king's name as *Yamācha*. The reverse legend he reads on both the coins as Narēndrāditya.

In the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1913-14, Mr. R. D. Banerji discusses these two coins again. He observes that the name of the king on the obverse of both the coins is the same, viz. *Yamā*. The reverse legend is read as *Narēndravinata*.

A careful study of the two coins will convince any scholar that the name of the king is the same on both the coins and it cannot be read as anything else than *Samāchā* (समाचा) and the reading is confirmed when we come to know of a contemporary king Samāchāra-dēva by name, whose copper-plate inscription was discovered not far from the find-spot of one of these coins (the Rājalīlā coin) and the *lettering of whose name, as written on his copper-plate, closely agrees to the lettering on these coins.* The coins may therefore be assigned to Samāchāra-dēva of the Ghugrāhāti plate and they furnish proofs, hitherto wanting, of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrāhāti plate. These coins may be described thus :—

No. 1. Coin of Samāchāra dēva; alloyed gold; provenance unknown; wt. 148·2 gr. Diameter ·9 in.

Obv. :—The king, in traditional Gupta dress, standing in the *Tribhaṅga* pose with a halo round the head, to the left of which curls are shown. He has a necklace of pearls. A bow is shown in the left hand, while the right hand is offering incense at an altar. Below the left hand, in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D., is found *Samā*; between the feet is *chā*, and above the Bull of the Standard, probably *ra*. The *ā* in *mā* is a superscript angular stroke and the *ā* in *chā* is a short perpendicular stroke to the proper left, exactly as found on the Ghugrāhāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva; but in this plate *chā* has the angular stroke and *mā* the perpendicular one. These methods of marking *ā* appear to be indiscriminate.

To the right of the king appears a standard surmounted by a bull. The Bull Standard would indicate that the king was a devout Śaiva and belonged to a line different from the Gupta line so long predominant.

Reverse :—A goddess, nimbate, seated on a full-blown lotus with a lotus bud in her left hand and a noose in the right. To the right of the head of the goddess is seen what appears to be an indistinct monogram and on the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*.

No. 2. Coin of Samāchāra-dēva; alloyed gold; slightly purer than No. 1; wt. 149 gr. Diameter ·8 in.

Obv. :—The king, nimbate, sitting on a couch in (for coins) a unique Rājalīlā pose, and looking to his right. His left hand is raised as if to fondle the female figure standing to the left by touching her chin. The right hand is placed on the hip. Above the left hand occur *Sa mā*, below the couch *chā* and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right of the king, *ra*.

Reverse :—Goddess Sarasvatī,[1] nimbate, standing on a lotus bud in *Tribhaṅga* pose and looking to her right; the left hand rests on a lotus, while the goddess draws another lotus towards her face with her right hand. A lotus bud is on a stalk below the bend of the right hand, below which again is a *Haṁsa* (swan) with neck stretched upwards. On the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*. The reverse type is also unique.

Some conclusions force themselves upon the careful observer of these two coins :—

(1) The king was certainly not of the Gupta lineage, though he may well have been a successor of the Guptas in the dominions where the Guptas had once held sway.

[1] Allan calls the figure Lakshmī, but Haṁsa (swan) is ordinarily associated only with the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī.

(2) Samāchāra must, on palæographic grounds, be placed earlier than Śaśāṅka in chronology; also because there is no place for Samāchāra in chronology after Śaśāṅka whose immediate successors in Eastern India were first Harsha and then Āditya-Sena and his descendants.

(3) He was a devout Śaiva. The continuance of the Bull Symbol by Śasaṅka, as well as the facts (*a*) that the Rājalilā coin was found with a coin of Śaśāṅka, (*b*) that Śaśāṅka's lineage and parentage have never yet been satisfactorily established, make it almost certain that Samāchāra was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka in the kingdom of Gauḍa and of the same lineage, perhaps his father.

(4) The Rājalilā coin may be later than the other coin, as it shows a distinctly greater change from the almost conventional type of the latter.

Two other kings stand connected with Samāchāra-dēva, *viz.* Mahārājadhirāja Dharmmāditya and Mahārājādhirāja Gōpa-Chandra of the Faridpur plates published by Mr. Pargiter. In order, therefore, to locate the position of these kings in the chronology of the country, it is necessary to clear up, if possible, some doubtful points in the chronology of the Gupta kings and their successors during the sixth century A.D. The publication by Prof. Basak of the five plates of the Gupta kings Kumāra-Gupta, Budha-Gupta and Bhānu (?)-Gupta (Above, Vol. XV., No. 7) has given all students interested, the opportunity of rediscussing the matter.

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Intro., li), in which coins of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta I, Skanda-Gupta and Prakāśāditya were found buried together, made possible the natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skanda-Gupta and the hoard was buried in Prakāśāditya's reign. No one has yet succeeded in solving the problem who this Prakāśāditya was, and the purity of gold in his gold coins has been a puzzle. It may be now accepted that Kumāra-Gupta II was the son and successor of Skanda-Gupta and so we must see if he can be connected with the coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya. These coins are all of the 'horseman' type and the letter which signifies the king's name on the obverse has been taken to be an otherwise inexplicable *Ru* (Allan, pp. 135-36, Plate XXII, Nos. 1-6). I think, however, that this reading will have to be revised. The letter on coin No. 1 is almost certainly *Ku*, the *mātrā* or the top horizontal line being very prominent, though unfortunately mixed up with a band hanging from the saddle of the horse. On coins Nos. 3 and 4, this letter is indistinct, while on coins 2 and 6 the letter certainly looks like *ru*. The letter on coin No. 5 has been made in one stroke, thus  and it is hardly possible to read it as *ru*. This, I think, will have to be taken as *Ku*, and the letters on Nos. 2 and 6 also as *Ku*, executed as badly as the horse and the horseman on the coins are.

Several scholars have attempted to identify this Kumāra-Gupta with Kumāra-Gupta, the son and successor of Narasiṁha-Gupta, and to thrust in the reigns of Nara and Pura between G.E. 148=467 A.D., the last known date of Skanda-Gupta, and G.E. 154=473 A.D., the first known date of Kumāra-Gupta. By this arrangement, Budha and Bhānu are to be placed after Pura, Nara and Kumāra. This is a rather risky proposal. There is no certainty that 467 A.D. is the *last* date of Skanda. Similarly 473 A.D. may not be the *first* date of Kumāra. If these two dates approach each other by even one year, Pura and Nara have barely four years left between them. The find of coins, which presupposes their currency in a locality, is more or less a sure measure of the importance and duration of the reign of kings represented by them and the extent of their kingdom. The *British Museum Catalogue* describes 12 coins and the *Indian Museum Catalogue* 6 coins of Nara; 4 and 3 coins respectively of Pura are described in the *British Museum Catalogue* and in the *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*. I have seen a number of coins of Nara in the Nāhār Collections of Calcutta and in the collection of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta. Some more coins of Nara are to be found in the possession of Rai Mṛityuñjay Choudhuri Bahadur of Rangpur. To ascribe a reign of only two or three years

to a king of such widely distributed currency is not reasonable. The next king, Kumāra, who is sought to be thrust in between the years 473 and 477 A.D., has also 18 coins described in the B. M. C. and three in that of the Indian Museum.

Pura and Nara were undoubtedly successors to the Gupta throne, at a time which we have yet to determine, with very much diminished power and territory. Their coins have been found exclusively in Eastern India and it is hardly reasonable to place a real emperor like Budha after Pura and Nara who were perhaps only kings of Eastern India.

Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya is generally credited with standing against Mihirakula in Magadha. The claims of no other Bālāditya have yet been substantiated. Mihirakula cannot be put earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. and the proposition to put Bālāditya between *circa* 470 and 473 A.D. makes him precede Mihirakula by half-a-century.

From the Haraha inscription (Above, Vol. XIV, No. 5), Śarvvavarmman and his son Avantivarmman's date can be put as 560 A.D. onwards. In the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jīvita-Gupta, the *Paramēśvara* Bālāditya is spoken of as preceding Śarvvavarmman and Avantivarmman. Śarvvavarmman, the father of Avantivarmman, was the immediate predecessor of the latter, and the presumption is that Bālāditya also preceded Śarvvavarmman closely, say, by not more than a generation. This fits in well if Bālāditya's date is *circa* 530 A.D. But Bālāditya becomes too far off from Śarvvavarmman if he is put at 470 A.D.

Again, the history of the founding of the Nālanda monastery, as recorded by Yuan Chwang is evidently rather confused. But the mention of Budha-Gupta as a predecessor of Bālāditya is significant, and is, in my opinion, in true chronological order.

Kumāra-Gupta II was succeeded on the imperial throne by Budha-Gupta probably about G.E. 157=476 A.D., as the Sārnāth inscription of Budha-Gupta is dated G.E. 158=477 A.D. Here, again, his relationship with his predecessor is not known, but until evidence is produced to the contrary, we may take him as Kumāra-Gupta II's son.

The latest date on the silver coins of Budha Gupta is G. E. 175=494 A.D. (Allan, No. 617).

The next king, Bhānu-Gupta, who from his name (Bhānu and Budha are both names of planets)[1] appears to have been a brother of Budha-Gupta, may be tentatively taken to have come to the throne in G.E. 177=495 A.D.

The Hūṇs under Tōramāṇa were by this time preparing to contest with the Guptas, the sovereignty of India. In G.E. 165=484 A.D. the two brothers Mātṛi-Vishṇu and Dhanya-Vishṇu, who were local rulers of Eraṇ, had acknowledged the suzerainty of Budha-Gupta (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 88). But in the Eraṇ Boar inscription of Dhanya-Vishṇu the interval between which and the pillar inscription cannot very well be more than 25 years, the suzerain acknowledged is Tōramāṇa in whose first year[2] the Boar was installed. Tōramāṇa must have ousted the Guptas from these parts in the course of these 25 or 26 years.

The memorial Eraṇ inscription of Gōparāja of G.E. 191=510 A.D. gives a clue to the situation. The inscription mentions that Gōparāja was killed at Eraṇ while fighting a great battle,—probably with the Hūṇs under Tōramāṇa, in the company of the brave Bhānu-Gupta and allies.

[1] [This inference based on the names of planets is not satisfactory.—Ed.]

[2] The exact year of Tōramāṇa's accession to the kingship of the Indian dominions of the White Hūṇs is not known, but it was unquestionably later than 484 A.D., the date of the Eraṇ inscription of Budha-Gupta which mentions Mātṛi Vishṇu as the local king reigning, while Dhanya-Vishṇu was his younger brother. In the Eraṇ Boar inscription of the first year of Tōramāṇa, Dhanya-Vishṇu is the local king and his elder brother Mātṛi-Vishṇu is said to have gone to heaven. If Tōramāṇa ascended the throne immediately after 484 A.D., the battle of Eraṇ in 510 A.D., in which Gōparāja was killed, will have to be taken as Bhānu-Gupta's attempt to regain the former possessions of the Guptas from the grasp of Tōramāṇa or of his son Mihirakula.

From the acknowledgment about the same time of the suzerainty of the Guptas in the eastern parts of the country (modern Central Provinces) by the Paribrājaka Mahārājas and Mahārājās of Uchchakalpa, Prof. Basak has been led to suppose (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 7, p. 125) that Bhānu-Gupta was the victor in the battle in which Gōparāja was killed. But I do not think that the supposition is reasonable. The following facts should be considered:—

(*i*) Gōparāja who appears to have been a powerful ally of Bhānu-Gupta was killed in the battle.

(*ii*) If Bhānu-Gupta were victorious, the fact would certainly have been mentioned. Victory lay on the other side, hence the silence and the consolation of some high-sounding adjectives.

(*iii*) Bhānu-Gupta had evidently lost his former power; for, had he still been the suzerain, the fact would have been mentioned; and the loss of power can only result from defeat in battle in such a situation.

(*iv*) The suzerainty of Tōramāṇa is acknowledged by Dhanya-Vishṇu, king of Eraṇ, while some years previously he and his elder brother Mātṛi-Vishṇu had acknowledged Budha-Gupta as the suzerain.[1]

From these it appears to be clear that the contest between Bhānu-Gupta and the aggressive Tōramāṇa took place in Eraṇ about 191 G.E.=510 A.D., and that the battle resulted in the Gupta Emperor being worsted and having to cede Malwa to the invader. Bhānu-Gupta was probably killed in action, as was his faithful ally Gōparāja, and also perhaps Mātṛi Vishṇu; or, if Bhānu-Gupta survived, he is not likely to have survived long.

Thus from Skanda-Gupta to Bhānu-Gupta we have an unbroken line of succession. Where, then, is the place for Pura-Gupta of the Bhitari seal and his line? Mr. Allan and others have assumed that during the latter days of Skanda-Gupta, Pura-Gupta, his brother or half-brother, revolted and established an independent principality (Allan, Intro., Sec. 62). But where was this principality? We find Budha-Gupta implicitly obeyed from Mālwā to Pauṇḍra-vardhana. Where is the place in which Pura-Gupta or his successors were obeyed?

Prof. Basak wrote (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 120): "But with our present stock of knowledge, it is not very easy to indicate the place where the branch line headed by Pura-Gupta may have ruled; . . . . It may be believed that the rulers of the stronger branch may, by courtesy and in good-will, have suffered the other branch to rule somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in south Bihār."

Such courtesy to a branch whose origin was in revolt would be, to say the least, impolitic. The truth seems to be that Pura-Gupta was a child of four or five[1] when Kumara-Gupta I died and Skanda-Gupta succeeded him on the throne, and that the child was brought up in the harem,[2] as his name signifies. When the last king Bhānu-Gupta of the main line died, possibly without leaving any successor, this Gupta prince, the grand-uncle of the last two kings, who must now have reached an age of at least 60 years, was called to fill the vacant throne. If subsequent researches prove my inference to be correct, a tragedy like the crowning of Pura-Gupta has seldom happened in history.

Pura-Gupta cannot have reigned for more than a few years and the accession of his son Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya may be dated in 196 G.E.=515 A.D. Mihirakula may have succeeded his father at Sākala about this time.

We know from Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula invaded the kingdom of Bālāditya, who is called king of Magadha. In the war that ensued Mihirakula seems to have been taken

[1] [These reasons are not quite convincing.—Ed.]

[2] [This does not appear to be a reasonable inference. The author is evidently led to it by Pura, meaning a harem.—Ed.]

prisoner and condemned to death, but was saved from death by the intervention of the mother of Bālāditya (Vatsadēvī). This contest may be dated about 525-530 A.D.[1]

I leave out of discussion the position of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇu-vardhana in chronology as it has hardly any bearing on the present scheme.

Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya did not probably long survive his victory over Mihirakula, and the accession of the next king Kumāra-Gupta III may be dated in G.E. 213=532 A.D. The last Damodarpur plate is dated in 214 G.E. and it was issued during the reign of a Gupta whose name has been broken away. I have reasons to think that he was Kumāra-Gupta III. Prof. Basak supposes that only two letters have been broken away and lost; but the letter *ra*, the last letter of Kumāra, which is simply a perpendicular stroke, does not occupy much space, and further discoveries will, I think, show that the Gupta king ruling in the East in 214 G.E.=533 A.D. was Kumāra-Gupta III, son of Bālāditya.

On the testimony of the Kalighat hoard[2] which contained coins of Bālāditya, Kumāra-Gupta III, Chandra-Gupta III and Vishṇu(Gupta ?)-Chandrāditya, we may take the successor of Kumāra-Gupta III as Chandra-Gupta III, who appears to have been succeeded by one whose name began with Vishṇu and whose title was Chandrāditya.[3] We cannot say definitely who this Vishṇu was. But there cannot be any doubt that he was of the imperial Gupta line, as the Garuḍa standard on his coins would signify.

For the remaining period, until the first established date of Śaśāṅka in 606 A.D., Eastern India was ruled, as Mr. Pargiter has demonstrated, by the emperors Dharmāditya, Gōpa-Chandra and Samāchāra. It has been already pointed out that Samāchāra was a devotee of Śiva; and it does not seem an impossible conjecture that all these kings were related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India.

TOPOGRAPHY.

As already pointed out, Vāraka-maṇḍala was the name of the district.

About the position of Vāraka-maṇḍala I am in substantial agreement with Mr. Pargiter and I think that he is right in thinking that Varendra or Varendrī is derived from the same root. The word *Vāraka* means obstructing, opposing; *maṇḍala* means a collection of small areas. So the word *Vāraka-maṇḍala* should be taken to mean, an area of land consisting of smaller areas lying between and separating rivers; *Vāraka* may also be taken in the sense of 'the deltaic land that obstructs and alters the current of a river'; *Vāraka-maṇḍala* would then be a group of deltaic areas. Anyway, Vāraka-maṇḍala would be the district round Koṭālipāḍā in the present district of Faridpur, almost in the heart of what was anciently known as Vaṅga.

Koṭālipāḍa is at present a *Parganāh* in the district of Faridpur. The old settlement was in and about the old mud fort there, in the vicinity of which the Ghugrāhāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva was found. A number of gold coins of the Gupta emperors have been found outside the western *par* or embankment of the fort.

[1] Prof. H. Roychaudhuri's objections to identify Narasiṁha-Gupta Bāladitya with the conqueror of Mihirakula do not appear to be very sound (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 315). Even allowing that Yuan Chwang's statements regarding Bālāditya's predecessors are historically accurate, Tathāgata is *not* stated to be the *father* of Bālāditya nor Budha of Tathāgata, and there is no mention of immediate succession. Bālāditya's son is Kumāra-Gupta. Yuan Chwang gives his name as Vajra; but evidently this is a pet name or a family name, and not the royal name.

[2] See Allan, Intro., Sec. 166-169 and pages 137-146.

[3] A sun as well as a moon. A sun of scorching rays to his enemies and a moon of pleasing and cool rays to his friends.

Koṭālipāḍā is at present surrounded on all sides by big marshes; it is inconceivable that any sane man could think of a royal settlement in such a water-logged area. But the big fort is there, and brick constructions very often come up unexpectedly from low water-logged places. As correctly surmised by some scholars, the low level of Koṭālipāḍā appears to be the effect of subsidence due to earthquake. We find a new town Navyāvakāśikā springing up during the reign of Dharmmāditya which does not seem to have existed in the third year of the same king. The presumption is that, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Dharmmāditya, owing to an earthquake, marshes began to form round Koṭālipāḍā which had been a flourishing royal settlement for the past two centuries and a half, and necessity was felt for shifting the gubernatorial head-quarters to some new and safer site on more settled land. Koṭālipāḍā continued as a district head-quarters, but the value of its land decreased so much that we find almost a whole village, which is described as having long lain fallow, given away to a *Brahmin* for no consideration.

Where was **Navyāvakāśikā**, the new Divisional head-quarters? Nāgadēva had his head-quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, which from the very name appears to have been a recently founded town during the reign of Dharmmāditya, in the interval between the plates A and B published by Mr. Pargiter.

Avakāśa means an opening, an aperture, and its derivative *avakāśikā* may very well mean a *khāl,* a canal, and the whole name *Navyāvakāśikā* would mean, the place provided with a new canal. There is a place called Sābhār in the Dacca district which contains imposing ruins of a traditional king called Hariśchandra. Numerous gold coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type have been found exclusively from Sābhār. The Dacca Museum cabinet possesses eight such coins from Sābhār. The place contains a fort, 250 yards by 190 yards in area. A water course breaks off from the river Baṅgśai about two miles above the place where the fort stands and after running through the eastern part of the site of the old town, turns to the west and re-enters the river just below the southern face of the fort. The canal, which is undoubtedly in part artificial, is locally called Kāṭāgāṅgā—'the dug-out river'. The ruins of the royal palaces and temples are situated on the south-east corner of this enclosure, outside the Kāṭāgāṅgā. This old site appears to answer to the name Navyāvakāśikā very well. The discovery of 'Imitation Gupta' gold coins throughout this site distinguishes it from any other old site in Eastern Bengal and also shows that its foundation goes back to the time we are discussing.

It would thus appear that the ruins at **Sābhār** may be identified with Navyāvakāśikā. The word *Sābhār*, a corruption of *Sambhāra*, means fullness, wealth, affluence. A visit to the site will convince anyone that it was a well-planned city of very great affluence surrounded by an artificial water-course. The latter might have been the cause of its name Navyāvakāśikā, while its subsequent opulence and splendour earned for it the name of Sambhāra—"Wealth and plenty materialised."

It is easy to prove that Koṭālipāḍā is the older of the two ancient sites. Below we shall show that the fort at Koṭālipāḍā dates from a period previous to the Guptas, but the discovery of the gold coins of the Gupta emperors exclusively from this site and only coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type, which were undoubtedly much later currency, from Sābhār tends to show that the former site is the more ancient of the two. It is needless to notice in detail the gold coins discovered at Koṭālipāḍā or the 'Imitation Gupta' coins from Sābhār. This is done in a separate article in the Numismatic Supplement to the *J. A. S. B.* It may only be stated here

that gold coins of Chandra-Gupta II and Skanda-Gupta and silver coins with the figure of peacocks on them have been found in and about the ramparts of the fort there.

The land granted by the Ghugrāhāti plate was in a village called Vyāghra-chōraka. Three *kulya*-sowing areas of land were taken away from it and the rest of the hamlet was given to the donee. The boundary indications of the land granted are thus given :—On the east, the goblin-haunted Paṇkkaṭṭi tree; on the south, Vidyādhara Joṭikā; on the west, a corner of Chandra-varmman's fort; on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndra-chōraka. Chandra-varmman's fort cannot be any other place than the big fort at Koṭālipāḍā.

About half a mile to the north-west from the north-east corner of this fort, there is a forsaken homestead with a tank, which is called Jaṭiābāḍi or Jaṭiā's house. It is traditionally remembered to have been the residence of one Vidyādhara and his wife Jaṭiā Buḍi. The place is supposed to be haunted. By the north bank of the tank at Jaṭiābāḍi, there run, east-west, two curious parallel embanked roads. The one was, they say, meant for the king and his officers and the other for the common people. This double road appears to have been denoted by the term Joṭikā or two roads placed together. The village of Govindapur begins a little north of this place and this was no doubt the Gōpēndra-chōraka of the plate, the words Gōvinda and Gōpēndra[1] being synonymous.

Who is this Chandravarmman, who was still remembered in his handiwork—the fort at Koṭālipāḍā—even in the time of Samāchāra-dēva ? This fort, which measures $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is the biggest ancient earthwork known in Bengal, the next in size being that at Mahāsthān (the ancient Pauṇḍravardhana) which is only 1,000 yards × 1,500 yards. He must have been a powerful king who could construct so large a fort, in this low-lying tract, and the discovery of the gold coins of Gupta emperors from the vicinity show that the founder was at least as old as the Guptas. We are at once reminded of the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription who "when warring in the Vaṅga countries, kneaded and turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and thus wrote fame on his arms by his sword." (Fleet, *C. I. I.* p. 141.) Fleet emphasised the early character of the palæography of this inscription which is not dated, and Allan, with his usual insight, rejected the identification of this Chandra with Chandra-Gupta II. Finally M. M. Haraprasad Sastri has identified this Chandra with Chandravarmman—son of Siṁhavarmman of Pushkaraṇā, of the Śusuniā Hill inscription,—who was finally overthrown by Samudra-Gupta about the third decade of the fourth century A.D. When we see that a most impressive monument in the shape of a great fort, to which Chandravarmman's name is applied even in the sixth century A. D. turns up in Koṭālipāḍā near the heart of old Vaṅga, we are finally convinced that these scholars, and particularly M. M. Sastri, are right in identifying the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription,[2] who came and warred in Vaṅga, as Chandravarmman, of whose advent in Bengal we have now a tangible proof in the shape of the great fort known after him. Chandravarmman's campaigns in Bengal and the foundation of the fortified settlement at Koṭālipāḍā[3] may be approximately dated about 315 A.D.

---

[1] [The identification is not convincing.—Ed.]

[2] In an attempt to identify Chandra with Chandra-Gupta I, Prof. Basak writes: "Where is the evidence that Bengal had ever been in the possession of Chandravarmman ? . . . . We have as yet got no such historical evidence *nor can we expect to get it in future.*" (*Ind. Ant.*, June, 1919, p. 101.) This last statement only proves the necessity of caution in our prediction as to what *future* may bring up.

[3] Koṭālipāḍā means the *pāḍā* or hamlet founded on the *āli* or ramparts of the *koṭ* or fort.

No. 12.—JODHPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHARA BAUKA; V. S. 894.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.

This inscription was first edited, without any translation and facsimile, by Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, pp. 1 ff. I re-edit it at the suggestion of, and from an estampage kindly supplied to me by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. The stone which bears this inscription was discovered about 1892, in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur, but, as Professor Bhandarkar suggests, it was probably brought there from Mandor, five miles to the north of the city.[1]

The inscription consists of twenty-two lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′-10″ broad by 2′-1½″ high. It is generally in a good state of preservation, although some letters have peeled off here and there. The engraving is remarkably excellent. The size of the letters is between ⅝″ and ¾″. The characters are of the type used in the inscriptions of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty, but the following peculiarities may be noted:—

The triangle at the right lower end of *kh* is represented by a simple wedge. Both the forms of *ṇ* illustrated in Bühler's Chart (V. 24. II, III,) are used. *N* is formed by a distinct loop, as in the Dighwā-Dubaulī plate[2]. The forms of *bh* and *s* resemble those of the Pehoa Praśasti[3] and are different from those used in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I[4].

The language is **Sanskrit**; and excepting the benedictory formula "*Oṁ namō Vishṇavē*" at the beginning, and the date and the engraver's name at the end, the inscription is written in verse. As Munshi Deviprasad remarks, "the language offers some serious blunders." Thus we have *dhīmāṁ* and *vaṅśajāṁ* in v. 3, where the *anusvāra* stands for the final *n*. Similar errors also occur in v. 27. *Tyajya* for *tyaktvā*, *stambhya* for *stambhitvā*, and *prahatvā* for *prahatya* occur in ll. 17 and 15, respectively. Other instances will be noticed in their proper places; but it appears that the writer was influenced by the idioms of the Prākrit language, which, as the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscription of Kakkuka[5] shows, was also used in official documents, about this period. As regards **orthography** we have to notice (1) the regular use of the proper sign for the letter *b*; (2) the use of *upadhmānīya* before *p* (*e.g.* in *vaḥ=pāyād* in l. 1); (3) the doubling of *s* in place of *visarga* (*e.g.* in *yatas=sarga* in l. 1); (4) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* before *ś* (*e.g.* in *-vaṅśa°* in l. 2); (5) doubling of *k* and *t* in conjunction with a following *r* (*e.g.* in *-vikkramānvitān* and *-bhrāttrā* in l. 2); (6) the doubling of consonants after *r* (*e.g.* in *sarggā*, l. 1); but note the use of single *v* and *y* after *r* (*e.g.* in *prātihāryaṁ* in l. 3 and *°r=virachitaṁ* in l. 19); and (7) the use of *°ttri* for *tri* (in *kshattriyā* in ll. 3 and 4).

The inscription records in the last five verses (27 to 31) the military exploits of a **Pratīhāra** chief called **Bāuka** and gives in vv. 4 to 26 an account of the dynasty to which he belonged. The eulogy of Bāuka as described in the record seems to suggest that Bāuka must have been away on a career of conquest when his kingdom was attacked by a confederacy of kings. His own partisans were unable to stand the fight and broke into disorder, when Bāuka suddenly appeared on the scene, rallied his men and gained a complete victory. This heroic feat that saved the country from a great disaster is the main theme of the inscription.

---

[1] *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1906-7, p. 30

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 112.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p 244.

[4] Published below as No. 13.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

The inscription supplies us with the following genealogy of Bāuka.

- Harichandra Rōhilladdhi, a Brāhmaṇa.
  - By his unnamed Brāhmaṇa wife
    - The Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas
  - By Bhadrā, his Kshatriya wife
    - Bhōgabhaṭa
    - Kakka
    - Rajjila
      - Narabhaṭa otherwise called Pellāpelli.
        - Nāgabhaṭa *m.* Jajjikādēvī.
          - Tāta
            - Yaśōvardhana
              - Chanduka
                - Śiluka
                  - Jhōṭa
                    - Bhillāditya
                      - Kakka
                        - By queen Padminī
                          - Bāuka
                        - By queen Durlabhadēvī[1]
                          - Kakkuka
          - Bhōja
    - Dadda

The Ghaṭiyāḷā Inscriptions of the Pratihāra Kakkuka, dated in the Vikrama year 918,[2] confirm the above genealogy, although in two cases the names are slightly modified such as Śilluka for Śiluka, and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. As these inscriptions trace only the direct line of descent, they omit the names of the three brothers of Rajjila and of the brother of Tāta but add a new name to the dynastic list, *viz.*, that of Kakkuka, the son of Kakka and Durlabhadēvī. Kakkuka was thus a step-brother of Bāuka.

The foundation of the dynasty is thus ascribed to a *Brāhmaṇa* who married two wives from two different castes. This is very interesting from a social point of view.[3] His sons are credited with the conquest of **Māṇḍavyapura** (modern Mandor) where, as already observed the stone must have been originally put up. The grandson of one of them fixed his capital at the city of **Meḍantaka**, which, as Munshi Deviprasad remarks, is possibly represented by the town Merta in Mārwār[4]. Shortly after this the military ardour of the family gives way to a

---

[1] The names Durlabhadēvī and Kakkuka are taken from the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions.

[2] *J. R. A. S. 1895*, p. 513 ff; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

[3] [*Manusmṛiti* (III. 13) allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry non-Brāhmaṇa women--Ed.]

[4] *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 3.

religious one, and the next king **Tāta** spent his last days in a hermitage. His three successors seem, no doubt, to have been powerful rulers, but his example was followed by the next two kings who spent the last part of their lives on the banks of the Ganges. **Kakka,** the successor of the last of them, is described to have fought with the people of Bengal (Gauḍa) in distant Monghyr, and the full significance of this will be explained later on. His successor, **Bāuka** who is the hero of the inscription, defeated a king named **Mayūra**.

The date of the inscription has given rise to much discussion. Munshi Deviprasad who originally edited the inscription read the figures as 940 but Kielhorn held that there is only one numeral figure, which is 4 and read the whole as Samvat 4.[1] Professor D. R. Bhandarkar[2] reads the date as *Saṁ* 894. He reads the letter following *Saṁ* as *vra* and takes it to be a sign for 8.

As regards Kielhorn's view I entirely agree with Professor D. R. Bhandarkar that what the former reads as *vva* is more like *vra* and that the sign which he reads as *t* denotes the cipher for 9. There is also undoubtedly much force in the learned Professor's contention "that there can be no question that *vra* also is a sign for some integer and that it may be taken as equivalent to 8," although as he himself admits, *vra* has never been so far found to represent the integer 8. Apart from the arguments advanced by him, there is one consideration which is decidedly in favour of his view, and seems to me to be fatal to Munshi Deviprasad's contention. If the date of the record be 940 *Samvat*, as the latter holds, Bāuka must be looked upon as a younger brother and successor of Kakkuka. It is, therefore, inconceivable that his name should have been omitted from the dynastic list of our inscription which retains the names of collateral kings of earlier generations. On the other hand, as Kakkuka's inscriptions do not refer to any collateral king at all, it cannot be a matter of surprise that Bāuka's name is not mentioned therein. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that Bāuka was the earlier prince and that the date of the inscription is Samvat 894 or 837 A.D. as read by Professor Bhandarkar.

The historical importance of the inscription is very great. It gives us a line of chiefs extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as average for each generation the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years.[3]

As the dates of Kakkuka and Bāuka, representing the twelfth generation of kings, are respectively 861 and 837 A. D., Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty may be placed at about 550 A. D. The Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty, however, cannot be traced back beyond the beginning of the eighth century A. D.[4] So far, therefore, as the available evidence goes, Harichandra must be looked upon as the earliest Pratīhāra chief. The verse 5 of our inscrip-

---

[1] *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 9.

[2] *Progress Report Arch. Surv. W. Circle*, 1906-07, p. 30.

[3] Dr. Hoernle remarks :—"The two half-brothers Kakkuka and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of the Parihar dynasty. This fact, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A. D." (*J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 28). Dr. Hoernle here overlooks the difference between reign and generation. A consideration of the duration of the well known historical dynasties would show that the average duration of a generation may be fairly taken to be at least 25 years. Thus—

(i) Eight generations of Pāla kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I ruled for considerably more than 209 years.

(ii) Seven generations of Chālukya kings from Kīrttivarman I to Kīrttivarman II ruled for more than 180 years.

(iii) Nine generations of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings from Dantidurga to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years.

(iv) Nine generations of Pratīhāra kings from Vatsarāja to Trilōchanapāla ruled for more than 244 years.

These give 27, 26, 25, and 27 years respectively for the average duration of a generation.

[4] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 421.

M

tion says that the sons that were born of Harichandra and Bhadrā were known as Pratihāras and were wine-drinkers. This might imply a common origin of all the Pratihāra ruling clans, and it is not impossible that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. The two following grounds may be urged in support of this view, although the question cannot be finally settled till fresh evidence is available:—

(1) The common mythical tradition about the origin of the name Pratihāra, both tracing it to Lakshmaṇa, the brother and door-keeper of Rāma.[1]

(2) The community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhōja.

It is not easy to determine the status of the chiefs mentioned in the inscription. Their names are not preceded by titles like *mahārājādhirāja*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, etc., which often accompany the names of independent and paramount sovereigns in inscriptions. But no conclusions can be based on the absence of these titles in the present instance, for we know that in some inscriptions the Imperial Pratihāras are mentioned without any of those pompous titles, which are, however, preserved in other inscriptions. Professor Bhandarkar has dealt with this point in detail[2] and his arguments have been fully endorsed by V. A. Smith[3]; and I believe it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that so far at least as this period is concerned, 'titular formulas, in reality, are of extremely slight significance.'

Our inscription applies the term '*rājñī*' to Bhadrā, the queen of Harichandra, the first chief, and to Jajjikādēvī, the queen of Nāgabhaṭa, and the term *Mahārājñī* to Padminī the queen of Kakka. It refers to the "*rājadhānī*" of Nāgabhaṭa and the "*rājya*" of Tāta, Jhōṭa and Bhillāditya. The sons of Harichandra are called '*Bhū-dharaṇa-kshamāḥ*'; Kakka is styled '*Bhūpati*' and Bāuka is called *Nṛisiṁha*. These are the only references, direct or indirect, to the royal power exercised by these chiefs. In this respect it bears a close resemblance to the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I published below. The latter adds no royal epithet to Nāgabhaṭa, the first chief; calls the second and fourth kings respectively as "*Kshmābhṛidīśā*" and '*Kshmāpāla*' while Nāgabhaṭa and Bhōja I, two of the greatest kings of the dynasty are introduced without any royal epithet. Whatever might be the reasons, the close parallel between these two contemporary epigraphic records would preclude any conclusion regarding the subordinate rank of the chiefs of our inscription, on the basis of the absence of high sounding royal epithets.[4]

As we have seen before, the first chief Harichandra must be placed at the beginning of the latter half of the 6th century A. D. This is in full accordance with the fact that the earliest reference to the Gurjaras, to which race the Pratihāras belonged,[5] is carried back to the same period by the reference, in the *Harsha-Charita*, to the wars of Prabhākaravardhana against them. The province of Gurjaratrā, which was named after them and must, therefore, be looked upon as the province where they gained a firm footing and established themselves,[6] was under the sway of this dynasty. This is quite evident not only from the find-spots

---

[1] *Cf.* verse 4 with verse 8 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja published below. (also *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1903-04, p. 280 ff.)

[2] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, pp. 409-10.

[3] *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 248-249.

[4] Cf. Dr. Hoernle's remarks in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, pp. 27 ff.

The above discussion shows the inaccuracy of his statement that the *Praśastis* of the Jodhpur Pratihāras "give them no territorial titles whatsoever, not even rājā". His other contention that the term *Mahārājñī* applied to *Padminī* denotes her father's rank rather than that of her husband does not commend itself to me.

[5] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 431.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 414-15.

of inscriptions of this dynasty which have all been found within its area,[1] but also from the express mention in the Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions, that Kakkuka ruled over Gurjaratrā[2] (v. 16). The inscription also throws some light as to the period when this province was being gradually occupied by the dynasty. Verses 9 and 10 tell us that the four sons of Harichandra built a huge rampart round the fort of Māṇḍavyapura *which was gained by their own prowess* (*nija-bhuj-ārjjitē*). Māṇḍavyapura is evidently Mandor, the ancient capital of Mārwār, near Jodhpur.[3] It is evident, therefore, that the Gurjaras under Harichandra and his sons had occupied the province, known after them, and proceeded up to Mandor, before the end of the sixth century A. D.

The period was indeed a suitable one for such conquest. After the downfall of the short-lived empires of Mihirakula and Yaśōdharman, northern India must have presented a favourable field for the struggle of nations. The Gurjaras, who probably entered India along with or shortly after the Hūṇas, found a favourable opportunity to press forward till they advanced as far as the Jodhpur state. Their further advance was checked by the prowess of Prabhākaravardhana and his son, and they were therefore obliged to establish themselves in the province which was subsequently named after them. Harichandra must have been the leader, or at least one of the principal leaders, of this advanced section of the Gurjaras; in any case his dynasty was ultimately able to establish its supremacy over the entire clan. This seems to be the only reasonable inference from the circumstances stated above, and I do not know of anything which contradicts this view.

Inscriptions testify to the existence of a line of feudatory Gurjara chiefs ruling at Broach.[4] The earliest date of the third chief of this dynasty is 629 A. D. Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, we get the date *c.* 580 A. D. for the *Sāmanta* Dadda, who founded the line. The date corresponds so very well with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identity of the two may be at once presumed. It has been already suggested, on general grounds, that the Broach line was feudatory to the main line of the Gurjaras further north,[5] but no link, connecting the two, has been hitherto obtained. The proposed identification would not only supply such a link but would also explain why the Gurjara inscriptions record that Dadda I was of the race of Gurjara Kings (*Gurjara-nṛipa-vaṁśa*) although he and his descendants are referred to as *Sāmantas* or feudatories. It further closely fits in with the theory of the Gurjara invasion dealt with above. It would appear that after Harichandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chālukyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the southern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the ruling king Rajjila. Instances like these are furnished by the history of the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang visited a Gurjara kingdom which was about 300 miles north of Valabhi or Surath.[6] It is a noticeable fact that Gurjaratrā or the country round about Mandor exactly answers to this description. As Harichandra's dynasty was certainly ruling in the locality at the time of the pilgrim's visit, we are justified in identifying

[1] For the extent of Gurjaratrā as deduced from epigraphical references see *Ibid*, p. 415.

[2] Gujjaratta is Skr. Gurjjaratrā, not Gujerāt as supposed by the Translator (*J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 520).

[3] *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 3.

[4] For a detailed account of them, see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 312 ff.

[5] Thus Bühler infers from the title of *Sāmanta* used by these chiefs that "it is not unlikely that they were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhillamāla" (*Ind. Ant.* xvii. p. 194).

[6] *Watter's Yuan-Chwang* II, p. 249.

their kingdom with the one described by Hiuen Tsiang. Nay, I believe that we are even able to identify the king whose court was visited by the pilgrim. "The king" says he "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just 20 years old. He is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability." Now, as the pilgrim visited the kingdom about hundred years after the foundation of the dynasty we may reasonably expect four generations of kings to have passed away during that period and the young king may be looked upon as belonging to the fifth. On referring to the dynastic list we find king Tāta occupying this position. Verses 14-15 inform us that king Tāta, considering the life to be evanescent as lightning, abdicated in favour of his younger brother and himself retired to a hermitage, practising there the rites of true religion. The curious confirmation about the religious fervour of the king, who may be held on other grounds to have been contemporary with the pilgrim, gives rise to a strong presumption about the correctness of our identification.[1]

The Gurjaras, after their settlement in Rājputānā and Broach, had to fight for their supremacy with Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar who seems to have headed the native resistance against the invading hordes of the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras. We have already referred to the wars of Prabhākaravardhana against the Gurjaras. The poetical language of Bāṇabhaṭṭa may be taken to imply that the further advance of the Gurjaras was stayed in the north. The struggle was not, however, a decisive one, and seems to have been continued till the time of Harshavardhana. The feudatory Dadda II of Broach is said to have protected a lord of Valabhī against the Kanauj Emperor, and surprise has justly been expressed how a small state like Broach could withstand the force of the mighty emperor. Every thing however appears quite clear if we admit Broach to have been a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the royal house of Thaneswar. That the Gurjaras were not worsted in their struggle with the kings of Thaneswar appears quite clearly from the fact that they retained their independence, as Hiuen Tsiang informs us, till at least a late period in the reign of Harshavardhana. The struggle between Dadda II and the rulers of Kanauj incidentally referred to in inscriptions, may thus be looked upon as part and parcel of the great and long-drawn battle between the two powers.

The extension of the Gurjara power to the south brought it into conflict with the rising power of the Chālukyas. It is recorded in the Aihoḷe Inscription[2] that the Chālukya hero Pulakēśi II (611 to 640 A.D.) defeated the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras. The Gurjaras here must be taken to refer to the Pratīhāra dynasty under consideration, for it cannot denote the feudatory line founded by Dadda as it is included under the Lāṭas. The mention of the Gurjaras along with the Lāṭas and the Mālavas clearly shows that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces and the kingdom of the Pratīhāra line under consideration exactly corresponds to this. The struggle between the two powers must have been of long duration; for during the reign of the successor of Pulakēśi, a branch of the Chalukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarāt, and this was evidently to keep in check the powerful Gurjaras in the north.

[1] It has been urged by Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 192) and V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 923) that the kingdom visited by Hiwen Tsiang was that of Bhillamala, ruled over by the Chapa dynasty. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out several drawbacks in this explanation (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 417). It will suffice here to point out that the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamāla is far from satisfactory, in view of its distance from Valabhī as given by Hiuen Tsiang. Again, the Chapotkaṭas or the Chāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nausārī grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakeśirāja (Kielhorn's *Northern List* No. 404) and the Chāpa kingdom cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 6.

The Gurjara Pratihāra line founded by Harichandra thus established itself in Rājputānā and fought successfully against the royal houses of Thaneswar and Bādāmi. For about two hundred years they ruled in splendour over the greater part of Rājputānā but the Arab invasion of about 725 A.D. brought about a decline. The Nausārī plates of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakēśirāja, dated in October, A.D. 738, tell us that the Gurjaras were destroyed by an invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs, apparently shortly before that time.[1]

It seems very likely that the Arab invasions referred to in the Nausārī plates were those undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalif Hasham (724-743 A.D.). Biláduri gives a short account of these expeditions and mentions, among other things, that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Bailaman and Jurz.[2] There can be no doubt that Marmad is the same as Maru-māḍa which is referred to in the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State.[3] Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. It is now a well-known fact that Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Valla-maṇḍala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.

This catastrophe must have taken place at the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. According to Biláduri the Arab expeditions were arranged by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham who ruled from 724 to 743 A.D. According to Elliot Junaid was succeeded by Tamin *about* 726 A.D.[4] Evidently this last date is far from being definitely known and we may therefore conclude that the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A.D. The Nausārī plates show, however, that the expeditions referred to in them took place between 731 and 738 A.D. For, according to the Balsar plates,[5] Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja did not come to the throne till the year 731 A.D., and as he himself takes the credit of having repelled the Arabs from Nausārī, the event must be dated after that year.

The Chālukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, who successfully resisted the Arabs, probably took advantage of this opportunity to wrest the Lāṭa province from the Gurjara kingdom. The decline of the Gurjara power thus brought about by the Arab invasion in the north and the Chālukya aggression in the south favoured the growth of a rival Pratīhāra dynasty which was ultimately destined to play the imperial rôle in India. The origin of this dynasty is described in verses 4 and 7 of the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhōja published below. It records that Nāgabhaṭa, the first king, defeated the Mlēchchhas, and after him ruled his two nephews Kakkuka and Dēvarāja. Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. Now, our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Valla-maṇḍala (a circle of kingdoms) defeated Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja (v. 19). As Dēvarāja of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is 783-4 A.D., he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. Śiluka, according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Dēvarāja may be at once presumed. A careful study of the two inscriptions seems to show that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the Imperial Pratīhāras, successfully resisted the Arab invasions which proved so disastrous to the other Pratīhāra line. His successors were not slow to take advantage of this favourable situation, and Dēvarāja entered into a contest for supremacy with Śiluka. He was defeated by the latter.

[1] *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 231.

[2] Elliot-*History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[4] Elliot-*History of India*, Vol. I, p. 442.

[5] Referred to in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5; and above, Vol. VIII, p. 231.

but his son Vatsarāja pursued his policy with signal success and wrested the empire from the family of Harichandra.

All these successive changes in the fortune of the dynasty are reflected in our inscription. According to our scheme of chronology Chanduka was on the throne when the Arab invasion took place. It becomes therefore a significant fact that whereas he is passed over with mere conventional praises, tribute is paid to the prowess and heroism of his successor Śiluka. Then, again, the two successors of Śiluka are said to have taken to religious life and not a single act of martial glory is attributed to any of them. This was apparently the time when their rivals gradually established themselves in the position of recognised suzerainty over the entire confederate clans which was so long enjoyed by them. The subsequent kings of the line of Harichandra retained possession of their own kingdom, although they lost their supreme position, and gradually seem to have reconciled themselves to their new situation. Kakka, the great grandson of Śiluka appears to have accompanied the new suzerain power in its wars of conquest. For we are told in verse 24 that he fought with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II one of whose known dates is 815 A.D., and who is said in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja (below) to have defeated the king of Vaṅga.

There was, however, a temporary revival of the Pratihāra power in the middle of the ninth century A.D. The Daulatpurā copper plate of Bhōja, dated in the year 843 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land situated in Gurjaratrā, but the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscription of Kakkuka refers to the province as being held by that king. As this inscription is dated in 861 A.D. Bhōja must have lost this province between these dates. In fact a close study of the Daulatpurā plate seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja before 843 A.D. For it speaks of the original grant by the first, its continuation by the second and renewal by the fourth king, leading to the evident conclusion that there was a break in the possession of the territory during the reign of the third. This view entirely agrees with what we know of the rival Pratihāra dynasty; for Nāgabhaṭa II was crushed by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and Rāmabhadra's reign was an inglorious one. The difficulty of the rivals must have presented the requisite opportunity to the Jodhpur Pratihāras to regain the power that they had lost. Thus whereas the two successors of Śiluka are described as practising austerities—an unmistakable indication of their political and military inanity—Kakka, the third king after Śiluka is described as a great fighter and his queen consort is called a *mahārājñī*. Their son Bauka was also a great hero and his military exploits are described at great length in our inscription. According to the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscriptions Kakkuka also ruled over a vast dominion. Nothing is at present known about his successors but it is likely that with the revival of the Imperial Pratihāras under Bhōja during the latter part of Bhōja's reign, their territory was finally annexed by the latter.

A few words may be said regarding the geographical names contained in the inscription. **Māṇḍavya-pura** and **Mēḍantaka-pura** (l. 7) most probably denote the cities of Mandor and Merta. Line 11 contains the names of **Stravaṇī** and **Valla-dēśa**, two provinces, close to each other. As Śiluka is said in the same line to have been '*Vallamaṇḍala-pālaka*', **Valla** must denote the region over which these Pratihāra chiefs ruled. As Śiluka is also said in verse 18 to have fixed the boundary between **Stravaṇī** and **Valla**, the former would appear to have denoted a neighbouring kingdom. Stravaṇī is probably the same as **Tamani** of the **Ghaṭiyāḷā** inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka as the latter occurs along with **Valla** in a list of contiguous countries. The locality of this Stravaṇī or Tamani has not been established so far. It seems to me, however, that it is to be identified with the kingdom of Taban referred to by the Arab geographers of the ninth century A.D. A comparison of the various references to this kingdom

by Arab writers[1] seems to show that it consisted of a part of the Panjāb just to the north-west of Rājputānā. Reference is twice made (vv. 27, 29) to Mayūra, a king defeated by Bāuka. We know of no such king, but Hiuen Tsiang refers to a city called Mo-Yu-lo (or Mayūra) situated near Gangādvāra[2] mentioned in v. 23. Mayūra of our inscription may refer to the king of the locality.

Trētā-tīrtha (v. 20) and **Bhūakūpa** (v. 27) cannot be identified. But Gaṅgā-dvāra (v. 23) and Mudgagiri (v. 24) are well known names denoting respectively **Haridvār** and **Monghyr**.

TEXT.

[Metres used: vv. 1 to 26, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 27-28, *Sragdharā*; v. 29, *Āryā*; v. 30, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 31, *Mālinī*.]

1 Ōṁ namō Vishṇavē || Ya[smin=viśa]nti bhūtāni yatas=sargga-sthitī matē | sa vaḥ=pāyād=Dhṛishīkēśō nirgguṇas=saguṇaś=cha yaḥ || [1*] Guṇāḥ=pūrvvaṁ pu(pū)rushāṇāṁ kī[rttyantē] tēna[3]

2 paṇḍitaiḥ | guṇa-kīrttir=anaśyanti svargga-vāsa-karī yataḥ || [2*][4] Ataḥ śrī-**Bāukō** dhīmāṁ[5] sva-**Pratīhāra**-vaṅśajāṁ[6] | praśastau lēkhayāmāsa śrī-yaśō-vikkram-ānvitān || [3*] Sva-bhrāttrā Rā-

3 -mabhadrasya prātihāryaṁ kṛitaṁ yataḥ | śrī-Prattihāra[7]-vaṅśō=yam=ataś=ch=ōnnatim=āpnuyat[8] | [|4*] Vipraḥ śrī-**Harichandr**=ākhyaḥ=patnī **Bhadrā** cha kshattṛiyā[9] | tābhyān=tu [yē su]tā jātāḥ [Pratīhā]rāṁś=cha tān=vi-

4 duḥ | [|5*] Babhūva **Rōhilladdhyaṅkō** Vēda-śāstr-ārttha-pāragaḥ | dvijaḥ śrī-Harichandr-ākhyaḥ Prajāpati-samō guruḥ || [6*] Tēna śrī-Harichandrēṇa pariṇītā dvij-ātmajā | [dvi]tīyā kshattṛi-

5 yā[9] Bhadrā mahā-kula-guṇ-ānvitā [||7*] Pratīhārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyāṁ yē=bhavaṁt[10]=sutāḥ | rājñī Bhadrā cha yāṁt=sūtē tē bhūtā madhu-pāyinaḥ | [|8*] Chatvāra[ś]=ch=ātmajās=tasyāṁ jātā bhū-dharaṇa-ksha-

6 māḥ | śrīmān=**Bhōgabhaṭaḥ** **Kakkō** **Rajjilō** **Dadda** ēva cha | [|9*] **Māṇḍavya-pura-durggē**=sminn=ēbhir=nnija-bhuj-ārjjitē | prākāraḥ kāritas=tuṅgō vidvishāṁ bhīti-varddhanaḥ | [|10*] Amīshāṁ **Rajjilāj**=jātaḥ

7 śrīmān=**Narabhaṭaḥ** sutaḥ | **Pēllāpēll**=īti nām=ābhūd=dvi[tīyaṁ] tasya vikkramaiḥ [||11*] Tasmān=[Narabha]ṭāj=jātaḥ śrīmān=**Nāgabhaṭaḥ** [11] śutaḥ [|*] rājadhānī sthirā yasya mahan=**Mēḍantakaṁ** puraṁ || [12*] Rājñyāṁ śrī-

8 **Jajjikā-dēvyās**[12]=tatō jātau mahā-guṇau | dvau sutau **Tāta-Bhōj-ākhyau** sau-[13] daryau ripu-marddanau || [13*] Tātēna tēna lōkasya vidyuch-chaṁchala-jīvitaṁ | budhvā[14] rājyaṁ laghōr=bhrātu[15] śrī-Bhōja-

---

[1] Elliot-*History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 5, 13, 21, 25.

[2] Watters *Yuan Chwang* I. 328-9.

[3] The letter *na* looks like *sri*.

[4] The Ślōka-metre here employed is faulty—the sixth syllable in the first *pāda* being short against rule.

[5] Read *dhīmān*.

[6] Read *vaṁśajān*.

[7] The doubling of *t* in *prattihāra* is apparently due to the exigencies of the metre. Read -*vaṁśō*=

[8] Read =*āpnuyāt*.

[9] Read *Kshattriyā*.

[10] Read° भवन्सुताः and यान्सूते in the same line, as per *sūtra* नश्च (VIII-3-30) of Pāṇini.

[11] Read *su*.

[12] Read -*dēvyāṁs*=

[13] Read *sō*.

[14] Read *buddhvā*.

[15] Read *bhrātuḥ*.

9 sya samarppitaṁ [1] || [14*] Svayaṁñ=cha saṁsthitas=Tata[ḥ*] śuddhaṁ dharmma-[ṁ*] samācharan | **Māṇḍavyasy=āśramē** puṇyō nadī-nirjjhara-śōbhitē || [15*] **Śrī-Yaśōvarddhanas=tasmāt=puttrō** vikhyāta-paurushaḥ | bhūtō ni[ja]-

10 bhuja-khyātiḥ samast-ōddhṛita-kaṇṭakaḥ || [16*] Tasmāch=cha **Chandukaḥ** śrīmān=puttrō=bhūt=pṛithu-vikkramaḥ | tējasvī tyāga-śīlaś=cha vidvishāṁ yudhi durddharaḥ || [17*] Tataḥ śrī-**Śilukō** jātaḥ puttrō durvvāra-vikkramaḥ [|] yēna

11 sīmā kṛitā nityā **Stravaṇī-Valla-dēśayōḥ** || [18*] **Bhaṭṭikaṁ Dēvarājaṁ** yō **Valla-maṇḍala-pālaka**[ṁ]ḥ | ni[pā]tya ta[tksha]ṇaṁ bhūmau prāptavān chchhattra-chihnakaṁ[ḥ][2] || [19*] Pushkariṇī kāritā yēna **Trētā-tīrtthē** cha pattanaṁ | Si-

12 ddhēśvarō Mahādēvaḥ kāritas=tuṅga-maṁdiraḥ[3] || [20*] Tataḥ **śrī-Śīlukāj=jātaḥ** śrīmān-**Jhōṭō** varaḥ sutaḥ | yēna rājya-sukhaṁ bhuntvā[4] **Bhāgīra[thyāṁ]** kṛitā gatiḥ | [|21*] Babhūva satvavān=tasmād=**Bhillādityas** tapō-ma-

13 tiḥ | yūnā rājyaṁ kṛitaṁ yēna punaḥ puttrāya dattava(vā)n || [22*] **Gaṅgā-dvāram** tatō gatvā varshāṇy=ashṭādaśa sthitaḥ | antē ch=ānaśanaṁ kṛitvā svargga-lōkaṁ samāgataḥ || [23*] Tatō=pi śrī-yutaḥ **Kakkaḥ**

14 puttrō jātō mahāmatiḥ | yaśō **Mudgagirau** labdhaṁ yēna **Gauḍai**[5] samaṁ raṇē || [24*] [Chhandō] Vyākaraṇaṁ Tarkkō Jyōtiḥ-śāstraṁ kal-ānvitaṁ | sarvva-bhāshā-kavitvañ=cha vijñātaṁ su-vilakshaṇaṁ | [|25*] **Bhaṭṭi(?)-va-**

15 **ṅśa**[6]-viśudhāyām[7] tad=asmāt=**Kakka-bhūpatēḥ** | **śrīmat-Padminyāḥ mahārajñyā**[8] jātaḥ **śrī-Bāuka** suta iti[9] || [26*] **Nandāvallaṁ** prahatvā[10] ripu-balam=atulaṁ **Bhūakūpa-prayātaṁ** dṛishṭvā bha-

16 gnāṁ[11] sva-paksh[ā]ṁ ddvija-nṛipa-kulajāṁ **sat-Pratihārabhūpāṁ** | dhig-bhaṭ-aikēna tasmin=prakaṭita-yaśasā śrīmatā **Bāukēna** [12]| sphūrjan=hatvā[13] **Mayūraṁ** tad=anu nara-mṛigā ghātitā hē-

17 [ti]n=aiva || [27*] Kasy=ānyasya prabhagnaḥ[14] sa-sachivam=anujaṁ tyajya[15] rāṇasu taṁttraḥ (|) kēn=aikēn=āti-bhītē daśa-diśi tu vala stambhya[16] ch=ātmānam=ēkaṁ | dhairyā[n=m]uktv=āśva-pṛishṭhaṁ kshiti-ga-

---

[1] There is a redundant *anusvāra* after *ya* which may be cancelled.

[2] The syllable *ka* has both the *anusvāra* and the *visarga* added to it as in *pālakaḥ* in the same line. Cancel the *anusvāra* in the latter and the *visarga* in the former.

[3] The first *pāda* of this *ślōka* contains one syllable too many.

[4] Read *bhuṅktvā*.

[5] Read *Gauḍaiḥ*.

[6] Read *vaṁśa*.

[7] Read *viśuddhāyāṁ*.

[8] Cancel °*mat*-and read *Padminyāṁ mahārājñyāṁ*.

[9] Read *śrī-Bāukas=sutaḥ iti*. Cancel *iti*. [Perhaps here ended the *praśasti* which was caused to be written by Bāuka as mentioned in verse 3 above; the indiclinable *iti* indicates it.—Ed.]

[10] Read *prahatya*. [Read च हत्वा which would suit the metre better than प्रहत्य.—Ed.]

[11] Read *bhagnān sva-pakshān ddvija-nṛipa-kulajān sat-Pratīhāra-bhūpān*.

[12] Cancel the unnecessary punctuation.

[13] *Sphūrjan* is an adjective qualifying *Bāukēna* and must therefore be corrected into *sphūrjatā*, though this renders the metre incorrect.

[14] Read *prabhagnaṁ*.

[15] Read *tayktvā rāṇāsu taṁttraṁ*, though this offends against the metre.

[16] Correctly *stambhayitvā*.

18 -ta-charaṇēn=āsi-hastēna śattrum chhitvā[1] bhitvā[2] śmaśānaṁ kṛitam=ati-[bha]yadaṁ Bāuk-āṅyēna tasmin || [28*] Nava-maṇḍala-nava-nichayē bhagnē hatvā Mayūram=ati-gahanē | tad=anu

19 bhṛit-āsi-taraṁgā śrī-mad-Bāuka-nṛi-siṁghēna[3] || [29*] Sārddh-ārddhaiḥ=praga[la]d-bhirakta[4]-sushirair=bbā[h]-ūru-pād-āṅgakair=ēntraiś[5]=ch=ōpari-lamvi(bi)tair=virachitaṁ[6] śava-gṛihaṁ phētkāra[7]-satv-ākulaṁ |

20 yach=chhrī-Bāuka-maṇḍa[l]āgra-rachitaṁ prāk=chhattru-saṁgh-ākulē tat=saṁsmṛitya na kasya saṁprati bhavēt=trās-ōdgamaś=chētasi [|] [30*] Nanu sama[ra*]—dharāyāṁ Bāukē nṛityamānē śava-tanu-

21 śakal-āntrēshv=ēva vinyasta-pādē | śamam=iva hi gatāś=tē tishṭha-tishṭh=ēti gītād=bhaya-gata-nṛi-k[u]raṁgāś=chittram=ētat=tadā=sīt[8] || [31*] Saṁ 894 Chaittra śu di 5[9]

22 Utkīrṇṇā cha hēma-kāra-Vishṇuravi-s[ū]nunā Kṛishṇēśvarēṇa ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Oṁ ! Salutation to Vīshṇu !

(Verse 1). May Hṛishīkēśa, in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and protection are supposed (to proceed), who is both *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* (*i.e.*, with and without attribute) protect you.

(Verse 2). The glories of ancestors are first sung by wise men because perpetual recitation of glories (has for its effect) the dwelling in heaven.

(Verse 3). Hence the illustrious wise **Bāuka** caused (the glories of his ancestors), belonging to his own **Pratīhāra** clan, and possessed of wealth, fame and prowess, to be written in (this) *praśasti*.

(Verse 4). Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper (*pratīhāra*), this illustrious clan came to be known as **Pratīhāra**.[10] May it prosper.

(Verse 5). (There was) an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named **Harichandra** and his wife (was) **Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā.** The sons born of them are known as Pratīhāras.

(Verse 6). There was an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named **Harichandra Rōhilladdhi**, who was versed in the meaning of the Vēdas and the *śāstras* and who was a preceptor like Prajāpati.[11]

(Verse 7). That illustrious Harichandra married (first) the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, and, (as) second (wife), the Kshatriyā Bhadrā, belonging to a noble family and possessed of good qualities.

---

[1] Read *chhittvā*.

[2] Read *bhittvā*.

[3] Read ° *siṁhēna*. Some such phrase as *sēnā hatā* has to be supplied in order to complete the sense.

[4] Read *pragalad-virakta*. If *bhi* is retained, we should, grammatically have expected *pragaladbhī* (Pāṇini, VI. 3, 111).

[5] Read *=āntraiś=*

[6] The word *virachitaṁ* is redundant since later on occurs also the word *rachitaṁ*. It may be omitted in order also to set the metre right.

[7] Read *phētkāri*° Read-*lamvi(bi)taiś=Śava-*

[8] There is the figure of a 'wheel' after this word.

[9] There is the figure of a 'couch' after this word.

[10] The word *Pratīhāra* is variously written as *Pratihāra*(l. 2) and *Pratīhāra* (l. 3). I have adopted the first form throughout the translation.

[11] The meaning of the word 'Rohilladdhyaṅka' in this verse is uncertain. [Harichandra's surname or *biruda* may have been Rōhilladdhi though it sounds rather outlandish.—Ed.]

(Verse 8). Those sons who were born of the Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas. Those who were born of queen Bhadrā became 'drinkers of wine'.[1]

(Verse 9). Four sons, fit to hold the earth, were born to her, *viz.*, the illustrious **Bhōgabhaṭa**, **Kakka**, **Rajjila** and **Dadda**.

(Verse 10). In this fort of **Māṇḍavyapura**, conquered by their own arms, they erected a high rampart, (which was) calculated to increase the fear of the enemies.

(Verse 11). From Rajjila among them was born the illustrious son **Narabhaṭa**. On account of his prowess his second name was '**Pēllāpelli**.'

(Verse 12). From Narabhaṭa was born a son, the illustrious **Nāgabhaṭa**, who had his permanent capital at the great city of **Mēḍantaka**.

(Verse 13). From him, begotten on **Jajjikādēvī**, were born the two uterine accomplished sons named **Tāta** and **Bhōja**, who were oppressors of enemies.

(Verse 14). By Tāta, who realised that the world was evanescent as lightning, the kingdom was conferred on his younger brother, the illustrious Bhōja.

(Verse 15). Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of **Māṇḍavya**, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion.

(Verse 16). From him (Tāta) was born the son, the illustrious **Yaśōvardhana** renowned for his prowess, (who earned) fame by his own arms and rooted out all the thorns (*i.e.*, enemies).

(Verse 17). From him was born the son, the illustrious **Chanduka** of great valour, (who was) full of splendour, of charitable disposition and invincible to enemies in war.

(Verse 18). From him was born the son, the illustrious **Śiluka** of irrepressible prowess, who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of **Stravaṇī and Valla**.

(Verse 19). Who, the protector of **Vallamaṇḍala**, having knocked down **Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja** on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.

(Verse 20). Who had a tank excavated, a city established, and the lofty temple of **Siddhēśvara Mahādēva** constructed, at the holy place called **Trētā**.

(Verse 21). From the illustrious Śiluka was born the excellent son, the illustrious **Jhōṭa**, who proceeded to the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) after enjoying the bliss of kingdom.

(Verse 22). From him was born **Bhillāditya**, possessed of *satva* quality and disposed to austerities (*tapas*); he governed the kingdom, while young, and then bestowed it on his son.

(Verse 23). Then proceeding to **Gaṅgā-dvāra** he stayed for eighteen years and finally went to heaven by practising fast (*i.e.*, dying by abstinence from food).

(Verse 24). From him, too, was born the noble son, the illustrious **Kakka**, who gained reputation by fighting with the **Gauḍas** at **Mudgagiri**.

(Verse 25). (Whose) knowledge of Prosody, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, with attendant arts, and Poetry in all languages was extraordinary.

(Verse 26). From king Kakka, begotten on the pure illustrious great queen **Padminī**, of the **Bhaṭṭi** clan, was born the illustrious son **Bāuka**.

(Verse 27). Having found the matchless enemy gone to **Bhūakūpa** after killing **Nandāvalla**, while the good Pratīhāra princes, born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa king and belonging to his party, had broken in disorder, the illustrious Bauka, a single man despised by the enemy, suddenly burst forth and killed, with his weapons, first **Mayūra** and then his men who were like deer, and thus was his glory manifest.

[1] It is curious to note that the Arab travellers of the ninth century A. D. have also laid it down as a distinct characteristic of the Brāhmaṇas, that they abstain from wine. (Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 9.)

(Verse 28). What other king but Bāuka, while his authority over other kings was destroyed, his own younger brothers and ministers had left him and his army on all sides was seized with terror, could, unaided, stand firm like a pillar, and, leaving the horse-back and standing on the ground unperturbed, sword in hand, pierce the enemy through and through, causing thereby a terrible burial ground in that battlefield?

(Verse 29). After having dispersed the recent gathering of the newly formed confederation, and killed **Mayūra**, Bāuka, the lion among men, killed the army which was supporting waves of swords.

(Verse 30). Whose mind would not now be filled with terror on remembering the house of dead made by Bāuka's sword, which ere long was put in confusion by the enemy's host—the house of dead which was made by the arms, thighs, legs and other limbs, rent in twain, with oozing as well as bloodless cavities, together with the entrails hung above, and which was full of jackals?

(Verse 31). Verily, when Bāuka was dancing in the battle-field, placing his feet on the very entrails and other parts of the dead bodies, the frightened men (enemies) who were like deer, became quiet as it were with strain *tishṭha, tishṭha*[1]. This indeed was very strange!

(L. 21). The year **894**, (the month of) **Chaitra**, the **fifth day of the bright fortnight.**

(L. 22). Engraved by **Kṛishṇēśvara**, son of the gold-smith **Vishṇuravi.**

No. 13.—THE GWALIOR PRASASTI OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARA KING BHOJA.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.; Dacca.

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1896, about half a mile west of Gwalior town, at Sāgar Tāl in the Gird-Gwalior district. It contains 17 lines of writing covering a space of about 3′ 4½″ broad by 1′ 2″ high. The first twelve lines are incised with great care and neatness and the letters are so distinct and beautiful that they can be read without hesitation even from a distance. The remaining lines, for some unaccountable reasons, are not so distinctly engraved, but can be read, without any great difficulty, especially from the reverse side of the estampage. The whole inscription is thus clearly legible except two letters at the end of line 5 where the stone surface is damaged.

It was first edited by Pandit Hirananda in the *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1903-4 (pp. 277-285), with a facsimile Plate. Then, in March 1905 Dr. Kielhorn gave a short account of the inscription in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (pp. 300-304) without any reference to the first edition. I re-edit the inscription from fresh impressions kindly procured for me by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. My excuse in taking up the subject again, is that, in my opinion, the great historical importance of the record requires further scrutiny and comment. I follow the previous Editors as far as possible but give my independent opinion only in cases where I feel it necessary to do so.

The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit**, and except the benedictory formula *oṁ namō Vishṇavē* at the beginning, it is throughout composed in metrical form. The author shows himself to be well versed in the best form of the Kāvya style, and his chaste dignified verses make one sincerely regret that no further production from his able pen has been preserved for us. Special attention may be drawn to the ease with which *ślēshas* and *dhvanis* have been frequently introduced into this historical poem.

[1] [The word *tishṭha* is onomatopœtic. As one plunges his legs in miry ground and lifts them up with force, the steps are likely to make the noise *tishṭha, tishṭha* —Ed.]

The important points to note in the matter of orthography have been already mentioned by Pandit Hirananda in A. S. R. for 1903-04 pp. 277 ff.

The use of dental nasals instead of *anusvāra*, e.g. in *hinśraṁ* (v. 3), and in *vanśē* (v. 4); the different spellings of the same proper name as in *Pratīhāra* (v. 3) and *Pratihāra* (v. 4): and the change of the *visarga* followed by *s* into that letter, *e.g.* in *yasy-ātās-sampaduś=cha* (v. 6), °*stais=samuchita-charitaiḥ* (v. 12), and *upāyais=sampadāṁ* (v. 13) may be noticed.

The characters of the inscription are of the **Nāgarī** type current in Northern and Western India during the ninth century A.D. Pandit Hirananda remarks that they resemble most closely those of the Pehevā grant of Mahēndra-Pāla. But a close examination of the two records shows that the letters *i, ṭ, ṇ, th, dh, n, m, l*, and *ś* of our inscription are different from those employed in the Pehevā grant.[1] As a matter of fact, the only published inscription to which our record shows the closest resemblance is the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja of the year 933.[2] The only noticeable difference between the two records is to be found in the new forms of *bh* and *ś* used in the latter, in addition to those employed in our inscription. The close resemblance between these two records is only quite natural as both come from the same locality and belong to the same reign.

It may be noted that the new forms of *bh* and *ś* which we find in the Gwalior inscription of the year 933 along with those in our record, have alone been used in all the later inscriptions of the dynasty, of which facsimiles are available, with the single exception of the Pehevā grant of Mahēndra-Pāla. On the other hand, only the forms used in our record are found in the Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭa, dated V.S. 872,[3] the only known record of the dynasty before the time of king Bhōja. It may thus be presumed that the record is earlier than 933 V. S., although much stress should not be laid on this conclusion in view of the recurrence of the forms in the Pehevā grant.

The inscription records the erection of a house in his seraglio, by the **Gurjara-Pratihāra** king **Bhōja** in honour of **Vishṇu**, and begins with an invocation to that God. Verse 2 describes the creation of the Sun and names some important kings born in the **Solar race.** Verse 3 refers to Rāma and his terrible fight with Rāvaṇa. The family to which Bhōja belonged is traced from Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma (v. 3). The genealogy of the family, as furnished by this inscription, may be explained by the following table[4] :—

Lakshmaṇa of the Solar race.
- I. Nāgabhaṭa I.
- An unnamed brother.
  - II. Kakkuka or Kākutstha.
  - III. Dēvarāja.
    - IV. Vatsarāja.
      - V. Nāgabhaṭa II.
        - VI. Rāma.
          - VII. Bhōja (*alias* Mihira).

[1] Cf. the plate, above, Vol. I, p. 244.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 160.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 198.

[4] Some of these kings had also other appellations; Cf. the genealogical table above, Vol. XIV, p. 179.

Of these, **Nāgabhaṭa I** defeated a **Mlēchchha** army (v. 4), and **Dēvarāja** is said to have defeated a host of kings (v. 5). His son **Vatsarāja**, a famous king, forcibly wrested the empire from the **Bhaṇḍi** clan (vv. 6-7) and **Nāgabhaṭa II** defeated **Chakrāyudha** and also conquered kings of the **Ānartta, Turushka, Mālava, Vatsa, Matsya** and other countries (vv. 8-11). **Bhōja**, also called **Mihira**, is said to have defeated his powerful enemies and verses 16-26 describe his greatness in general terms.

The chronology of the kings mentioned in this inscription may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. We have the dates 756-7 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa I, 783-4 A.D. for Vatsarāja, 815 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa II, and dates ranging from 843 to 881 A.D. for Bhōja. Again, we learn from a Jaina book, the *Prabhāvaka-charita*, that king Nāgāvalōka of Kānyakubja, the grand-father of Bhōja died in 890 Vikrama-Saṁvat, and this Nāgāvalōka has been correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.[1] Thus the first three kings of the genealogical table may be placed between 725 and 775 A.D., and the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh kings may be taken to have ascended the throne respectively at about 775, 800, 833 and 840 A.D.

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kings, who played such an important part in Indian history, was very limited and inaccurate. Although the late A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S., and Prof. Bhandarkar[2] laid the true foundation of our knowledge about the Gurjara-Pratīhāra history, a complete understanding of the subject, in all its bearings, was impossible, in consequence of the view held by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Kielhorn and others, that the homonymous kings referred to in the copper-plates lived earlier than, and were thus different from, those mentioned in the stone inscriptions. It was the discovery of this inscription that finally settled the question and facilitated the proper treatment of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra history.[3] Dr. V. A. Smith has clearly pointed out,[4] that the express mention of the family name of the kings in this inscription helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra clan.

The rise and growth of the great Gurjara empire, which played such a conspicuous part in Indian polity in the ninth century A.D., is clearly traced by our inscription. The names of the early kings of the dynasty, recorded in inscriptions, such as the Daulatpurā copper-plate of Bhōjadēva,[5] Dighwā Dubauli plate of Mahēndrapāla[6] and the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate of Vināyakapāla[7] are but a mere string of names without any details such as are to be found in the present inscription. This invests our record with particular importance, and the data it furnishes may be justly said to have revealed an altogether new chapter of Indian history.

The founder of the royal line is named **Nāgabhaṭa**, a name not yet found in any other record of the family. He is said to have defeated the *Mlēchchha* army, and the manner in which this solitary fact is mentioned with regard to him, seems to show that it was looked upon

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, foot-note 3.

[2] A. M. T. Jackson, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, App. III; Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 405 f., 413 f.

[3] This point is fully brought out by Dr. Kielhorn (*loc. cit*).

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 58.

[5] Above, Vol. V, p. 208.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 105.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 138.

as of great importance in the history of the family. Now the locality of Nāgabhaṭa's kingdom and the period when he flourished may be gathered from a passage in the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*.[1] The passage has been noticed by various scholars, and the following remarks of Dr. Fleet may be taken to represent the earlier views regarding its interpretation. "A passage in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasēna tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Saṁvat 705 (expired), =783-784 A.D., when there were reigning,—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Waḍhwāṇ in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kāṭhiāwār,—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."[2] This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902 when Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation of it. He translated the last portion as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarāja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha."[3] Quite recently Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn my attention to a passage in an unpublished copper-plate grant in his possession[4], which runs as follows:—

> "Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ rājanyair=Ujjayanyāṁ yad=āsitaṁ |
> Pratihārīkṛitaṁ yēna Gurjar-ēś-ādi-rājakam ||"

This points to a Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom in Ujjayini; for, the word *Pratihāra*, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. This is decisive in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the passage.

It has been unanimously held by scholars that Vatsarāja, referred to in the above passage, is the Pratīhāra king of the same name, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa. As Vatsarāja was reigning in 783-784 A.D., Nāgabhaṭa may be taken to have flourished in about 725 A.D. Again, Avantī must be looked upon as the home-territory of the dynasty, for, although Vatsarāja ruled over a vast kingdom, he is simply called the ruler of Avantī in the passage quoted from the *Harivaṁśa*. It may be held, therefore, that Nāgabhaṭa ruled over Avantī about 725 A.D.

As we have seen, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka[5], this was the period when the great Arab raid took place. As Bilāduri[6] clearly mentions Ujjain as being attacked by the Arabs, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Gwalior inscription, like the Nausārī plates, refers to the Arab expedition described by Bilāduri.

Our inscription tells us that the Arab forces were defeated by Nāgabhaṭa I, and this is fully in keeping with the account of Bilāduri, who observes:—"They (*i.e.*, the Arabs) made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Bailaman and Jurz . . ." Thus whereas other places were *conquered*, the Arabs merely *sent*

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 141; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 197, f.n. 2.
[2] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6.
[3] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 421, f.n. 4.
[4] It was formerly in the possession of his elder brother, late Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar and noticed by him in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S*, Vol. XXII, p. 117. It will be henceforth referred to as the Sañjān copper-plate. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is engaged in editing it for the *Ep. Ind.* and I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to him for having kindly permitted me to use the inscription before its publication.
[5] See above, p. 93.
[6] For Bilāduri's account of the Arab expedition, cf. Elliot's History of India, Vol. 1, p. 126.

incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain. It is also significant, that the Nausārī plates[1] do not include the king of Avantī in the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs. Further, Biláduri himself admits that Junaid's successor was feeble, and, in his days, the Musulmans retired from several parts of India and left some of their possessions.

Thus all the available evidence shows that Nāgabhaṭa I established the greatness of his family by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānsōṭ plates of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhartṛivaḍḍha II[2] records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, in the year 756 A.D. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[3] upheld the view that this Nāgāvalōka is no other than Nāgabhaṭa I, and Dr. Sten Konow[4] has accepted it. It would then follow that he re-established the Pratīhāra sovereignty over Broach which the family of Jodhpur must have lost during the Arab expeditions. A reminiscence of Nāgabhaṭa's struggle with the neighbouring powers seems to have been preserved in the Raghōli plates of Jayavardhana II, a king of the Śaila dynasty, ruling over part of the Central Provinces. We are told that Pṛithuvardhana, a king of the family, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century A.D., conquered the country of the Gurjaras.[5]

We have seen above, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratīhāra Bāuka, how, as an indirect result of the *Mlēchchha* invasion, the suzerainty hitherto enjoyed by the dynasty of Harichandra passed into the family of Nāgabhaṭa. It would appear that shortly after 725 A.D., when the Arab invaders seemed to have carried away everything before them, and, in particular, defeated the Pratīhāra clan who had been ruling in Rājputānā for about two centuries, Nāgabhaṭa gained successes over the *Mlēchchha* forces and established his supremacy over the clan. The struggle which thus began between the two Pratīhāra families was long and tedious. Śiluka, the king of the Rājputānā family, succeeded in regaining his territory after defeating one Dēvarāja, probably the nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I. Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Dēvarāja, however, continued the struggle and gave the final blow to the tottering rival power. The empire over which it had ruled for well-nigh two hundred years then finally passed into the hands of the family of Nāgabhaṭa.

The data furnished by our inscription, supplemented by a few other known facts, enable us to sketch a brief history of the empire that was thus founded by Vatsarāja. Verses 6 and 7 describe his mighty prowess and splendour, and mention, in particular, that he had subdued the whole world. This statement, allowing for the natural exaggeration of the *Praśasti* writers, cannot be said to be altogether inaccurate, inasmuch as it is pretty certain that Vatsarāja had conquered the lord of Gauḍa and was thus probably master of by far the greater part of Northern India. This state of prosperity, however, did not continue long. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, overran his territory as far as the Ganges

[1] Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section, p. 231.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, p. 197.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240.

[4] Above, Vol. XII, p. 200.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 41.

and Jumna, and forced him to take shelter in the deserts of Rājputānā.[1] The effects of the Rāshṭrakūṭa blow seem to have been disastrous. The Pālas took advantage of this opportunity and entered the field as rivals of the Gurjaras. Dharmapāla, the second king of the dynasty, carried a campaign of conquest from one end of northern India to another, and placed his own nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, apparently as a bulwark against the possible Gurjara invasions.[2] The Gurjara power was, however, merely stunned by the blow for the time being, and Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more sought to realise the imperial dreams of his father (vv. 8-11). The poet tells us in v. 8, that kings of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga succumbed to his power like moths unto fire. Now, moths are attracted by the glare of the fire and approach it of their own accord, although it leads to their ultimate destruction. The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa but joined him of their own accord in the first instance, although, ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these four countries confirms this view. Joined to Mālwā and Rājputānā which were the home-territory of the Gurjaras, the four countries form a central belt right across the country, bounded on the north by the empire of the Pālas, and, on the south, by that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It appears quite likely, therefore, that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from the two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence. This seems to me to be the real significance of the eighth verse. In the next, the poet describes the first achievements of the confederacy thus successfully launched by the Gurjara king, viz. the defeat inflicted upon Chakrāyudha. War with Chakrāyudha was, however, but a prelude to the war with the Pāla king whose protége he had been, and this is described in the next verse, in words befitting the occasion. The simile which the poet employs in this connection is, again, significant. We are told that after defeating the dark dense array of the lord of Vaṅga, Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself even as the rising Sun reveals himself by dispelling the dense darkness. This means, in plain language, that the rise of Nāgabhaṭa was possible only if he could defeat the Vaṅga king, and that is why he first turned his arms in this direction. The Sun of Gurjara glory had set with Vatsarāja, and the fortunes of his family, crushed by his powerful enemies, lay enveloped in the darkness of night as it were, till a defeat inflicted upon them ushered in a new dawn for the Gurjaras in the east. Soon the dawn passed away and the Sun reached its noonday height ; for, the next verse informs us that Nāgabhaṭa captured the strongholds of the Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. The poet leaves his hero in the height of his glory, but we know from other records that the Sun reclined to the west and the dusk set in even in the life-time of Nāgabhaṭa II. We learn from the Rāshṭrakūṭa records that the kings of Gurjara, Mālava and other countries along the Vindhya mountains were defeated by Gōvinda

---

[1] Cf. verse 8 of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243. That Dhruva actually proceeded as far as the Ganges and the Jumna is clear from the following passage of the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja :—

> " Yō Gaṅgā-Yamunē taraṅga-subhagē gṛihṇan=parēbhyaḥ samaṁ |
> sākshāch-chihna-nibhēna ch=ōttama-padaṁ tat=prāptavān=aiśvaraṁ ||
> dēh-āsammita-vaibhavair=iva guṇair=yyasya bhramadbhir=ddiśō |
> vyāptās=tasya babhūva kīrtti-purushō Gōvinda-rājaḥ sutaḥ ||"
>
> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 159.

Dr. Fleet who edited the above inscription took the first two lines as referring to Gōvinda III (*Ibid*, p. 163), and Mr. R. Chanda also adopted the same view (*Mānasī*, Vol. VII, p. 589). In my humble opinion this is a mistake and the last line clearly shows that the reference is not to Gōvinda-rāja but to his father Dhruva.

[2] Cf. v. 6 of the Khālimpur copper-plate (above, Vol. IV, p. 243 f.) and v. 3 of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 304 f.).

III[1] and one inscription specifically refers to the defeat inflicted upon Nāgabhaṭa by the same king, and his triumphant march to the Himālayas[2]. It would thus appear that the Gurjara empire so laboriously rebuilt by Nāgabhaṭa II once more fell beneath the crushing blows of the hereditary foes of his family. There are reasons to believe that this was brought about by a confederacy between the two chief enemies of the Gurjaras, viz. the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the south. For the same inscription that records the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II in the hands of Gōvinda III also mentions the fact that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha visited or submitted to the last named king of their own accord[3].

The victory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, although by no means final and decisive, was no doubt disastrous to the Gurjaras. The province of Mālwā passed into the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa, and Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga also possibly shared the same fate. The Pratīhāras, however, did not cease to give trouble to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, for we are told in the inscription of the feudatory chief Karkarāja of Gujarāt, that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras."[4]

But ere long the political situation changed. The Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkarāja of Lāṭa, the son and successor of Indrarāja, was expelled by his younger brother in 812 A.D., and what was worse still, the revolutionary movement, thus set on foot, afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amōghavarsha I.[5]

This unexpected embroglio in the Rāshṭrakūṭa affairs left the Pālas and the Gurjaras free to fight among themselves. It appears that Nāgabhaṭa retained his hold upon Kanauj

[1] Cf. Rādhanpur plates, v. 15 (above, Vol. VI, p. 244), and the Nīlgund ins., v. 5 (*ibid*, p. 102). Two passages in the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja also seem to refer to the conflict between Nāgabhaṭa and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Thus it is said with reference to Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, and the founder of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas :—

" Yen=aikēna cha Gūrjjar-ēśvara-patir=yy ōddhuṁ samabhyudyataḥ
śauryya-prōddhata-kandharō mṛiga iva kshipraṁ diśō grāhitaḥ ।
bhīt-āsaṅ(ṁ)hata-Dakshiṇāpatha-mahā-sāmanta-chakraṁ yatō
rakshām=āpa viluṇṭhyamāna-vibhavaṁ Śrīvallabhēn=ādarāt ||

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160.

As it is explicitly stated that Indrarāja was placed on the throne of Lāṭa by Gōvinda III, this defeat of the Gurjaras must have taken place during his reign. It was thus different from the expedition undertaken by Dhruva against Vatsarāja, and the word *ēkēna* distinguishes it from the campaign of Gōvinda III referred to in the Rādhanpur plate or the Nīlgund inscription. Thus the opponent of Indrarāja was most likely Nāgabhaṭa himself who is represented in the above passage as entering into some alliance, protective or defensive, if not offensive, with the *mahāsāmantas* of the south against Gōvinda III and actually prepared for war (cf. Fleet's remarks, *ibid*, p. 158). This fully confirms what I have suggested above on the strength of the eighth verse of our inscription.

The other passage refers to Karkarāja as follows :—

Gauḍ-ēndra-Vaṅgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha =
sad-Gūrjjar-ēśvara-dig-arggalatāṁ cha yasya ||
nītvā bhujaṁ vihata-Mālava-rakshaṇārtthaṁ ।
svāmī tathā=nyam=api rājya-chha(pha)lāni bhuṅktē ||

Dr. V. A. Smith identified the "Lord of Gurjaras" in the above passage with Vatsarāja (*J. R. A.S.*, 1909, p. 252). But this is untenable. As Gōvinda died about 814 A.D., it must be maintained that the Gurjara chief against whom he employed his nephew in 812-3 A.D. could not be any other than Nāgabhaṭa who is specifically mentioned as being defeated by him (see f. n. 2 below). As Nāgabhaṭa defeated Vaṅgapati, the phrase " Gauḍ-ēndra Vaṅgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha " might well apply to him, and the Buchkalā inscription (above, Vol. IX p. 198) shows that he was ruling in 815 A.D.

[2] The Sañjān copper-plate ; *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 118.

[3] Svayam=ēv=ōpanatau cha yasya mahatas=tau Dharma-Chakrāyudhau || (*Ibid.*)

[4] Barōdā plates of Karkarāja ; ll. 39-40 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

[5] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 402, 409.

which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha, transferred his capital there, and probably succeeded in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in 833-834 A.D.

Of Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, we know very little, but that the Gurjara power declined during his reign is quite evident from the scattered notices we possess about him. The twelfth verse of our inscription seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers. It seems likely that the band of foreign soldiers belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power (the Rāshṭrakūṭas) is not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period. The Daulatpurā plates[1] also lead to the same conclusion. It renews the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā which was originally made by Vatsarāja, and continued by Nāgabhaṭa, but had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhōja. This seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja, some time before 843 A.D., the date of the inscription.

Bhōja, the son and successor of Rāmabhadra, seems to have been a very powerful king and is described in nine grandiloquent verses. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon his powerful enemies and the poet seems to imply in verse 18, that the Goddess of Fortune forsook Dēvapāla and chose Bhōja as her lord. It would thus appear that Bhōja regained the power and prestige of the family by defeating the Pāla king. Our inscription closes with the resuscitation of the glory of the Gurjara Pratīhāra clan under Bhōjadēva. The poem reflects the true sentiment of the Gurjaras whose revivified enthusiasm, after a long period of stress and storm, led them once more to embark on that struggle for empire which had been unsuccessfully waged for four generations.

The hereditary struggle with the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas which seems to be the cardinal fact in the history of the Gurjaras is also referred to in the inscriptions of the feudatory princes of the latter. Thus the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratīhāra Bāuka published above informs us that Kakka defeated the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Most likely he had accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II in his eastern wars. Another chief that probably accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II on the same occasion was Vāhukadhavala, the chief of Surāshṭra. For, we learn from an inscription of his great-grandson Avanivarman II, a feudatory of Mahēndrapāladēva, that he defeated king Dharma in battle, and as Kielhorn observes, this king Dharma may be identified with the Pāla emperor of the same name.[2] We can still trace a third chief who joined Nāgabhaṭa in his expedition against Bengal. This is Śaṁkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince, referred to in the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya.[3] Again, Harsharāja,

[1] Above, Vol. V, page 208.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 2 f. Kielhorn held that Vāhukadhavala lived in the middle of the ninth century A.D. and was a feudatory of Bhōja (*ibid*, p. 3). Dr. V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 266) and Mr. R. Chanda (*Gauḍa-rāja-mālā* p. 28) have supported this view. But as his great-grandson was a feudatory of Mahēndrapāla at the end of the ninth century A.D. it is more reasonable to hold, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has done (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 167), that Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa at the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, p. 10 f. It contains the following verse with reference to Śaṁkaragaṇa :—

"Pratijñāṁ prāk=kṛitvō=dbhaṭa-kari-ghaṭā-saṁkaṭa-raṇē bhaṭaṁ jitvā Gauḍa-kshitipam=avanim sangara-hṛitāṁ
balād=dāsīṁ chakrē [pra]bhu-charaṇayōr=yaḥ praṇayinīṁ tatō bhūpaḥ sō=bhūj=jita-bahu-raṇaḥ Śaṁkara-
gaṇaḥ ||"

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited this inscription concluded from the above that Śaṁkaragaṇa conquered Bhaṭa, the king of the Gauḍa country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. He further suggested that this Bhaṭa might be Śūrapāla. I beg to differ from these views of the learned scholar. The verse seems to mean that Śaṁkaragaṇa defeated the king of Gauḍa, a great warrior (bhaṭa), and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord. Secondly, Śaṁkaragaṇa was the great-grandson of Dhanika, one of whose known dates is 725 A.D. (*ibid*, p. 11). Śaṁkaragaṇa should therefore be taken as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The verse thus shows that Śaṁkaragaṇa helped his overlord Nāgabhaṭa to wrest the empire from Dharmapāla by defeating the latter.

the son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, is said to have conquered the kings in the north and presented horses to Bhōja, who has been rightly identified with the great Pratīhāra emperor Bhōja by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.[1] Further Guhila II, the son of Harsharāja, is said to have defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from the princes in the east.[2]

TEXT.[3]

[Metres : vv. 1, 8-11, 26, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 5, 6, 12, 27, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 13, 14, 16, 21-23, 25, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 15, 24, *Upajāti* ; v. 17, *Śikhariṇī* ; v. 20, *Hariṇī*.]

1 Oṁ[3a] namō Vishṇavē ||
Śēsh-āhi-talpa-dhaval-ādhara-bhāga-bhāsi-
vakshaḥ-sthal-ōllasita-Kaustubha-kānti-śōṇaṁ |
śyāmaṁ vapu[ḥ*] śaśi-virōchana-vimva(bimba)-chumvi(mbi)-
vyōma-prakāśam=avatān=Naraka-dvishō vaḥ || 1 ||
Ātm-ārāma-phalād=upārjya vijaraṁ dēvēna Daitya-dvishā
jyōtir-vvījam[4]=akṛittrimē

2 guṇavat[i] kshēttrē yad=uptaṁ purā |
śrēyaḥ-kanda-vapus=tatas=samabhavad=Bhāsvān=ataś=ch=āparē
Manv-Ikshvāku-Kakustha[5]-mūla[6]-Pṛithavaḥ kshmāpāla-kalpa-ddr[u]māḥ || 2 ||
Tēshāṁ vaṁśē sujanmā krama-nihita-padē dhāmni vajr-ēshu-ghōraṁ
Rāmaḥ Paulastya-hinśraṁ[7] kshata-vihati-samit-karmma chakrē palāśaiḥ |
ślāghya-

3 s=tasy=ānujō=sau Maghava-mada-mushō Mēghanādasya saṁkhyē
Saumittris=tīvra-daṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇa-vidhēr=yaḥ pratīhāra āsīt || 3 ||
Tad=vanśē[8] Pratīhāra-kētana-bhṛiti ttrailōkya-raksh-āspadē
dēvō Nāgabhaṭaḥ purātana-munēr=mūttir[9]=vva(bba)bhūv=ādbhutaṁ |
yēn=āsau sukṛita-pramāthi-va(ba)lavan[10]-Mlēchchh-ā-

4 -dhip-ākshauhiṇīḥ
kshundāna[11]sphurad-ugra-hēti-ruchirē(rai)r=ddōrbhiś=chaturbhir=vvabhau[12] || 4 ||
Bhrātus=tasy=ātmajō=bhūt=kalita-kula-yaśāḥ khyāta-Kākustha[13]-nāmā
lōkē gītaḥ pratīka-priya[14]-vachanatayā Kakkukaḥ kshmābhṛid-īśaḥ |
śrīmān=asy=ānujanmā Kuliśa-dhara-dhurām=udvahan=Dēvarājō
yajñē[15]=chchhin[16]-ōru-paksha-kshapita-ga-

---

[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 12.

[2] Verse 23 of the Chāṭsū inscription. *Ibid*, p. 15.

[3] From the ink-impressions supplied by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

[3a] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *-bbījam=*.

[5] Read *-Kakutstha=*.

[6] [Could *Mūla* stand for *Mūla ka* for which see Pargiter *Anct.* (*Ind.*) *Hist.* Trad. p. 147—Ed.]

[7] Read *-hiṁsraṁ.*

[8] Read *=vaṁśē.*

[9] Read *=mūrttir=.*

[10] Pandit Hirananda reads it as '*Valana*' and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar reads it as *Valacha* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240). The third letter, however, seems to me to be clearly a *va*, it being quite distinct on the reverse of the estampage. I therefore read the whole expression as *valavan-Mlēchchhā.°* The loop of *m* in the conjunct consonant *nmlē* is probably omitted through the engraver's mistake.

[11] Read *kshundānas-*.

[12] Read *=bbabhau.*

[13] Read *-Kākutstha-*.

[14] Read *-priya-*.

[15] Read *jajñē=*.

[16] Read *=chchhinn-*.

5 ti kulaṁ bhūbhṛitāṁ sanniyantā || 5 ||
Tat=sūnuḥ prāpya rājyaṁ nijam=Udayagiri-sparddhibhāsvat-pratāpaḥ
kshmā-pālaḥ prādurāsīn=nata-sakala-jagad-vatsalō=**Vatsarājaḥ** |
yasy=aitās=sampadaś=cha dvirada-mada-sur-āsvāda-sāndra-pramōdāḥ
padmākshīr=ākshipantya[1] praṇayi-jana-parishvaṅga-kāntā virējuḥ || 6 ||
Khyā[tād[2]=**Bhaṇḍi**]-

6 -kulān=mad-ōtkaṭa-kari-prākāra-durllaṅghatō
yaḥ sāmrājyayadhijya[3]-kārmmuka-sakhā saṁkhyē haṭhād=agrahīt
ēkaḥ Kshattriya-puṅgavēshu cha yaśō-gurvvīn=dhuraṁ prōdvahann=
Ikshvāk[ō]ḥ kulam=unnataṁ sucharitaiś=chakrē sva-nām-āṅkitaṁ || 7 ||
Ādyaḥ pumān=punar=api sphuṭa-kīrttir=asmāj=
jātas=sa ēva kila **Nāgabhaṭas**=tad-ākhyaḥ |
yattr=**Ā**-

7 -**ndhra-Saindhava-Vidarbha-Kaliṅga**-bhūpaiḥ
Kaumāra-dhāmani pataṅga-samair=apāti || 8 ||
Ttra(tra)yy=āspadasya sukṛitasya samṛiddhim=ichchhur=
yaḥ Kshattra-dhāma-vidhi-vaddha-vali-pravandhaḥ[4] |
jitvā par-āśraya-kṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṁ
Chakrāyudhaṁ vinaya-namra-vapur=vvyarājat || 9 ||
Durvvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-vāji-vāra-
yāṇ[5]-augha-saṁghaṭa-

8 na-ghōra-ghan-āndhakāraṁ |
nirjjitya **Vaṅgapatim**=āvirabhūd=vivasvān=
udyann=iva ttrijagad-ēka-vikāsakō-yaḥ || 10 ||
Ānartta-Mālava-Kirāta-Turushka-Vatsa-
Matsy-ādi-rāja-giri-durgga-haṭh-āpahāraiḥ |
yasy=ātma-vaibhavam=atīndriyam=ā-kumāram=
āvirvvabhūva[6] bhuvi viśvajanīna-vṛittēḥ || 11 ||
Taj-janmā **Rāma**-

9 nāmā pravara-hari-vala[7]-nyasta-bhūbhṛit-pravandhair[8]=
āvadhnan[9]=vāhinīnāṁ prasabham=adhipatīn=uddhata-krūra-satvān |
pāp-āchār-āntarāya-pramathana-ruchiraḥ saṅgata[10] kīrtti-dārais=
trātā dharmmasya tais=tais=samuchita-charitaiḥ pūrvvavan=nirvvabhāsē[11] || 12 ||
Ananya-sādhan-ādhīna-pratāp-ākrānta-di-

10 ṅmukhaḥ |
upāyais=sampadāṁ svāmī yaḥ sa-vrīḍam=upāsyata || 13 ||
Arthibhir=vviniyuktānāṁ sampadāṁ janma kēvalaṁ |

[1] Read *ākshipantyaḥ*.
[2] Only the first letter is distinct.
[3] Read *sāmrājyam=adhijya-*.
[4] Read *baddha-bali-prabandhaḥ*.
[5] Read *yān-*.
[6] Read *āvirbbabhūva*.
[7] Read *bala*.
[8] Read *-prabandhair=*.
[9] Read *-ābadhnan=*.
[10] Read *saṅgataḥ*.
[11] Read *=nirbbabhāsē*.

yasy=ābhūt=kṛitinaḥ prītyai n=ātm-ēchchhā-viniyōgataḥ || 14 ||
Jagad-vitṛishṇuḥ sa viśuddha-satvaḥ
prajāpatitvaṁ viniyōktukāmaḥ |
sutaṁ rahasya-vrata-suprasannāt=
Sūryād=avā-

11 -pan=Mihir-ābhidhānaṁ || 15 ||
Uparōdh-aika-saṁruddha-Vindhya-vṛiddhēr=Agastyataḥ
ākramya bhūbhṛitāṁ bhōktā yaḥ prabhur=Bhōja ity=abhāt || 16 ||
Yaśasvī śānt-ātmā jagad-ahita-vichchhēda-nipuṇaḥ
parishvaktō Lakshmyā na cha mada-kalaṅkēna kalitaḥ |
vabhūva[1] prēm-ārdrō guṇishu vishayaḥ sūnṛita-

12 girām=
asau Rāmō v=āgrē sva-kṛiti-gaṇanāyām=iha Vidhēḥ || 17 ||
Yasy=ābhūt=kula-bhūmi-bhṛit-pramathana-vyast=ānya-sainy-āmvudhēr[2]=
vvyūḍhāṁ cha sphuṭit-āri-lāja-nivahān=hutvā pratāp-ānalē |
guptā vṛiddha-guṇair=ananya-gatibhiḥ śāntais=sudh=ōdbhāsibhir=
dDharmm-āpatya-yaśaḥ-prabhūtir=aparā Lakshmīḥ punarbhū-

13 r=nnayā || 18 ||
Prītaiḥ pālanayā tapōdhana-kulaiḥ snēhād=gurūṇāṁ gaṇair=
bhaktyā bhatya[3]-janēna nīti-nipuṇair=vṛindair=arīṇāṁ punaḥ |
viśvēn=āpi yadīyam=āyur=amitaṁ kartuṁ sva-jīv-aishiṇā
tan-nighnā vidadhē Vidhātari yathā sampat=par-ārddhy-āśrayē || 19 ||
Avitatham=idaṁ yāvad=viśvaṁ śrutē-

14 -r=anuśāsanād=
bhavati phala-bhāk=karttā n=ēśaḥ kshitīndra-śatēshv=api |
adharita-Kalēḥ kīrttēr=bharttus=satāṁ sukṛitair=abhūd=
vidhurita-dhiyāṁ sampad-vṛiddhir=yad=asya tad=adbhutaṁ || 20 ||
Yasya vairi-vṛihad[4]-vaṅśān=dahataḥ kōpa-vahninā |
pratāpād=arṇṇasāṁ rāśīn=pātur=vvaitṛishṇyam=āvabhau[5] || 21 ||
Kumāraiva vidyānāṁ

15 vṛindēn=ādbhuta-karmmaṇā |
yaḥ śaśās=Āsurān=ghōrān=straiṇēn=āstr-aika-vṛittinā || 22 ||
Yasy=āksha-paṭalē rājñaḥ prabhutvād=viśva-sampadaḥ |
lilēkha mukham=ālōkya prātilēkhya-karō Vidhiḥ || 23 ||
Uddāma-tējaḥ-prasara-prasūtā śikh=ēva kīrttir=dyumaṇiṁ vijitya
jāyā jagad=bhartu-

---

[1] Read *babhūva*.
[2] Read *-āmbudhēr* [Read *āmbudhēr=vyūḍhā-* Ed.]
[3] Read *bhṛitya-*
[4] Read *bṛihad-vaṁśān=*.
[5] Read *=ābabhau*.

16 -r=iyāya yasya chittraṁ tv=idaṁ yaj=jaladhiṁ[1]=atatāra || 24 ||

Rājñā tēna sva-dēvīnāṁ yaśaḥ-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē |
antaḥ-pura-puraṁ nāmnā vyadhāyi Naraka-dvishaḥ || 25 ||

Yāvan=nabhaḥ Sura-sarit-pa(pra)sar-ōttarīyaṁ
yāvat=su-duśchara-tapaḥ-prabhavaḥ prabhāvaḥ |
satyañ=cha yāvad=uparistha(shṭha)m=avaty=aśēshaṁ
tāvat pu-

17 -nātu jagatīm=iyam=ārya[2]-kīrttiḥ || 26 ||

Pātur=vviśvasya samyak=parama-muni-mata-śrēyasas=saṁvidhānād=
antar-vṛittir=vvivēkaḥ sthitaiva puratō Bhōja-dēvasya rājñaḥ |
vidvad-vṛind-ārjjitānāṁ phalam=iva tapasāṁ Bhaṭṭadhannēka-sūnur=
vVālādityaḥ[3] praśastēḥ kavir=iha jagatā sākam=ā-kalpa-vṛittēḥ || 27 ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Oṁ, adoration to Vishṇu !

(Verse 1.) May the dark-blue body of the Enemy of (demon) Naraka protect you,—that body which shines like the sky kissed by the discs of the Sun and the Moon, (inasmuch as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śēsha used as a bed, and is made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering on its breast.

(Verse 2.) As from the fresh seed taken from a fruit in a garden, and sown in a natural fertile soil, grows bulbuous root of a superior kind, from which again spring forth Kalpa trees; so from the (particle of) light evolved by the Enemy of Demons from self-delightedness (*ātm-ārama*) and sown by him in soil well qualified by nature, was born the Sun, the root of all that is good, and from the Sun, again, a line of kings such as Manu, Ikshvāku, Kaku(t)stha and the first Pṛithu.[4]

(Verse 3.) In their race, in the family in which Vishṇu set foot, Rāma, of auspicious birth, carried on a war of destruction and slaughter with the demons—dire on account of the adamantine arrows—which killed Rāvaṇa.

All praise unto his younger brother, Lakshmaṇa (Saumittri),—a stern rod of chastisement in war with Mēghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride,—who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to (his) commandment not to allow others to enter (lit. to repel others).[5]

(Verse 4.) In that family, which bore the insignia of *Pratīhāra* (door-keeper), and was a shelter of the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa I appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, inasmuch as, having crushed the large armies of the powerful

---

[1] Read =*jaladhiṁ*-.

[2] Pandit Hirananda reads *asya* but *ārya* is quite clear.

[3] Read =*b Bālādityaḥ*.

[4] There were several kings called Pṛithu. *Cf. e.g. Mahābhārata*, (Madras edition), Ādiparva, 201, 18; 206, 11; Vanaparva, 205, 2. Mūla-Pṛithu may, therefore, be taken to denote the first king of the name, *viz.*, the son of Vēna.

[5] The allusion is to the incident described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 116. Kāla in the shape of an ascetic visited Rāma and told him that he was there to talk about something very confidential. He extracted a promise from Rāma that any one who listened to, or observed them, would be put to death. Thereupon Rāma asked Lakshmaṇa to send away the gate-keeper and guard the door himself. The sequel of the story describes how Lakshmaṇa was forced to interrupt the conversation of Rāma with the ascetic owing to the importunities of Durvāsā, and died a voluntary death in fulfilment of the promise of Rāma.

Mlēchchha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons.[1]

(Verse 5.) His brother's son, who added to the renown of the family and had the well-known name **Kākustha (Kākutstha)**, but who, on account of his (habit of) saying welcome things in an inverted manner, was known in the world as **Kakkuka** (*i.e.*, one who always laughs), was a paramount king.[2]

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, **Dēvarāja** who performed the same task as the great Wielder of thunderbolt (Indra); (for) he curbed a multitude of kings (*bhūbhrit*) by having destroyed their powerful allies (*pakshaḥ*) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (*gati*); Indra also curbed a multitude of mountains (*bhūbhṛit*) by having destroyed their powerful wings (*pakshaḥ*) and thus caused them to cast off their movements (*gati*).

(Verse 6.) His son, king **Vatsarāja**, who was compassionate towards the entire world he had subdued, and resembled the Sun in prowess, revealed himself by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the mountain Udaya.

His riches, too, highly fragrant by reason of the flavour of the wine of elephant ichor, and shining in company of the needy, appeared exceedingly beautiful, having eclipsed the lotus-eyed women, who too became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the fond embrace of their lovers.

(Verse 7.) With strong bows as his companion he forcibly wrested the empire, in battle from the famous **Bhaṇḍi** clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants.

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown, he, the foremost among the most distinguished Kshatriyas, stamped the noble race of Ikshvāku with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct.

Both Dr. Kielhorn and Pandit Hirananda take the fourth line of the verse to mean that Lakshmaṇa was Rāma's door-keeper since he repelled the enemies (*pratiharaṇavidhāḥ*). This meaning does not seem satisfactory for there is no connection between the repelling of enemies and acting as a door-keeper. One of the well-known meanings of *pratiharaṇa* is 'to avoid,' 'shun,' etc., and *vidhi* also means a commandment, a precept, which enjoins something for the first time. In the well-known incident of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted above, Rāma enjoined for the first time that all persons should be excluded from his private interview with the ascetic, and appointed Lakshmaṇa as the door-keeper to successfully accomplish this purpose. This makes it quite clear why Lakshmaṇa is described in the inscription as *pratīhāra* owing to *pratiharaṇa-vidhi*. In other words, the poet implies that Lakshmaṇa was not an ordinary door-keeper, but served as such on account of the particular commandment laid down by Rāma.

The fourth verse of the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka also traces the origin of the name of the Pratīhāra dynasty to this incident, and it certainly well deserves the dignity, because literally as well as figuratively, it was the last act of self-sacrifice on the part of Lakshmaṇa, whose whole life was one of sacrifice for his brother.

[The derivation of the name Pratīhāra which is given here is evidently not the same as that indicated by the word *prātihārya* in the Jodhpur *Praśasti* of Bāuka. Here the poet suggests that the *pratiharaṇa-vidhi* displayed by Lakshmaṇa in his fight with Mēghanāda, is the origin of the family name Pratīhāra and not the traditional *prātihārya*=door-keeper's place This is a grammatically possible derivative since °*haraṇa*–*hara* depriving or taking away or destroying.—Ed.]

[1] The obvious implication is, that the terrible weapons glittering in the two hands of Nāgabhaṭa made it appear as if he had four hands, and he thus resembled, although in a strange manner, the old sage Nārāyaṇa who possessed four hands too.

[2] Pandit Hirananda translates "*khyāta-Kākustha-nāmā*" as "celebrated the names of the descendants of Kākustha" and gives Kakkuka as the only name of the king. But the two expressions *khyāta-Kākustha-nāmā* and *lōkē gītaḥ* placed side by side seem to indicate that he had the well-known name *Kākutstha*, but was popularly known as *Kakkuka*. The root *kakk* means 'to laugh' and *Kakkuka* was a fit appellation of one who laughed and made people laugh by his inverted way of saying things.

(Verse 8.) The primeval man was again[1] born to him, and, being far-famed, and possessed of elephant hosts, was called **Nāgabhaṭa (II)**.

The kings of **Āndhra**, **Sindhu**, **Vidarbha** and **Kaliṅga** succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire.[2]

(Verse 9.) Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vēdas, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kshatriya families;[3] and, after having defeated **Chakrāyudha**, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he (lit. his body) was humble through modesty.[4]

(Verse 10.) Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of **Vaṅga**, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhaṭa, who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising Sun, the sole source of manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness.[5]

(Verse 11.) Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities[6] (like eloquence, statesmanship, etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of **Ānartta**, **Mālava**, **Kirāta**, **Turushka**, **Vatsa** and **Matsya**.

(Verse 12.) (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans (lit. the lords of rivers), full of exceedingly cruel animals, by means of continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (as he thereby) got (lit. was joined by) his wife and renown. His (Nāgabhaṭa's) son, **Rāma** by name, also shone forth like this (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge, and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers (as he thus) attained the fame which was unto him even as a consort.[7]

(Verse 13.) That lord of prosperity, who had overpowered the points of compass by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda*), was yet

[1] The phrase *punar-api* denotes either that the primeval man who was once born as Nāgabhaṭa (cf. v. 4) appeared again, or that Nāgabhaṭa, the first man in the family (*ādyaḥ pumān*), was again born as such.

[2] There is a pun on the word *kaumāra-dhāmani*. *Kumāra* means fire as well as youth.

[3] [In verse 9 *bali-prabandaḥ* must mean the collection of taxes as Mr. Hirananda Sastri interprets. A king has to collect taxes if he has to perform Vedic sacrifices and protect the Dharma. Rid of all *alaṁkāra*, the verse means that the King collected taxes only as per prescribed law for increasing Vedic merit; and conquered king Chakrāyudha who had joined the enemy. With *alaṁkāra* it means "he excelled Vishṇu—though like him he also imprisoned Bali, since he was not *low* like Vāmana nor proud like Trivikrama, but was full of *vinaya*. —Ed.]

[4] There is an implication in this verse to the effect that Nāgabhaṭa excelled Vishṇu (Chakrāyudha). Both were *Trayy-āspadasya sukṛitasya samṛiddhim=ichchhuḥ*, but Vishṇu could not, like Nāgabhaṭa, be said to have been *Kshattra-dhāma-vidhi-baddha-bali-prabandhaḥ* as he could not subdue Bali by Kshatriya rites. Then, Vishṇu was *par-āśraya-kṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha bhāvaḥ*. This refers to the Vāmana incarnation in which Vishṇu took the body of a dwarf. Again, whereas Nāgabhaṭa was *namra-vapuḥ* only through *vinaya*, Vishṇu's body was actually *namra* inasmuch as he was a dwarf.

[5] There is an implied *Ślēsha* in this verse. The adjective *tri-jagad-ēka-vikāsakō*=applies both to Nāgabhaṭa and the Sun, and both vanquish darkness, in the one case literally, and in the other, figuratively.

[6] Pandit Hirananda translates *ātma-vaibhavam* by "greatness of soul." It is better to take it, as suggested by my friend Mr. J. C. Ghatak, M.A., as equivalent to the technical term *ātma-sampat* meaning a group of royal qualities as explained in *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Ch. IV, vv. 14-18.

[7] The phrase *saṅgataḥ kīrtti-dāraiḥ* seems to be a significant one. The evident meaning is, that as in the case of Rāmachandra, he was joined by his wife after she had been in enemy's stronghold for some time, Rāmabhadra, too, regained the fame which was so long in his enemy's possession. This seems to show that Rāmabhadra's power was overshadowed by his enemy till he defeated him and captured his commanders.

demurely waited upon by the other Means (i.e. although he neglected them as not necessary, they were within his beck and call).[1]

(Verse 14.) The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

(Verse 15.) A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name **Mihira**, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship over his subjects.[2]

(Verse 16.) The lord, who ruled over many kings (*bhūbhṛit*) after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhōja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single *bhūbhrit*, *i.e.* mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own prowess).[3]

(Verse 17.) Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakshmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

(Verse 18.) The other Lakshmī, the source of the fame of **Dharmma's (Dharmapāla's)** son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhōja's) own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by (his) superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king.[4]

[1] The ancient writers on Hindu polity laid down *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *daṇḍa* as the four *upāyas* or expedients which a king should adopt towards other kings. (Some add three more, making the total number to be seven cf. the *Kāmandakīya Nītisārā*, Ch. 18.) Now the poet implies that of these the king followed only one, *viz*. *daṇḍa* and did not take resort to the rest. His position was, therefore, similar to one who possesses many wives but cares for only one. But, as in this case the neglected wives, as in duty bound, would still continue to pay their humble devotion to him, so the other political expedients, although not adopted by the king, were always within his beck and call. The poet thus indicates that though in practice the king used only one expedient, it should not be concluded therefrom that he was ignorant or incapable of handling the rest.

[2] The general meaning conveyed by the verse seems to be that although he was averse to the worldly pleasures he wanted a son, not for his own delight, but merely for the reason that he might leave a ruler for his subjects.

[3] The allusion is to the mythical story that the Vindhya mountain once got angry with the Sun and began to rise higher and higher in order to check his daily course. At the request of the gods the sage Agastya approached the mountain and asked it to bow down in order to make room for him on his way to the south, and not to rise up till his return. The Vindhya agreed, and as Agastya never returned, had to remain in the same position. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chap. 104.

The poet contrasts the deeds of Agastya and Bhōja. The contrast is between (1) *Vindhya* and *bhūbhṛitāṁ* (2) *saṁruddha-vṛiddhēḥ* and *bhōktā* and (3) *uparōdha* and *ākramya*. One had to do with only one *bhūbhṛit* (mountain), the other dealt with a number of *bhūbhṛit* (kings as well as mountains situated within their kingdoms); then in one case the question was merely of checking the growth, in the other, of complete conquest; lastly, one gained his object by *request* while the other had achieved his purpose by means of *prowess*.

[4] The principal clause in the sentence *Yasy=ābhūd=aparā Lakshmīḥ punarbhūr=nayā* clearly means that Lakshmī who belonged to another became properly his *punarbhū* or remarried wife. According to the poet Lakshmī acted properly (*nayā*). A similar sentiment occurs in an almost contemporary record. (Cf. *e.g.* verse 3 of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243.)

The expression *dharmm-āpatya-yaśaḥ prabhūti*, applied to Lakshmī has been translated by Pandit Hirananda as "source of fame, progeny and virtue." But Lakshmī who is merely a conventional representation of sovereign power can hardly be said to be the source of progeny or virtue. I have, therefore, taken *dharmm-āpatya* in the sense of "son of Dharma or Dharmapāla, (*i.e.* Dēvapāla)." This fits in well with the context, implying that Lakshmī who was the consort of Dēvapāla now belonged to Bhōja or in other words, the supreme position passed from the one to the other, and this has been shown to be a historical fact.

(Verse 19.) In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them, the preceptors, out of affection, the servants, out of devotion, the multitude of foes, out of policy, and mankind in general, for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was as worthy a recipient as the Creator Himself.[1]

(Verse 20.) According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruits thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of even hundred kings. It is strange that the meritorious deeds of honest men, whose intellect was undefiled, went to increase the prosperity of this king, who was the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame.[2]

(Verse 21.) Of him, who had burnt the powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who had drunk a large quantity of water).[3]

(Verse 22.) Like Kumāra (Kārttikēya) with his host of Mātṛikās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms.[4]

(Verse 23.) Vidhi (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in the chancery of that king, looking at (*i.e.* being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king.)

(Verse 24.) Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame, issuing out of a flood of luxuriant lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the oceans.

(Verse 25.) In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected a house within his seraglio compound in the name of Narakadvish (Vishṇu).

(Verse 26.) As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power originating from severe religious austerities, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work[5] purify the world.

(Verse 27.) Bālāditya (is) the poet of this *praśasti* which would exist along with the world up to the end of the *Kalpa*; (he,) the son of Bhaṭṭadhannēka and the fruit of penances, as it were of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhōjadēva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of sages.[6]

---

[1] The verse apparently means that all tried their best to prolong the life of the king. The ascetics, by religious observances on his behalf, the preceptors, by teaching him proper mode of life, the servants, by looking to his comforts, the enemies, by not disturbing him, and the subjects, by loyally carrying out his orders, would all contribute towards the same end, viz. a long and happy life to him.

[2] This verse completes the sense of the previous one wherein it was implied that the king enjoyed the fruits of the meritorious deeds of various categories of people.

[3] [*Vaitṛishṇyam* in my opinion, means here the opposite of 'absence of greed,' *i.e.* thirst (for conquest). This thirst, says the poet was evident because the King had burnt the *vaṁśas* (races or bamboos) of his enemies and had drunk (or protected) on account of that great heat (*pratāpa*), the oceans.—Ed.]

[4] The allusion is to the fight between the Dēvas and the Dānavas in which Kumāra was the commander-in-chief of the former, and had in his army a number of Mātrikās. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Śalyaparva, Ch. 45 (Madras Edition). Although the female companions of Kumāra are usually called Mātrikās, the use of the word *Vidyā* is probably to be explained by the fact that it is sometimes used as a synonym of *Mātṛikā*, both meaning *Durgā*. [Vidyā in the case of the King should be taken to mean 'Source of Knowledge.'—Ed.]

[5] This verse furnishes another instance of the use of the word '*Kīrtti*' in the sense of 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' For full discussion on this point, cf. Fleet *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 212, f. n. 6.

[6] I am indebted to Mr. Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., for valuable suggestions regarding the translation of the inscription.

No. 14.—PATTATTALMANGALAM GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN.

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Ootacamund.

In October 1922, when I was in charge of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Aiyar obtained the following set of copper-plates from Mr. Rm. St. Sivananda Pillai of Kumbakōṇam and sent it to me for examination. As I had soon after to go away to Ootacamund, I left the plates to be noticed by Mr. Venkoba Rao in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1922-23. The set is marked as No. 5 Appendix A in the Report for that year and finds a short notice in Part II which will be referred to in the sequel. I edit the inscription on the plates with the help of one set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. Recently an article entitled " the Kot-raṅguḍi plates of Nandivarman II " has appeared in the *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 to 129, under the editorship of Mr. T. N. Subramaniam. There the discovery of the plates has been described in detail.

The set consists of five plates of which the first and last are engraved only on their inner sides. They were originally strung together on a ring bearing a massive seal, 3 inches in diameter. The emblems and legend on the seal are so badly obliterated that they cannot be made out. A couchant **bull** is all that could be faintly seen. The ring had been cut when the plates reached me and it is not known when and by whom it was cut. The plates measure nearly 10″ by $3\frac{1}{2}''$ and the ring-hole, bored at the left margin, is $\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. The five plates with the ring and seal weigh 320 tolas and the plates alone weigh 175 tolas.

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation. The only places where some damage is done to letters are at the commencement of lines 7 and 8 of II*b*, lines 1 and 2 of III*a*, lines 5 and 6 of III*b* and line 8 of IV*b*. It has been found possible to restore with certainty all the damaged portions except that in line 1 of III*a*. The reading of the damaged portion in line 6 of III*b* is tentative. As is usual with most of the copper-plate charters of South India, this inscription consists of two parts of which the first is in **Sanskrit** poetry (eleven verses in all) written in **Grantha** characters and runs from line 1 to line 22, where the second part in **Tamiḻ** prose commences and runs to the end *i.e.*, line 60. The few Grantha letters and words employed in the Tamiḻ portion are *sāmā*, *sarvva-parihāram* and *brahmadē* (l. 37), *hāram* (l. 38), *brahmadē* (l. 42), *gauta* (ll. 43 and 45), *nya* and *kra* (l. 43), *bhaṭṭa* (ll. 44 and 45), *jatva* (l. 44), *Hiraṇya* (ll. 44 and 48), *Agniśarmma* and *gōtra* (l. 47), *dē* (l. 48), *śarmma* (ll. 45, 53, 56, 57, and 58) and *śrī-Daṇḍi* (l. 60).

A few alphabetical peculiarities deserve notice :— The symbol for secondary *ī* (long) is a concave curve with a commencing loop engraved on the top of the consonant, while in the case of *i* (short), this loop is absent. The three letters *mu*, *pu* and *ḻu* are almost similar in shape, but can be well distinguished on close examination : while the *u* symbol of *mu* is written immediately below the horizontal line, it is engraved at the end of a vertical downward stroke drawn from the right end of the horizontal in the case of *pū*. Though *ḻu* is formed like *pu*, it is distinguished by having a small indenture at the right end of the horizontal stroke. Two forms of *ya* occur of which one is a semi-circle with two upward arms on the right side, while the other is a simple loop twice wound round. The shape of *va* is almost that of a triangle with its base at bottom. *La* has not got the usual convex curve on the right side ; it has only an angle. The *rēpha* is invariably marked in this epigraph and in most cases the *puḷḷi* also. The Tamiḻ *sandhi* rules have to account for the change of *l* into *ṟ* in *pērāṟ-brahma* (l. 42). But it may be pointed out that the same change noticed in the word *viṇṇappattāṟ* occurring before *Ālappākka* (l. 27), in *vaḻiyāṟ* occurring before *maṉai* (l. 31) and in *Mayilāppiṟ* before *Nandi*

(l. 44 f.) is unusual and against the rules of grammar. Among the *gôtra* names, Jatvakaraṇṇa (l. 44) and Koṇḍiṇa (l. 54) stand for Jātūkarṇa and Kauṇḍinya respectively.

After an invocation to Vishṇu (v. 1) and the primeval cause of the Universe (v. 2), the mythical geneaology of the Pallavas is given in verse 3 which states that from the lotus-navel of Narakāri (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) came Brahmā; from him came Aṅgiras; from him Dêvaguru (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati); from him the renowned sage Śaṁyu; from his son Bharadvāja was born Drôṇa of established skill in handling the bow in battles; from him Drauṇi (i.e., Aśvatthāman) of unsurpassed valour; and from him **Pallava.** Prosperity and Earth rested with the Pallavas to the exclusion of other kings (v. 4) and the sovereigns of this family obtained glory by conquering all enemies (v. 5). In the line of kings counting from **Vīrakūrcha** and others who had obtained *svarga*, there was king **Hiraṇyavarman**: and then came **Nandivarman** (v. 6). He was a powerful monarch and it is stated of him that he came to rule the kingdom while he was very young: and conquering all enemies, he had his foot-stool adorned with the crowns of the lords of earth who bowed before him (v. 7). The darkness of the world was removed by the splendour of his fame (v. 8). Waiting to get entrance, it is said, there were at his gate the Vallabha, Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tuḷu, Goṅgaṇa (Koṅkaṇa) and others (v. 9). Verse 10 gives out that the chief officer of his, who was ruling the province of **Maṅgala-rāshtra** and who was a great hero, virtuous and respected by the good, having petitioned the king, gave (a *brahmadēya*) to a number of Brāhmaṇas. The Tamil portion records that at the request (*viṇṇappam*) of Maṅgalanāḍāḷvāṉ and at the *āṇatti* of **Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ**, king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman** issued an order in the **61st year of his reign** to the *nāṭṭār* of **Teṉkarai-Ārvalakūṟṟam** in **Śōḷa-nāḍu** granting as *brahmadēya* 40 *vēlis* of land, which included an old *brahmadēya* of 24 *vēlis*, another *brahmadēya* of 12 *vēlis* granted in the 59th year of the same king's reign at the request of Maṅgalanāḍāḷvāṉ and the *āṇatti* of Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ and the remaining 4 *velis* now assigned. The *nāṭṭār* made obeisance to the order, received it on their heads, circumambulated the granted land and planting boundary stones and milk bush, issued their order freeing every kind of land in this grant portion from all the rights of the king—which are here specified—and constituted it as a new village under the name of **Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam.** The names of the donees are then mentioned (see table below). The inscription was engraved by a certain **Śrī-Daṇḍi** son of **Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-perundachchaṉ of Aimpaṇaichchēri (Aimbuṇaichchēri) in Kachchippēḍu.**

There were more kings than one of the name Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman in the Pallava family. The earliest of them is he who issued the Udayēndiram copper-plate grant[1] wherein he is stated to be the son of Skandavarman, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates which say that Simhavishṇu was the son of Simhavarman and grandson of Nandivarman[2], seem to refer to this Nandivarman. The second sovereign of the Pallava family who bore the name Nandivarman was the son of Hiraṇyavarman and a lineal descendant of Bhīma, the younger brother of Simhavishṇu.[3] He bore the surnames Kshatriyamalla, Pallavamalla and Viḍēlviḍugu[4]. The third of the name was the grandson of this Nandivarman Pallavamalla[5] and it was during his reign that the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates were issued

The first question to determine is to which of the three Nandivarmans we should ascribe the present inscription. Mr. Venkoba Rao in noticing this inscription in his report for 1922-23

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 145.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 508, vv. 9 and 10. The exact relationship between Simhavarman and Nandivarman is not mentioned.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 350, vv. 28-30.

[4] *Ibid.* p 350, line 78.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 511, vv. 16-19.

states that it must belong to the reign of Nandivarman III. I consider this conclusion of his to be quite untenable. I would at the outset point out that the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates which are supposed to have been issued in the reign of Nandivarman III should correctly be attributed to his grandfather Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. According to the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates the king bore the surname Ēkadhīra[1] and this was the surname of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is clear from the fact that the grant made in the Kāśākuḍi plates was constituted into a new village under the name Ēkadhīramaṅgalam[2] which should have been so termed after the king's surname Ēkadhīra. The second point to note is that the Nandivarman of our plates was the successor of Hiraṇyavarman as was the Nandivarman of the Kāśākuḍi and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates. The third ground, which is much stronger than all, is furnished in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscriptions[3] explaining the sculptures representing the events that took place immediately after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II leading to the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It says:—

> After the death of **Paramēśvaravarman II**, a deputation consisting of the *Mātras*, the *Mūlaprakṛitis* and the *ghaṭakayar* waited on **Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja** and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign. Thereupon king Hiraṇyavarman sent for the chief potentates (*kulamallar*) and enquired which among them would accept the sovereignty. All of them refusing, he asked his sons **Śrīmalla, Raṇamalla, Saṅgrāmamalla** and **Pallavamalla**. Pallavamalla humbly offered to go, but king Hiraṇyavarman was at first unwilling to risk his son, who was then only twelve years of age, in such a perilous undertaking. But Hiraṇyavarman was soon persuaded by **Daraṇikoṇḍapōśar** to give his consent. Receiving the weapons presented to him both by his father and Daraṇikoṇḍapōśar, Pallavamalla proceeded to **Kāñchīpuram**, crossing on his way several hills, rivers and forests. Hearing of his approach a certain **Pallavadi-Araiyar** came with a large force, and placed him on an elephant's back and returned to the city where he was received by the feudatory chiefs, the members of the merchants' guild, the *mūlaprakṛitis*, and **Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar**. He was then crowned king under the name **Nandivarman** and with the insignia of **Viḍēlviḍugu**, *Samudraghōsha*, *Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja* and *Vṛishabha-lāñchhana* by the ministers, the feudatories, the *ghaṭakayar* and the *ubhaiya-gaṇa*.

The above facts show that Nandivarman Pallavamalla's accession to the throne took place without any bloodshed, the whole country being instrumental in getting him as their sovereign. This fact does also find expression in the Kāśākuḍi plates which state that he was chosen by the subjects.[4] The statement that Nandivarman was quite young (*i.e.*, 12 years of age according to the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription) when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions is correctly reflected in the present grant which states of him बालस्त प्रथिवलो युवैव राइयं. A further point in favour of our view is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla bore the surname

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 520, v. 4 and p. 529, note 4.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 359.

[3] *Ibid* (Texts), Vol. IV, Gl No. 135, pp. 10 ff.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 357, v. 27.

The object of the inscription is, as stated already, to register the grant of certain lands in the vicinity of a village situated in Ārvala-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Śōḻa-nāḍu, constituted into a new village under the name Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam to a number of Brahmans who are introduced by the collective term *nalgūr-naṟpāppār*. It is worthy of note that in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates also, the donees are similarly styled.[1] Two possible modes of interpreting the term *nalgūr-naṟpāppār* have been given by Mr. Krishna Sastri[2] viz., "the good Brahmins of Nalgūr" and "the poor good Brahmins." Since in two instances the donees have been so styled, it does not seem probable that Nalgūr means a village of that name. Accordingly, we may adopt the second interpretation. The grant must have been made on their request which was conveyed to the king by the chief of Maṅgala-nāḍu, and this is perhaps clear from the Sanskrit portion which states विप्रानां गनाय वरं ददान्. If Nalgūr were a village, it might have been mentioned in the Sanskrit portion also. It is to be noted that most of the donees were highly learned men being Kramavits, Shaḍaṅgavits and Trivēdins. Since the villages in Ārvala-kūṟṟam are mostly found in the Negapatam taluk of the Tanjore district, we have to look for Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam in that same taluk. Ārvalam is at present called Alivalam. Ālambākkam, of which Vijayanallūḷāṉ was a native, has already been identified by me with the village of that name in the Trichinopoly District, 12 miles from Lalguḍi on the road to Ariyalūr.[3] Maṅgala-nāḍu was a sub-division of Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu and in it was situated the village of Maṅgalam now called Mangal.[4] It is needless to say that Kachchippēḍu mentioned in the record is identical with Conjeeveram and Aimpaṉaichchēri is Aimbuṇaichchēri, a quarter of it.

We may here add a short note on some of the important words occurring in this inscription. As "*aṟai*" means "to beat" and "*ōlai*" "a (written) palm-leaf," we may take the compound "*aṟaiy-ōlai*" (l.32) to mean "the draft whose contents had to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom." *Tirumugam* (l. 33 f.) is only the Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit word *śrīmukha* "a sacred order, a royal writ." *Koṭṭagāram* (l. 35) seems to be the Tamiḻ adaptation of the Sanskrit *gōshṭhā griha* "a cow-pen, kraal" it is sometimes employed in the sense of a king's residence, palace. *Maṉṟu* (l. 38) is a word which is largely met with in Tamiḻ inscriptions *e.g.*, *maṉṟupāḍu*, *maṉṟum kaṉṟu-mēy-pāḻum*, etc. As such, its meaning deserves to be noted. In *Puṟam* 34, occurs the phrase *iratti-nīḍiya agaṉ-ṟalai-maṉṟam* which, according to the commentator, means "the extensively spacious common ground (*podiyil*) with the long *iratti* tree standing on it." *Maṉṟi-ppalaviṉ* "in the jack-tree standing on the common ground (*podiyil*)" occurs in *Puṟam* 128. Again, we meet with this word in the phrase *pēriśai-mūdūr-maṉṟaṅ-kaṇḍē* in *Puṟam* 220. In all these cases the commentator takes the word *maṉṟu* or *maṉṟam* in the sense of "a common meeting ground" (*poduviḍam* or *podiyil*). A distinction is, however, made between *podiyil* and *maṉṟam* in Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai, one of the ten Tamiḻ idylls known as *Pattuppāṭṭu*.[5] Nachchinārkkiṉiyār takes the word *podiyil* to mean an *ambalam*,—which, by the way, we may remark, is another term used in inscriptions—and the word *maṉṟam* he explains as "the space under a tree in the middle of a village where all people meet (*ūrukku naḍuvēy-ellārum irukkum marattaḍi*)." From the references quoted here, it will be plain that *maṉṟam* refers to the place where the village assembly met to transact its business and that this was under a (big) tree (which afforded them shade). Epigraphical references are not wanting to support the fact that in the assembly grounds there were trees and that provisions had been made to have them washed and swept clean. An inscription of the time of Rājādhirāja I states that an assembly of a *brahmadēya* village met under a tamarind tree that

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 521, l. 37 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 518, note 3.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 155.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 521, l. 37 f and Introduction, p [21].

[5] Line 226

Viḍēlviḍugu as stated already, and it is after this title that the father of the engraver of the grant must have been called Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-perundachchan.[1]

It is noteworthy that the *ājñapti* of our inscription, viz., Ālappākka (Ālambākka) Vijaiyanallūḻāṉ figures in an inscription of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman found at Tiruveḷḷaṟai in the Trichinopoly district.[2] This chief's younger brother, Kambaṉ Araiyaṉ by name, figures as the constructor of a big well in the same place as recorded in an inscription of Pallavatilaka-Dantivarman.[3] It is now beyond question from the present grant that these kings Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman and Pallavatilaka-Dantivarman, in whose inscriptions figure the two brothers Vijayanallūḻāṉ and Kambaṉ Araiyaṉ as donors, are identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son and successor Dantivarman. Thus it becomes clear that the term *Pallavatilaka* was not the surname of any particular king of the Pallava line which was later on adopted as a title by his successors. In editing the Tiruveḷḷaṟai well inscription[4] I was inclined to follow the late Mr. Venkayya in considering the successors of Dantivarman as belonging to the family of Pallavatilaka, that being almost the special designation then known to be of Dantivarman as indicated in the Triplicane inscription of that king.[5] The present grant shows that charter-writers did not mean any distinction between *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilakakula*. Therefore, in case we meet with inscriptions of Nandivarman or Dantivarman with the word Pallavatilaka or Pallavatilakakula prefixed to their names, we have to distinguish the king from those who bore similar names, by other evidences than what is furnished by the mere title *Pallavatilaka*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Aḍigaḷ Gaṇḍaṉ Māṟambāvai, who figures as donor in a record of the early Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) and who is stated to be the queen of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman[6], cannot be the queen of Pallavamalla, for Āditya I and Pallavamalla are sepa ated by over a century: in all probability she must have been the queen of Pal'avamalla's grandson Nandivarman III.

As has been noted, the present inscription is dated in the 61st year of the king's reign. In my *Historical Sketches*[7], I gave my consideration to the question whether or not Nandivarman Pallavamalla could have reigned for a long time, usurper as he was then known to be, and taking only into view the several conquests he effected and the time of rule of his contemporaries, I arrived at the conclusion that he should be credited with a long period of rule. This conclusion is now made certain by a study of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ label epigraphs and the present copper-plate grant according to both of which the prince was quite young *i.e.* 12 years of age, when he became king and by the fact of the present inscription being dated in the 61st year. The latest regnal year, however, of Pallavamalla is the 65th which is furnished in a Mahābalipuram inscription recently discovered by me in the courtyard of the Varāha-Perumāḷ cave.[8] If this be the last year of his rule, the king shou'd have lived up to his 77th year of age.

[1] It may be noted that the titles Perumbiḍugu, Viḍēlviḍugu and Mārapiḍugu which had been assumed by the feudatory chiefs of the Muttaraiyans might have been derived from the Pallavas who were their overlords. In the extract given from the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription, it is seen that at the time of Pallavamalla's coronation he was invested with the new name Viḍēlviḍugu while the Tiruveḷḷaṟai well inscription shows that Pallavamalla's son Dantivarman was called Mārapiḍugu.

[2] No. 53 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[3] and [4] above, Vol. IX, pp. 154 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 292.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. III, p. 229.

[7] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkhan*, pp. 45 ff.

[8] This inscription is under publication in the Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Department by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, along with 4 other new inscriptions and some sculptures discovered by me at Mahābalipuram in the year 1922.

stood on the bank of a channel while making a grant to a temple.[1] From other inscriptions we learn that the ancient practice of convening meetings was by blowing trumpets.[2] The Taṇḍan-tottam plates of Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) actually provide for the man who had to water the *ambalam*[3] and we have to take it on the authority of Nachchinārkkiniyār, to refer to keeping clean the meeting ground of the village assembly under the trees.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1 *Śikhariṇī*; vv. 2, 3, 6 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4 and 5 *Indravajrā*; v. 7 *Praharshiṇī*; v. 8 *Pushpitāgrā*; v. 9 *Rathōddhatā* and v. 11 *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] । श्रियो भर्त्तुर्मूर्[त्ति]र्म्मरकतसमानैर्भुजयुतैश्शयानस्याम्भोधावुरसि विल-

2 सत्कौस्तुहरुचिः[4] [।*] पयः पातुं सिन्धोर्ज्जलधरघटेवात्र पतिता तटित्युक्ता[5]

3 भान्ती दिशतु भवताम्मंगलमसौ ॥[१*] यन्मुक्तेः पदमुत्तमं यदचलं यच्चापि यद्यो-

4 गिनाम्ध्येयन्धीरधिया स्तुवन्ति यदलन्त्रय्यासकृत्सूरयः [।*] आश्रित्य त्रिगुणी-स्त्रिधास्थि-

5 तिलयोत्पत्ति(त्ती)र्व्विधातुं गतम्भेदं यत्स्व[म*]भिन्नमप्यवतु वस्तद्वस्तु विश्वम्भुखम्[6] ॥[२*] ब्र-

6 ह्माभून्नरकारिनाभिकमलात्तस्मादभूदंगिरास्तस्माद्देवगुरुस्ततो मुनिवरश्शंयु-

7 र्भरद्वाजतः [।*] द्रोणस्तत्तनयादजायत धनुःप्रख्यातवीर्य्यो रणे तस्माद्द्रौणिर-

8 वार्य्यवीर्य्यमहिमा तस्मादभूत्पल्लवः ॥[३*] लक्ष्मीभुवो य[त्कु]लसम्भवानां राज्ञां समासा-

Second Plate: first side.

9 [द्य] कळत्रभावम् [।*] सम्प्रत्यसाधारणताम्परेषामासेदतुः पार्त्थिवमण्डला-नाम् ॥[४*] य-

10 [7]द्वङ्गजानामवनीपतीनामालोक्ततं विश्वरिपून्विजित्य [।*] वसु प्रदायार्त्थिजनाय भूयः कु-

---

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1910, Part II, para. 21.

[2] See my *Annual Report on Archæology* of the Travancore State for 1920, pp. 41 and 49, and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919. The actual words used in the Suchīndiram inscription are "*mahā-sabhaiyār kāḷam-ūdivichchu = kkuṟi śāṟṟi = tiruv—akkiraśālaiyiṟ = kkūṭṭam niramba = kkūḍi-irukka.*

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 527, text-line 199.

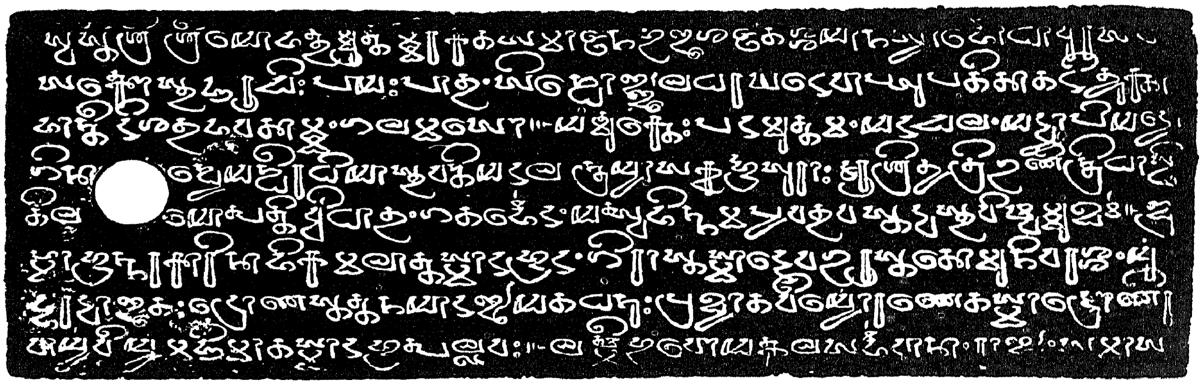
[4] Read कौस्तुभ. The first half of this verse reminds us of vv. 10 and 11 of canto X of the *Raghuvaṁśa*:— प्रभानुलिप्तश्रीवत्सं लक्ष्मीविभ्रमदर्पणं । कौस्तुभाख्यमपां सारं बिभ्राणं बृहतोरसा ॥ बाहुभिर्विटपाकारैर्दिव्याभरणभूषितः ।

[5] Read तटिल्लता.

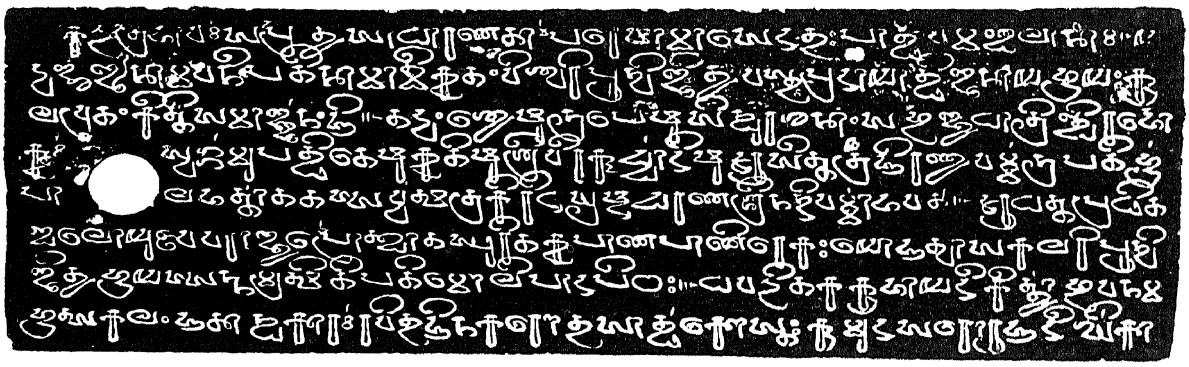
[6] Read विश्वङ्मु°. With the latter half of this verse compare नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु बिभ्रते । अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधा स्थितात्मने ॥ रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोश्नुते । देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥ vv 16 and 17 of the same canto. Compare also with the first verse of *Kādambarī* which contains the same idea couched in similar words:—रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमःस्पृशे । अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ॥

[7] Read °वंश°.

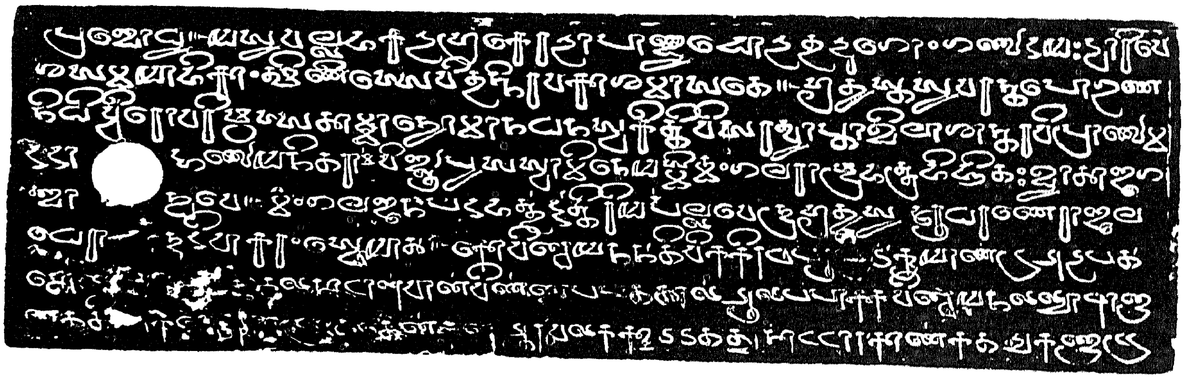
i.



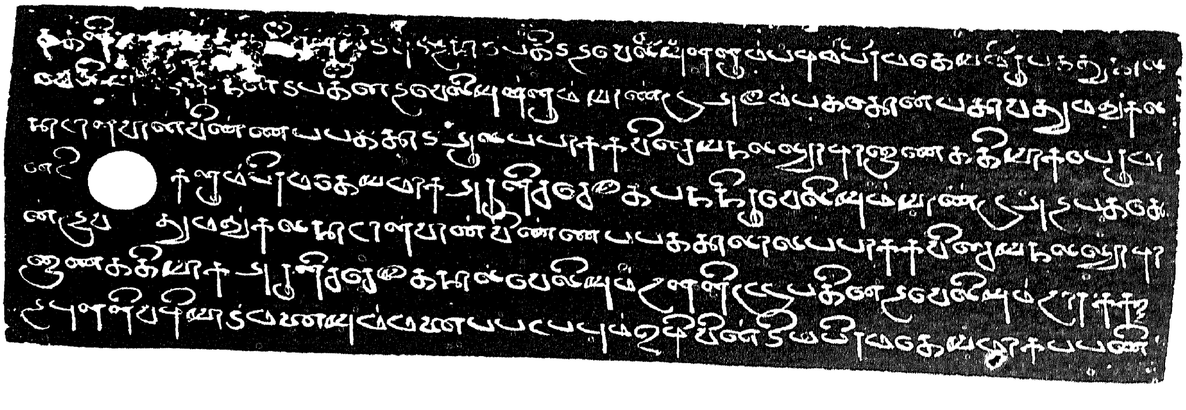
ii a.



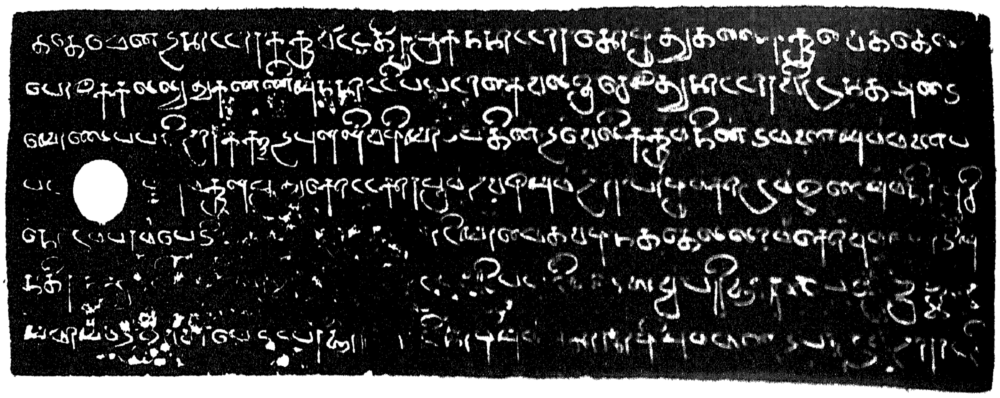
ii b.



iii a.

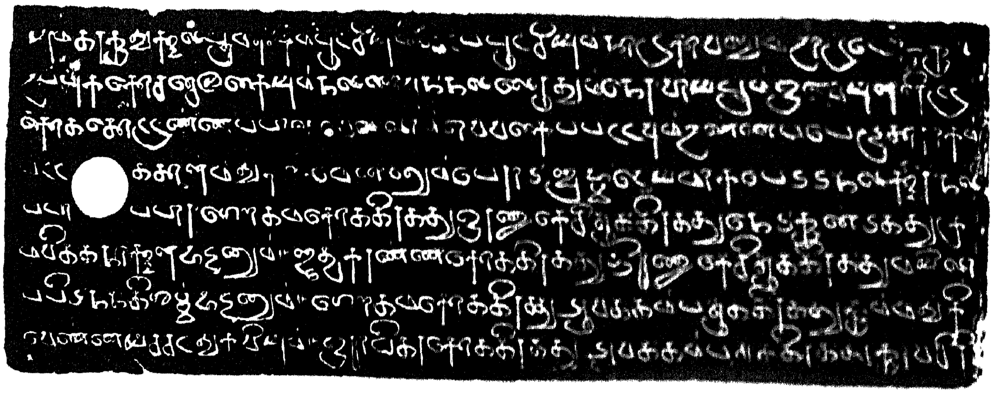


iii b.



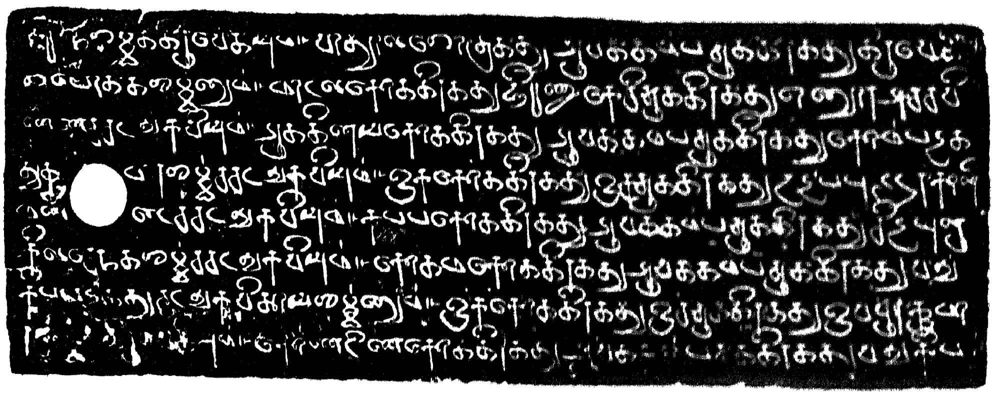
32 34 36 38

iv a.



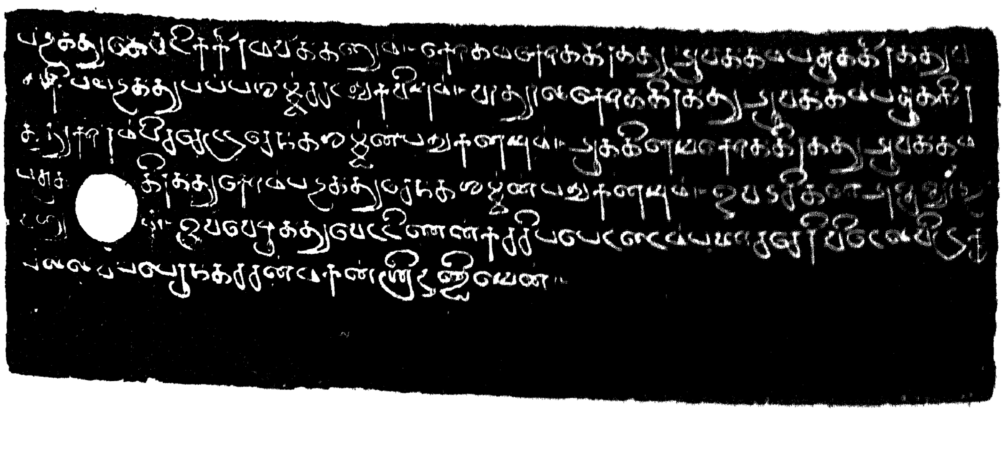
40 42 44 46

iv b.



48 50 52 54

v.



56 58 60

11 लव्रतं कीर्त्तिसमार्ज्जनं हि ॥[५*] तद्वंश्येषु नृपेषु सिन्धुरशनां सम्भुज्य [1]धात्रिंश्चिरम्भो-

12 गम् स्वर्गमुपस्थितेषु[2] कतिषु श्रीवीरकूर्चादिषु [।*] आसीत्तत्र हिरण्यवर्म-नृपतिर्भू-

13 पालभर्त्ता ततस्सर्व्वचक्रिकिरोटघृष्टचरणश्श्रीनन्दिवर्म्माभवत् ॥[६*] आधत्त प्रथित-

14 बलो युवैव राज्यम्प्राग्जातस्फुरितकृपाणपाणिरेकः [।*] यो हत्वा सकल-रिपून्वि-

15 जित्य भूयस्सन्नम्रक्षितिपतिमौलिपादपीठः ॥[७*] धवळितककुभा यदो[य*]कीर्त्या भुवनम-

16 भूत्सकलं हतान्धकारम् [।*] रवितुहिनकरौ तु सार्त्थकौ स्तः कुमुद-सरोरुहदोर्ग्घिका[म्][3]

Second Plate : Second Side.

17 प्रबोध्य ॥[८*] यस्य वल्लभकळभ्रकेरळा[:*] पाण्ड्यचोळतुळुकोङ्गणादयः [।*] द्वारि वे-

18 श्रसमयाभिकांक्षिणी[4]स्सेवितुन्निरवकाशमासते ॥[९*] भृत्यस्तस्य [5]वरन्तपोगुण-

19 निधिर्व्वीरो वरिष्ठस्सताम्मान्यो मानधन[:*] स्वकीर्त्तिविसरव्यासा[6]खिलाशान्तरं[7] विप्राणाम-

20 ददान्नृणाय नितराम् विज्ञाप्य स स्वामिने यस्मिन्मंगलराष्ट्रभर्त्तृभिहित:[8] ख्याता जग-

21 [9]त्वान्धवे ॥[१०*] मंगलजनपदभर्त्तुर्क्कीर्त्तिरियम्पल्लवेन्द्रभृत्यस्य [।*] आ धरणेरा जल-

22 धेराचन्द्रदिवाकरं स्थेयात् ॥[११*] Kō-**Vijaiya-Nandivikkirama-parumarku yāṇḍu arubat-**

23 **t-oṉ[rāvadu Maṅ]galanāḍāḷvāṉ** viṉṉappattāl **Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ=ā-**

24 **ṇatti[y-ā]ga Śō[ḻa-nā]ṭṭu=tTeṉkarai-Ārvala-kkūṟṟattu** nāṭṭār kāṇga taṅga-ṇāṭṭu=

Third Plate : First Side.

25 ttaṉi[yūr] . . . . . liṟ-chuṟṟu nāṟpadiṟṟu-vēliyuḷḷum paḷam-piramadēyam=irubat-tu-nāl-

26 [vēliyum] nīkki niṉṟa padiṉaṟu-vēliyuḷḷum yāṇḍu aymbatt-oṉbad-āvadu[10] Maṅgala-

27 nāḍāḷvāṉ viṉṉappattāṟ[11] Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ=āṇattiy-āga perumā-

28 ṉadigaḷum piramadēyam-āga aruḷi-chcheyda paṉṉiru-vēliyum yāṇḍu aṟubatt-o-

29 ṉṟ-āvadu Maṅgalanāḍāḷvāṉ viṉṉappattāl=Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷā-

---

1 Read धात्री.

2 Read स्वर्गमुपस्थितेषु.

3 Read दीर्घिकाम्

4 Read °क्षिण.

5 [The Reading परन्तपो would be better—Ed.]

6 Read विसरव्यासा°.

7 Read न्तर[: ।*].

8 Read °र्त्तृभिहितः

9 Read °द्वा°.

10 Misread as *aymbattoṉṟāvadu* in the *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, p. 128.

11 Read *viṉṉappattāl*.

30 ṉ=āṉattiy-āga aruḷi-chcheyda nāl-vēliyum uḷḷiṭṭu padiṉ-aṟu-vēliyum ūrkkū-
31 ṟu puḷḷi-vaḻiyāṟ[1]=maṉaiyum maṉai-ppaḍappum oḻiv-iṉṟi-ppiramadēyam-āga-ppaṇi-

Third Plate : Second Side.

32 ttēm=eṉṟu nāṭṭārkku viṭṭa tirumugam=nāṭṭār toḻudu talaikku vaitt-ell[ai]
33 pōy=kkalluṅ=kaḷḷiyuṅ[2]=nāṭṭi=ppaḍāgai valañ-cheydu nāṭṭār viḍunda[3] aṟai-
34 y-ōlaippaḍi ūr-kkūṟu-puḷḷi-vaḻiyā=ppadiṉ-aṟu-vēlikkum niṉṟa maṉaiyum maṉai p-
35 paḍappum kuḷamuṅ=koṭṭagāramum uvariyum ūr-pāḻum kāḍum ōḍaiyum nir pūśi
36 neḍum-paramb-eṟi[ndu uḍumb-ō]ḍiy=āmai-tavaḻndad-ellām kōvum [po]ṟiyu-
37 n-tirandu [kuḍiyil sāmātya kūṟuṭ][4] paḍi-ppaḍi[yāṟ][5] sarvva-parihāra[m] pe[ṟṟu] brahmadē-
38 yam=āy[iṟṟu][||*] Ivv-[ū]r peṟṟa parihāra[m] [vaṭ]ṭi-nāḻiyum puḍā nāḻiyum maṉṟu-pāḍum ūrāṭ[chi]-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

39 yum taraguṅ=kūlamum īḻam-pūṭchiyum=iḍai-ppūṭchiyum nāḍu-kāvalum ūḍu-pōkku[m]
40 uppu-kkōchcheygaiyum nall-āvun=nall-erudum nēr-vāyamum ivaiy-uḷḷiṭṭu
41 kō=ttoṭṭ=uṇṇappālav-ellām evvagaippaṭṭavum uṇṇa-ppeṟādār-āga[vu*]m[||*]
42 Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam-eṉṉum pērāṟ[6]-brahmadēyam-āga peṟṟa nalgūr nal-
43 ppāppār Gautama-gōttirattu Iraṇyakēśi-sūttirattu Neṟkuṉṟattu kra-
44 mavittanā[r*] Kūḷabhaṭṭaṉum||—Jatvakaraṇṇa-gōttirattu Hiraṇyakēśi-sūttirattu Mayilā-
45 ppiṟ[7]-Nandiśarmma-bhaṭṭaṉum||—Gautama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kummaṅgi
46 Veṇṇaya-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—Īrādhītara-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kuravaśiri

Fourth Plate : Second Side.

47 Agniśarmma-ttiruvēdiyum||—Vādūla-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Tiruvēdi-
48 -[p]Pottaśarmmaṉum||—Māḍala-gōttirattu Hiraṇyakēśi-sūttirattu Eṉūr Achchavi-
49 ṇṇa-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kombaṟut-
50 tuKumāraśarmma-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu Uruppuṭṭūr Kāḷi-
51 maṇḍai-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—Kappa-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śiṟupuḷu-
52 gil Śēndaśarmma-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Vaṅ-
53 gippaṟuttu Śaḍaṅgavi Tāyaśarmmaṉum||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu ivv-ūr Kumā-
54 ra[krama]-ttiruvēdiyum|| — Koṇḍiṇa-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Vaṅgip-

Fifth Plate : First Side.

55 paṟuttu Tēvaḍi-kkiramavittaṉum||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Va-
56 [ṅ]gippaṟuttu -Pappaśarmma-chchaḍaṅgaviyum||—Vādūla-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttira-
57 ttu Kārambichchēṭṭu Śēndaśarmmaṉ paṅgaraiyum||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattam-
58 ba-sūttirattu Kombaṟuttu Śēndaśarmmaṉ paṅg=araiyum||—Dēvarchidaṉ Aññūṟṟu-
59 vaṉum||—Ivv-eḻuttu veṭṭiṉēṉ **Kachchippēṭṭ-Aimpaṉaichchēri Viḍēlviḍugu-**
60 **Pallavā-pperuntachchan magaṉ Śrī-Daṇḍiyēṉ||—**

[1] Read *vaḻiyāl*.
[2] Read *kaḷḷiyum*.
[3] Read *viḍutta*.
[4] The reading in brackets is tentative: badly damaged in the original.
[5] Read °*yāl*
[6] Read *pērāl*.
[7] Read °*pil*

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail! Prosperity! Let that body of the husband of Śrī (*i.e.*, Vishṇu), which is resplendent with the *kaustubha* jewel on its chest and which with a hundred *marakata*-like arms is lying on the ocean, resembling a collection of clouds lustrous with the interspersed lightning and settling on the waters of the ocean to imbibe (its) water, grant you welfare.

(V. 2). That which is the highest place of salvation, is immutable, is omnipresent, is contemplated on by *yōgis* and that which the Brahmans excessively extol always with firm wisdom and with the chanting of the Vēdas, which though itself undivided, assumes three differentiations by adopting the three qualities in order to accomplish (the work of) protection, destruction and creation—may that all-pervading object protect you.

(V. 3). From the navel-lotus of Narakāri (*i.e.* Vishṇu) was born Brahmā; from him was (born) Aṅgiras; from him Dēvaguru (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati); from him (came) Śaṁyu the best of sages; from his son Bharadvāja (was born) Drōṇa who was renowned as an archer in the battle-field; from him (came) Drauṇi (*i.e.*, Aśvatthāman) who was of irresistable great power, and from him came **Pallava.**

(V. 4). Lakshmī and the Goddess of Earth having attained the status of consorts to the kings of this family they could not be appropriated by the assemblage of (other) kings.

(Vv. 5 and 6). In this dynasty of kings, whose family vow was the accumulation of fame by giving largesses to suitors after having made the wealth their own by conquering all enemy kings, after the illustrious **Vīrakūrcha** and others had gone to Heaven after having enjoyed the sea-girt earth for a long time, there came **Hiraṇyavarman,** the foremost of rulers and then **Nandivarman,** whose glorious feet were rubbed against by the diadems of all kings.

(V. 7). This king of renowned prowess, whose foot-stool was the crown of prostrate kings, ruled his kingdom, **even while young,** after having killed his enemies and conquered the kingdom single-handed with his unsheathed sword scintilating in his hand.

(v. 8). The entire world was rid of its darkness by his fame with which all the quarters were whitened; and the sun and the moon were (only) useful for awakening (*i.e.*, opening) the lotus and lily ponds respectively.

(V. 9). At his gate there await without (getting) opportunity (to enter) the **Vallabhas,** the **Kaḷabhras,** the **Kēraḷas,** the **Pāṇḍyas,** the **Chōḷas,** the **Tuḷus,** the **Koṅkaṇas** and others desirous of obtaining admission to serve (him).

(V. 10). The servant of this (king) who was the storehouse of austerities and virtue, who was heroic, highly distinguished, respected by the good, whose wealth was honour, whose spreading fame enveloped the interior of all the quarters, and in whom, who was the relative of the world, the name **Maṅgalarāshṭra-bhartṛi** (the lord of the district called Maṅgala-rāshṭra) became well-known, gave to a concourse of Brahmans (their) desired object, having repeatedly petitioned the king.

(V. 11). May this gift of the ruler of the country of **Maṅgala,** the subordinate of the **Pallava king,** stand as long as the Earth, the Ocean, the Moon and the Sun (exist).

(Ll. 22 to 32). In the **sixty-first year of** (*the reign of*) king **Vijaiya-Nandivikramavarman,** the following order to the residents (of Ārvala-kūṟṟam) was issued at the request of Mangalanāḍāḷvāṉ and at the command (*āṇatti*) of **Vijaiyanallūlān** of **Ālappākam**:—

"Let the residents of **Teṉkarai-Ārvala-kūṟṟam** in the Chōḷa country (Śōḷa-nāḍu) observe. Out of the forty-five *vēli* (of land) round about the free village of . . . . . . in your sub-division, after excluding the old *brahmadēya* of twenty-four *vēli* there remain sixteen *vēli* (of land). These sixteen *vēli*—formed by adding together the twelve *vēli* (of land) which the king (*Perumāṇaḍigaḷ*) had been pleased to grant as a *brahmadēya* in the **fifty-ninth year** (*of his reign*) at the request

of **Maṅgaḷanāḍāḷvān** and at the instance of **Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ of Ālappākkam** and the four *vēli* (of land) which (the same) had been pleased to be converted into a *brahmadēya* (now) in the **sixty-first year** (*of his reign*) at the request of Maṅgalanāḍāḷvāṉ and at the command of Vijaiyanallūḷāṉ of Ālappākkam,—without excluding the houses of the residents of the persons who settle the village and house-sites (*maṉaipaḍappu*)—these we have ordered (to be) a *brahmadēya*."

(Ll. 32 to 38). The residents of the district made obei ance (to the royal order), placed it on their heads, planted stones and milk-bush, went right round the *paḍāgai* and issued the order for publication (*aṟai-ōlai*). According to it, the sixteen *vēli* (of land) including houses, house-sites, tanks, kraals, *uvar*, village-waste, forest, streams and all (other) kinds of lands covered with water and ploughed with *paṟambu* where inguanas run and tortoises crawl were removed from the exercise of the rights of the king and (his) authorities and were granted all *parihāras* in order[1]: it (then) became a *brahmadēya*.

(Ll. 38 to 43). The *parihāras* which this village received were:—Inclusive of *vaṭṭi-nāḻi*, *pudā-nāḻi*, *maṉṟupāḍu*, *ūrāṭchi*, *taragu*, *kūlam*, *īḻam-pūṭchi*, *nāḍu-kāval*, *uḍupōkku*, *uppu-kkō-chcheygai*, *nall-ā*, *nall-erudu*, *nēr-vāyam* and all other kinds of taxes which the king had a right to levy and enjoy shall not (henceforth) be paid (to him); that under the name of Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam, the undermentioned poor Brahmans received the *brahmadēya*.

Serial No.	Number of line.	Gōtra.	Sūtra.	Village.	Name of person.
1	43	Gautama	Hiraṇyakēśi	Neṟkuṉṟam.	Kramavittanār-Kāḷa Bhaṭṭaṉ.
2	44	Jātūkarṇṇa	Do.	Mayilāppil	Nandiśarma-Bhaṭṭaṉ.
3	45	Gautama	Āvattamba (Āpastamba).	Kummaṅgi	Veṇṇaya Chaḍaṅgavi (Shaḍaṅgavit).
4	46	Irādhīdara (Rathītara).	Do.	Kuravaśiri	Agniśarma-Tiruvēdi (Trivēdin).
5	47	Vādūla (Vādhūla)	Do.	..	Tiruvēdi-Pottaśarmaṉ
6	48	Māḍala (Māṭhara)	Hiraṇyakēśi	Eṟūr	Achchaviṇṇa-Chaḍaṅgavi.
7	49	Āttiraiya (Ātrēya)	Āvattamba	Kombaṟu	Kumāraśarma-Chaḍaṅgavi
8	50	Do.	Do.	Uṟupputtūr	Kāḷimaṇḍai-Chaḍaṅgavi.
9	51	Kappa (Kāpya)	Do.	Siṟupuḷugil	Sēndaśarma-Chaḍaṅgavi.
10	52	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do.	Vaṅgippaṟu	Saḍaṅgavi-Tāyaśarman.
11	53	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumāra-krama-Tiruvēdi.
12	54	Koṇḍiṇa (Kauṇḍinya).	Do.	Do.	Tēvaḍi-kramavittaṉ.
13	55	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do.	Do.	Pappaśarma-Chaḍaṅgavi.
14	56	Vādūla (Vadhūla)	Do.	Kārambichchēṭṭu	Śāndaśarman.
15	57	Āttiraiya	Do.	Kombaṟu	Śāndaśarman.
16	58	..	..	..	Dēvarchidan-Aññūṟṟavaṉ

(Ll. 59-60). The inscription was engraved by **Sri-Daṇḍi**, son of **Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-**perun-tachchaṉ of Aimpaṉaichchēri in Kachchippēḍu.

[1] The doubtful words *kuḍiyil sāmātya kūṟuṭ* are not translated.

No. 15.—DEOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA.

By Daya Ram Sahni, Rai Bahadur, M.A.

The antiquities of Deogarh situated about 22 miles from Lalitpur in the district of Jhansi are described in Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 119-121 and 333, Mr. P. C. Mukherjee's *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur* and General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 100-110. The ancient fort at Deogarh is designated Luachchhagira in the Deogarh pillar inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vik. Saṁvat 919[1] while the Deogarh rock inscription of Kīrtivarman of the [Vik.] year 1154 gives it the name of Kīrttigiri.[2]

This inscription is engraved on a much-worn rock-cut flight of steps which led down on the south side of the Deogarh Fort to the water of the river Betwā which encloses it on three sides. This flight of steps is locally known as the Nahar or Nār Ghāṭī and possesses as many as eleven niches all contemporaneous with the Ghāṭ some of which still contain their images. The panel occurring at the top of the Ghāṭ, with which we are here concerned, contains a row of nine seated figures which represent, beginning from the left:—(1) A male figure holding a *vīṇā* between both hands, probably Vīrabhadra, (2) Brāhmī with three faces, (3) Māhēśvarī seated on a lion and holding Gaṇēśa in her left hand, (4) Kaumārī on her peacock, (5) Vaishṇavī on the Garuḍa, (6) Vārāhī, (7) Indrāṇī, (8) four-armed Chāmuṇḍā, seated on a human corpse and (9) two-armed Gaṇapati.

The inscription under description is engraved immediately above this panel of the divine Mothers. The inscribed surface is 1′ 11″ wide and 1′ 1″ in height. The inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fairly good condition of preservation though six letters in the beginning of the first line and a few letters in the beginning of each of lines 5—7 are mutilated. The characters which belong to what Dr. Bühler styles the "acute-angled alphabet" of Northern India, are closely allied to the alphabet in which the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269[3], the *Praśasti*[4] of the temple of Lakhā Maṇḍal at Māḍhā in Jaunsār Bāwar Pargana of the Dehra Dun District, the Benares inscription of Pantha[5] and several other documents are written. The striking peculiarities of this alphabet are the highly ornamental *kōṇas* and *mātrās* and these are fully shared by the epigraph under discussion. Dr. Bühler assigns the Lakhā Maṇḍal *praśasti*[6] to about the end of the 6th century A.D. In my paper on the Benares inscription of Pantha referred to above I assigned that document erroneously to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In reality it must be as early as the other inscriptions referred to. This is obvious, besides other considerations, from the use of the archaic form of *y* consisting of the loop and two vertical lines. This form of *y* is also used throughout in the present inscription, and I feel no hesitation in assigning it to the 6th century A.D. The language of the document is Sanskrit and except for the opening words *Ōṁ namaḥ* at the beginning of line 1, the inscription is in verse throughout. In the matter of spelling and *sandhi*, only one or two irregularities are observable in our inscription. One of these is the use of *prâptâns=tridaśa* instead of *prâptâṁs=tridaśa* in line 5. Similarly although the doubling of consonants in contact with *r* after vowels is quite regular, the form *kkramāgata* (l. 4) in the beginning of the third quarter of v. 4 is objectionable, as the consonant *k* concerned

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 309 seq.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 311 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff.

[3] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Pl. XLI, A.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 10 seq.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 59 and Pl. facing p. 60.

[6] *Indian Palæography*, edited by Dr. Fleet as an Appendix to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 49.

is not preceded by a vowel. The word *prathi* in l. 5 is not found in dictionaries. It is probably the engraver's mistake for *pathi*, locative singular of *pathin*, meaning 'range', 'reach', etc.

The inscription does not appear so far to have been published anywhere. Its existence is referred to by Mr. P. C. Mukherji[1] but all that he has to tell us about it is that in it "the name of the reigning king is lost." Dr. Führer appears, however, to have deciphered a part of the inscription as he has the following remark about it. "Near the Nahargháṭi, there is a valuable record of Svāmibhaṭa, dated Saṁvat 609, written in characters of the latter Gupta period."[2] Now, though the first part of the remark is quite correct, there is no trace of a date anywhere to be seen in the inscription.

The inscription consists of seven verses. The verses are not numbered. The interpunctuation is also not regular, for though the ends of the verses are everywhere marked by the usual double vertical stroke (*daṇḍa*), the half verses are only occasionally indicated by a curved horizontal stroke which in one or two cases has a more complicated form. As to the contents of the document, the first verse invokes the blessing of the divine **Mothers**. Verses 2 to 4 contain the pedigree of a certain **Svāmibhaṭa** whose high qualities are eulogised in verse 5. The next verse states that this Svāmibhaṭa caused an imperishable abode to be constructed for the divine Mothers on the mountain on which the Deogarh Fort is situated. The *Praśasti* was composed by a certain **Jata**, the son of **Yakshadatta** and engraved by **Bhānu**, the son of **Durgga**. The abode of the Mothers whose erection is recorded in this epigraph is probably identical with the niche in which the group of the seven mothers and the inscription are engraved unless we are to suppose that the upper part of the flight of steps was originally covered with a roof and did duty as a temple. The building of temples for the worship of the divine Mothers appears to have been common in ancient times. One such temple was erected by a certain Mayūrākshaka, a minister of Viśvavarman,[3] in the year 480 of the Mālava era, *i.e.* the Vikrama era.

Nothing is known about the donor (Svāmibhaṭa) mentioned in this inscription from any other source. In the inscription he is described as the grandson of **Gōmilaka** who was an ornament of the Solar race and might therefore have been a man of some consequence.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 4, 6 and 7, *Anushṭubh*; V. 2, *Āryā*; V. 3, *Śālinī*; V. 5, *Śikhariṇī*.]

1 [ओं न]मः ।

. . . . स्थानां जगद्व्याप्तमोजसां

मातॄणां लोकमातॄ(तॄ)णां मण्डलं भूतयेस्तु वः ॥[१*]

[4]अभवद्गोमि[ल-

2 क] इति [सहस्र]किरणावदातकुलतिलकः ।

सुचरितपदवीमनुयान्ति यस्य माद्यापि सद्गुणाः ॥[२*]

तस्माज्जज्ञे

---

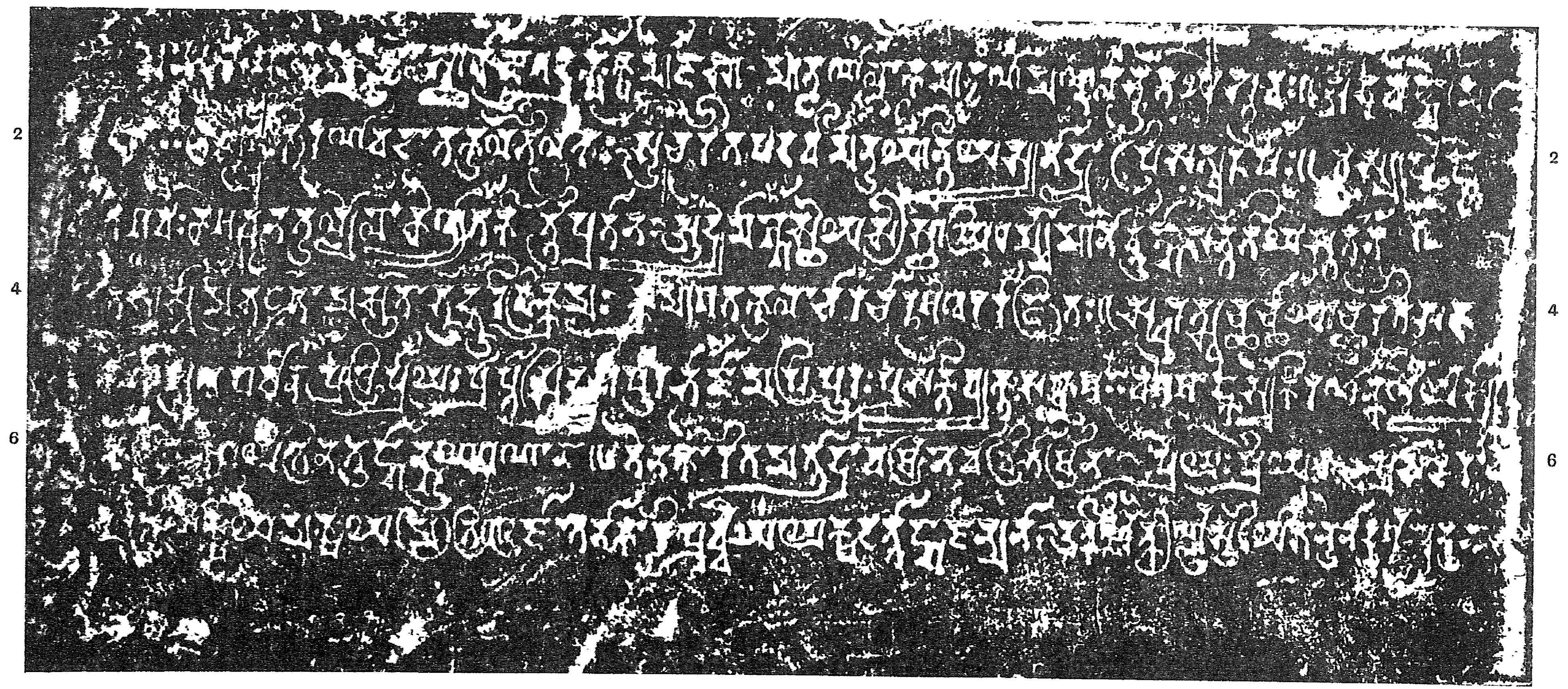
[1] *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur*, Vol. I, p. 11.

[2] *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 233.

[3] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 74.

[4] The letter ल is written below the line.

ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA FROM DEOGARH.



H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

SCALE TWO-FIFTHS.

Photo.-engraved & printed by Survey of India, Calcutta, 1924.

3 केशव: केशवेन तुल्यो लोके ख्यातकीर्त्तिप्रतान:[।*]
आद्ये मार्ग्गे स्थेयसीं स्थायिधर्म्मा मानोत्तुङ्गां सन्ततिं यस्ततान ॥[२*]
4 तस्य स्वामिभटो नाम सुतोभूद्भूरिविक्रम: [।*]
क्रमागतकुलाचारचारुशेखरराजित: ॥[४*]
स्फुरत्स्वच्छच्छायाच्छुरितसक-
5 [लाशा]न्सुख[1]पथान्
प्रथि[2]प्राय: प्राप्तान्त्रि[द]शपुरभाजामपि पुर: [।*]
प्रसक्तिव्यक्त: सञ्च्छश इव शशाङ्कस्य किरणा-
6 न्कलिर्यस्या-
[गण्यान्स्थ]गयति न तुङ्गान्गुणगणान् ॥[५*]
तेन कारितमत्राद्रावर्थिनेवार्चितार्थिना ।
प्रेय: प्रिय[3]प्रसादानां
7 मातृणां क्षयमक्षयमिति ॥[६*]
जातेनाकारि पूर्व्वेयं यक्षदत्ताङ्गजन्मना
उत्कीर्ण्णोत्कीर्ण्णसुधिया भानुना दुर्ग्गसूनुना ॥[७*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ Salutation!

(Verse 1). May the group of **Mothers**, the mothers of the universe having their dwelling in . . . . . . and having prowess fit for the preservation of the world be for your welfare.

(V. 2). There was (one) **Gōmilaka**, the ornament of the pure race of the thousand-rayed (Sun); whose meritorious conduct is not equalled to this day by righteous men.

(V. 3). From him was born **Kēśava**, equal to Vishṇu, whose extensive fame was well-known in the world, and who, of firm righteousness, produced progeny of lofty reputation which was firmly established in the primeval path (of righteousness).

(V. 4). He (Kēśava) had a son named **Svāmibhaṭa** of great prowess, adorned with the handsome ornament of his traditional family piety.

(V. 5). The multitude of whose eminent and countless virtues was not obscured by Kali—(the virtues which) encompassed all the directions by their luminous and brilliant lustre, which had found an easy passage (everywhere) and which, in scope, had nearly reached even the cities of the residents of the abode of the gods, just as the rays of the moon are not obscured by the hare though manifestly closely attached to her.

(V. 6). By him (Svāmibhaṭa) who honoured his supplicants, desirous as it were of excellent gifts, was caused to be made, here on this hill, a very costly and indestructible **abode of the Mothers.**

(V. 7). This foremost (*praśasti*) was composed by **Jāta**, the son of **Yakshadatta**, and engraved by **Bhānu**, the son of **Durgga** of polished intellect.[4]

[1] I had myself read this word as *trikha* meaning the three regions. The reading *sukha* has been kindly suggested by Mr. H. Sastri.

[2] Read पृथि.

[3] After the word प्रिय one or two syllables were first engraved and then scored out.

[[4] The expression उत्कीर्णसुधी: may mean 'who is clever in engraving'.—C. R. K.]

No. 16.—A KALACHURI STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KASIA.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, RAI BAHADUR, M.A.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved, was discovered by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle[1] in 1875-76 at the Buddhist ruins near **Kasiā** which has since been proved by successive excavations to represent in all probability the ancient site of **Kuśanagara** where Gautama Buddha breathed his last or entered *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The exact spot where this discovery was made was on the south side of the door-way of the brick shrine in which the large blackstone image of the Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment, locally known as the Māthā Kūar, was originally enshrined. This shrine turns out to be the chapel of a monastery of the 11th or 12th century A.D., and not an independent temple as Mr. Carlleyle presumably imagined. This monastery was excavated by Pt. Hirananda Sastri in 1911 and 1912.[2] As the inscription which forms the subject of this paper, was found in this monument, it seems to me likely that this document recorded its erection. The loss of the latter portion of the inscription to be referred to later on is, therefore, much to be regretted.

The slab is the blue stone of Gayā of the same kind as the material of the colossal Bōdhi statue, referred to above and must, likewise, have been brought from that District and inscribed and set up in the building where it has been recovered. Mr. Carlleyle had rubbings of this inscription made for Professor Kielhorn from which and certain others supplied by the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, the late Professor published a résumé of the contents of the record in his *Epigraphic Notes* in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.—historische Klasse 1903*, pp. 300 to 303. Professor Kielhorn did not edit any portion of the inscription. The text that I edit below was prepared in 1912 when I was Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow and I believe I have succeeded in deciphering the whole of the record as far as it was decipherable. Besides, a fuller treatment of the inscription was necessary as this is the only record, so far known, of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs. The condition of the inscription is described in Professor Kielhorn's notes referred to and only salient points may be mentioned here. This slab is 36½" wide and 17½" high. The existing portion of the inscription contains 24 lines, but evidently some writing is lost at the end of it. The annexed plate will show the amount of damage that has occurred to the document from the peeling off of the surface, rendering illegible large portions of several lines and making other parts almost unreadable except with difficulty from the original stone. The size of letters ranges from ⅜" to ⅝" exclusive of the vowel marks. The smaller size of ⅜" occurs in the lower lines due evidently to considerations of space that was available on the slab when the engraver had reached a certain stage of his task.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D. I agree with Professor Kielhorn that both the writer and the engraver have done their work carefully but, even so, a few mistakes have crept in. In l. 9 we notice *Nahusha* spelt with *gh* in place of *h*. In four cases the *anusvāra* in the body of words is replaced before the sibilants *sa* and *śa* by the nasal of one or other of the *vargas*. These are *vaṅśa* for *vaṁśa* in ll. 10, 11 and 12 and *rājahansī* for *rājahaṁsī* in l. 19. *Sandhi* is everywhere carried out except once in *kalpataruḥ trijagat°* in l. 19. As is usual in inscriptions of this period, the final consonants are sometimes written small, with a curved stroke beneath them, and the consonant *va* is written in place of *ba*. I have used the correct form throughout. The inscription is composed throughout in Sanskrit verse with the exception of the invocation of the Buddha in the beginning of l. 1. The metrical portion contains thirty verses and a few syllables of the 31st verse. Professor Kielhorn has published a list of

[1] *A. S. R.* Vol. XVIII, p. 68.

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1910-11, Part II, p. 68 and 1911-12, Pt. II, pp. 138 ff.

the first 29 stanzas indicating the metre of each and the number of the line of the inscription in which each verse ends or would have ended had the document been better preserved. As to the metres of these stanzas, I agree to Professor Kielhorn's list, except in regard to the 28th verse, where he doubtfully makes the metre *Vaṁśastha*, though it is more probably *Rathōddhatā*, the space being just enough for 44 syllables and the scheme of the extant last *pāda* as read by me being that of the *Rathōddhatā* metre.

In respect of its contents the document is divisible into three portions, namely, (1) the invocations of deities (vv. 1-5), (2) the mythical and legendary portion of the genealogy (vv. 6-12), and (3) the historical portion. In connection with verses 4 and 5 it is interesting to observe that the two Nāndī verses of the Buddhist drama, the "*Nāgānanda*", also invoke the Buddha under the epithets of Jina and Munīndra, the appellations in our inscription being *Tathāgata* and *Munīndra*. In connection with the second section, it is to be observed that in v. 8 the marriage of Budha with Ilā, the daughter of Manu, is also mentioned though it is overlooked in Prof. Kielhorn's résumé. It is also noteworthy that while the Kahla plate inscription of Sōḍhadēva[1] of another branch of the Kalachuri dynasty mentions Kṛitavīrya after Haihaya the *Harivaṁśa* has as many as seven kings between *Haihaya* and *Kṛitavīrya*.[2] The names of these seven kings are (1) Dharmanētra, (2) Kārtta, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahishmān, (5) Bhadraśrēṇya, (6) Durddama and (7) Kanaka.

The historical portion of the genealogy begins with v. 13 and embraces the rest of the preserved portion of the document. The founder of the branch of the **Kalachuri** dynasty represented by the present epigraph was **Śaṅkaragaṇa** as was Lakshmaṇa-rāja of the other branch referred to in the preceding paragraph. My text of the Kasiā inscription elucidates two or three obscure points in the summary of Prof. Kielhorn, and furnishes the names of one or two other kings which are omitted by him. In the first place Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of the third king **Lakshmaṇa (I)** (v. 16) to his predecessor **Nannarāja.** My reading of the verse clearly makes him a son of Nanna-rāja. The same remark applies to the next king **Śiva-rāja (I)** (v. 18) who must have been a son to Lakshmaṇa (I). Again Prof. Kielhorn's summary makes **Rājaputra** (v. 20) the son of **Bhīmaṭa (I)** mentioned in v. 19. It now appears that the term *rājaputra* is only a title of **Lakshmaṇa (II)** not mentioned in Prof. Kielhorn's notes, who was in all probability the son of Bhīmaṭa. The last king (v. 27) mentioned in the extant portion of the record is **Bhīmāṭa (II)**, son of **Kāñchanā** probably the wife of Lakshmaṇarāja II or of another king whose name may have disappeared in v. 26. It is impossible to ascertain whether the inscription was set up in the time of this prince (Bhīmaṭa II) or whether the missing portion contained the names of one or more other princes. Nor is it possible, for the same reason, to say what the object of the inscription was.

The only place mentioned in the epigraph is **Śaivaya**[3] (verse 17) to which Lakshmaṇa resorted after having entered a fort whose name is missing. The verse mentioned above describes it as a mountainous district (*śikhari-vishayaṁ*) which was the residence of **Śibi** the son of **Uśīnara.** Prof. Kielhorn proposed to identify this locality with Seweya, situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā. I have nothing to say against this suggestion, for the place must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā where the inscription has been found, though it must be observed that the village Seweya, which I personally inspected, is situated on perfectly level ground and not in a mountainous region. In an interesting article on the *Shorkot inscription of the year 83*,[4] Dr. Vogel has discussed the history of the Śibi tribe

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 *seq.*

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, Calcutta edition of 1839, *adhyāya* 36, vv. 1845-50.

[3] Śaivaya appears to be a mistake for Śaivya (= *Śivi* + the suffix *ñya*), *i.e.*, the country or city of the Śibis [The metre requires such a form which might be *rūḍha*.—Ed.]

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-17.

at some length. According to the *Mahābhārata*, this tribe lived in the western part of India. Dr. Lassen considers the Siboi, one of the tribes subdued by Alexander the Great, to be identical with the Śibis of the ancient Indian literature and Mr. Smith in his *Early History of India* locates them in the Doab of the Hydaspes and Hydraotis. The inscription referred to above appears to show that the mound at Shorkot, where the record has been found marks the site of Śibipura which Dr. Vogel believes to have been the capital of the Śibis. It thus becomes evident that the Śibis were at one time masters of the greater part of Northern India.

The name of the king who had this inscription installed is lost in the lower obliterated portion of the record, and we know nothing about him beyond the fact, as we gather from verses 1-5, that though a Buddhist by faith, he revered, along with the Buddha and Tārā, the Brahmanical god Śiva. This is in keeping with the state of the society during the period to which the inscription belongs and we are aware of Ballālasēna,[1] king of Bengal, who in the beginning of his reign was a Buddhist but turned a Śaiva in his later life. At the Buddhist ruins of Sārnāth and other ancient sites, Brahmanical images have been found side by side with Buddhist ones in the shrines of the late mediæval period. Further proof of the reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhism during this period is afforded by certain Môn inscriptions of Burma recording the consecration and dedication of a great religious building or palace.[2] The ceremonial lasted a number of days and Brahman astrologers as well as Buddhist monks took part in it. This process of harmonising the two faiths must, however, have begun much earlier. The drama *Nāgānanda* of Harsha, to which a reference has been made above, represents an undovbted attempt in thts direction, for do we not find in it the Bōdhisattva Jimūtavāhana worshipping the Brahmanical gods and his father Jimūtakētu leading the life of an *agnihōtrin* after his retirement?

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 7, 15, 29 and 30 *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 10 and 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 4 *Vaṁśastha*; vv. 5, 13, 14 and 17 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25 and 27 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 18 *Śikhariṇī*; vv. 21 to 23 and 26 *Āryā*; v. 28 *Ratnōddhatā*.]

1 [ओं] नमो रुद्धाय[3] नमो बुद्धाय ।
यज्ज्योतिः सूक्ष्ममेकं यदखिलकरणग्रामगोष्ठीविवादि -
ज्ञानासिव्यस्तगाढावृतिविततमोग्रन्थि विद्योतते च ।
व्यक्ताद्यैर्भूतिभेदैर्विलसति रमय — ◡ — — ◡ — —
2 — — [4]पायात्त्रिपर्व्वप्रभवभयभिदः शाश्वतं शङ्करस्य ॥[१*]
दृष्ट्वा कोपपराङ्मुखीं गिरिसुतां [5]संध्याप्रणामेर्ष्यया

[1] Cf. *The Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, by N. N. Vasu, Introduction by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, p. 21.

[2] *Reports* of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1912, pp. 14-15, and 1916, pp. 22-23, and *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 2.

[3] It will be remembered that Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle read this passage as *Ōṁ namō Buddhāya namō Buddhāya bhikshuṇē*. Professor Kielhorn has shown that what Mr. Carlleyle read as *bhikshuṇē* is really *yaj-jyōtiḥ* which commences verse 1. He himself read the first *Buddhāya* as *Rudrāya*. A close examination of the passage on the original stone leaves no doubt, however, that it is really *ruddhāya*, i.e., who has subjected himself. The subjoined consonant of the second syllable of the word has decidedly a closed loop like the *ddha* of Buddhāya (l. 1) and is distinct from *dra* in *chandramāḥ* (l. 8), *narēndra* (l. 19) and *kalpadrumāṇām* (l. 27). [The word must be *Rudrāya* as indicated by the first 2 verses in praise of Śaṅkara.—Ed.]

[4] Here we might restore the words *tad=vaḥ* or *tan-naḥ*.

[5] The syllable *saṁ* is written below the line.

तत्काला(लो)चितचारुचाटुघटनापर्य्याकुलं(ल)स्तत्क्षणं[।*]
पौलस्त्योज्झितदोर्द्दयो ◡ ◡ ◡ — —

3 — ◡ — वस्तया[1]

पायाद्वः सुचिरं तया घटकताश्लेषोत्सवः शङ्करः ॥[२*]
मूर्त्तिर्धर्म्ममयी कृपारसवहं चेतो विशुद्धा धियः
नेत्रे मैत्रगुणानुरागसुभगे शान्ताभिनीतौ करौ ।
इ[त्थे]वं सुगतानुशास[न]-

4 ◡ — — कश्रिं(श्रि)यं स्वां तनुं

बिभ्राणा भवतां सुखानि तनुतां तारा त्रि(त्रि)लोकेश्वरी ॥[३*]
जयत्यसंजातविचित्रवासना[गुणा]नुरागोज्व(ज्ज्व)लधीस्तपोनिधिः ।
तथागतः स्तम्भितमारसुन्द[रमहो]त्सवः सिद्धगणैर[भि]-

5 [ष्टुतः]।[।४*]

श्रेयः सत्वो(त्त्वो)पकृ[ति]पर[मं] पश्यता येन तत्त-
त्स्थानैरप्यतिथि[षु] कृतं कीर्त्तितं य[त्कथा]भिः [।]
[योगैश्च]र्य्याज्जगति सुबहून् स(सं)स्वि(वि)धायावतारान्
[कृति]कार[ण्ये]कप्र [रभवत्स]ः [सदा]सौ मुन[ी]-

6 [न्द्रः]॥[५*]

यद्बीजं जगतां लयस्थितिविधौ यच्चैकमालम्बनं
देवो दैत्यनिषूदनः स भगवान्ब्रह्माणम[ग्रेऽसृजत्] ।
[तेनाम्रु] त्रिजगत्प्रपञ्चरचनाचातुर्य्य[विद्योतिता]
सप्तात्रि[प्रमु]खाः [प्र]जाधिपतयो ध्या[त्वा]

7 [स]मुत्पादिता :॥[६*]

तत्रात्रिस्त्रीणि दिव्यान्यकृत कृतधियामग्रणी[र्व]त्सराणा-
मव्याक्षेपात्सहस्राण्य(ण्य)निमिषनयनोनुत्तराख्यंतपस्तत्[2] ॥
तद्वीर्य्यादायनेत्रादजनि हृदय[दिशो] भाजय[न्नंशु]भिरोघः

8 — — विश्वाभिनन्द्यद्युतिरमृतनिधिश्चन्द्रमाः सत्प्रवृत्तः ॥[७*]

तस्मादजायत सुधीः स्फुटहेमकान्ति-

---

[1] I originally read these three syllables as °*tas-tayā*. I owe the reading in the text to the kindness of Mr. H. Sastri.

[2] Cf. *Harivaṁśa*, Calcutta, 1839, Adhyāya 25, vv. 1314-15, where Atri's intense penance is described.

अनुत्तरं नाम तपो येन तप्तं महत्पुरा ।
त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यानीति ह नः श्रुतम् ॥
यस्योर्द्ध्वरेतसस्तस्य स्थितस्यानिमिषस्य ह

रिन्दोर्रनिन्द्यमहसो यशसान्निवास:[।*]
लोकत्रयेपि बुध इत्यभिगीतनामा
[पत्नी]मिलामयमवाप [म]-

9 [नोरतनू]जां(जाम्) ॥[८*]
आसीत्ततोपि जगदद्भुतरूपकीर्त्ति-
राशान्तविस्तृतयशास्तनयस्तपोधि:[।*]
येनोर्वशी विबुधलोकमपास्य सर्व्वं
रेमे चिरं सह पुरूरवसेह सुभ्रू: ॥[९*]
आयु[स्तस्य सुतस्ततोपि] नघुं(हु)ष[श्चास्मा]-

10 [द्ययाति]स्ततो
तस्योर्व्वीपतयो यदुप्रभृतय: पञ्चाभवन्नात्मजा: ।
सूनुश्चापि यदो: सहस्रद इति ख्यात: क्षि[तौ]शोभवत्
त्रैलोक्यार्च्चितवङ्ग(वंश)विस्तृतिरभूत्तत्रात्पुन[र्हैहय:] [॥१०*]
— — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡

11 — ◡ गुणैर्नरेन्द्रै-
रानन्दितेव भगवान्स बभूव वङ्गे(वंशे) ।
य: कार्त्तवीर्य इति पुण्यतमाभिधान:
पृथ्वीं पृथोरपि गुणैरधिकैर्व्विनिन्ये ॥[११*]
यद्दिग्वस्य पुरा पुराणविधिना वर्त्मालभू — ◡ —
— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡

12 ◡ लैर्भूतैस्तदेवाधिपे [।*]
तस्मिन्नर्च्चितशासने किमपरं चिन्तामयीमप्यसौ
तत्कालेऽन्नभदापतन्नविनयप्राप्तिं प्रजास्वाश्रयत् ॥[१२*]
वङ्गे(वंशे) तस्य प्रथितमहस: सम्प्रवृत्ते त्रिलोकी
— — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — —

13 — शङ्करगण इति ख्यातमूर्त्तिर्ब्ब(र्व्व)भूव
प्रीत: प्रादात्स्वमिह पुरजिन्निजमङ्गाय यस्मै ॥[१३*]
तस्मादुर्व्वीनिवसनसरिन्नाथपर्यन्तकीर्त्ते-
र्दोषापायप्रसभविल[स*]द्दिग्ववन्ध्योदयश्री: ।
श्रीमान् जज्ञे रवि[दिन]◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — —

14 — सोपह्वितवसुधापावनो नन्नराजः ॥[१४*]

यत्सेनासुन्दरीभिर्न्नवतिलकलतालङ्कृतीन्यापगा[ना]-¹

मुखभ्रूभङ्गलीलासमधिकरमणीयानि पत्या मुखानि ।

भ्राजन्नेत्रोत्पलानि स्मितनलिनदलाताम्रलोलाधरा[णि]

— — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —

15 [स]स्पृहं वीक्षितानि ॥[१५*]

तस्यासपत्नघनकीर्त्तिलतावितान-

संछादिताखिलदिगन्ततनोस्तनूजः ।

श्रीलक्ष्मणः क्षपितवैरिबलः प्रतापः

²प्रत्यक्षविग्रहपरिग्रहवानिवासीत् ॥[१६*]

एकस्यै[को]दरशयन[यो] — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — — — ◡ ◡

16 ◡ भिमुखप्रीतिराविश्य दुर्गं ।

पश्चादीशः शिखरिविषयं शैवयाख्यं स भेजे

क्ष्मासर्व्वस्वं तदपि हि ³शिबेः स्थानमौशीनरस्य⁴ ॥[१७*]

अभूदीशस्तस्मादवनिवलयस्यास्य सुयशाः

प्रतापोर्व्वज्योतिर्व्विशद ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ — [।*]

◡ — — — — ◡

17 [जित] इति कीर्त्तेर[पि] क्षती

प्रतीतः सर्व्वस्मिञ्जगति शिवराजः शिव इव ॥[१८*]

तस्यात्मजो नरपतिरभवद्भुजन्मा

क्षत्त्रोपमागुणगणैकनिधिः क्षितीशः[।*]

श्रीभी[म]टः सुभ[ट] — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —

---

¹ The syllable *nā* is written below the line.

² The reading of the word *pratyaksha* has been kindly supplied by Mr. H. Sastri.

³ In verse 17, Mr. H. Sastri suggests *śikhari-vishayaṁ* and *girēḥ* in place of *śikhari=vishamaṁ* and *Śivēḥ* as originally read by me. The last *akshara* of the first word is damaged, but Mr. H. Sastri's reading gives a better sense and I have adopted it. There is, however, no doubt as to the correctness of my own reading of *Śibēḥ* (see next footnote).

⁴ According to the *Harivaṁśa*, Sibi was one of the five sons of Uśīnara of the Pūru branch of the Lunar race. He was the founder of the Śibi tribe.

उशीनरस्य पत्न्यस्तु पञ्च राजर्षिवंशजाः

. . . .

दृषद्वत्यां सञ्जज्ञे शिबिरौशीनरो नृपः

. . . .

शिबेस्तु शिवयस्तात . . . . . .

(*Harivaṁśa*, Adhyāya 31, vv. 1674-78).

निर्व्याजमार्जनकलाकुशलासि — — [॥] [१९*]

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

18 [श्री]ल[क्ष्म]णः परिणताखि[ल]चापशिल्पः ॥(।)

आसीन्नृपात्मजशतान्यतिपत्य भेजे

यं राजपुत्र[1] इति नाम गुणप्रसूत(ति)[:] । (॥)[२०*]

शिवराजस्तस्य सुतः शिव इव सर्व्वार्थकोविदः समभू[त्] [।]

. . . . तत्सपत्नपुर[विभ्रमः] चि . . . [॥] [२१*]

. . . .

19 . . . [कल्पतरुः] [।*] त्रिजगदभिगीतकीर्त्तिर्न्नरेन्द्रचूडामणिर्व्वंशे ॥[२२*]

तस्यास धर्म्मपत्नी विशुद्धपक्षद्वया स्थितच्छाया

भूदेति भूतिभाजो मानसगा राजहन्सी(हंसी)व । (॥)[२३*]

त[स्मा] ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

चन्द्रादसङ्कसु ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

20 — — [।*]

— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — ⏑ — जगति लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥[२४*]

येनाहवक्षितिषु निष्ठुरखड्गपात-

निर्भिन्नवैरिकरिकुम्भतटीविमुक्तैः ।

मुक्ताफलैः स्खलितकुङ्कुमसन्निभास-

मिश्रैर्म्म — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥] [२५*]

. . . .

21 . . . . सुता[2] काञ्चना नाम ॥ [२६*]

तस्यामसौ नरपतिः प्रणतारिचक्र-

चूडामणिप्रकरभास्वरपादपीठः ।

श्रीभीमटं विकटविक्र[म]लब्धकीर्त्ति-

मा— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥*] [२७*]

22 — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ [यस्य] कथयन्ति साय[कं] ॥[२८*]

कामः कल्पद्रुमाणामनुदिनखननप्रक्रियारोहणा—

— — — — ⏑ चि[न्तावि]तर ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

[1] Like Professor Kielhorn, I first interpreted this word as the proper name of a king. I accept Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that *rājaputra* is here only a title.

[2] I originally read these letters as °*mati*, but Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that it might be *sutā*, appears to be more plausible.

of the threefold universe, were quickly created through meditation the seven lords of creati beginning with Atri.

V. 7. Of them (the Prajāpatis) Atri, the leader of the learned, practised the penance kno as Anuttara for three thousand divine years with winkless eyes, without cessation. Throu his prowess, of his (Atri's) noble eye was born the moon, who, a mass of light, lit up the directions, whose light is pleasing to the whole universe and who is the repository of nectar.

V. 8. From him, the moon of irreproachable resplendence, was born the wise one, brilli like pure gold, a store-house of fame, who is celebrated as Budha in all the three worlds. took for his wife Ilā, the daughter of Manu.

V. 9. From him (Budha) again was (born) a pious son; who enjoyed a wondrous fame the world, whose glory extended up to the limits of the quarters: with whom, Purūrav Ūrvaśī of beautiful eye-brows discarding the entire body of gods lived happily for a long tir here (on this earth).

V. 10. His (Purūravas's) son was Āyus; from him (Āyus) sprang Nahusha; and from hi (Nahusha) the famous Yayāti. His (Yayāti's) sons were five kings Yadu, etc. And the son Yadu, too, was the king known as Sahasrada. From him (Sahasrada) again (sprang) **Haihay** whose vast dynasty was honoured by the three worlds.

V. 11. In this dynasty gladdened by kings of . . . . virtues, there was th fortunate one who had the lucky name of **Kārttavīrya**[2] and who governed the earth by virtue excelling those of Prithu.

V. 12. During (the reign of) that king the same path (was followed) by (all) sentien beings as (was established) by ancient custom for the universe. What more should be said during the esteemed rule of that (king), he being equipped with a missile took immediate notic of the approach of misconduct in the very thought of his subjects, and checked it at once.

V. 13. In the family of him (Kārttavīrya) of extensive glory . . . . there was **Śaṅkaragaṇ** of prominent appearance; to whom Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted an emblem of his own.

V. 14. From him (Śaṅkaragaṇa), whose fame (spread) up to the ocean which is a garment of the Earth, sprang the illustrious **Nannarāja** whose rising power which was honoured by the universe shone intensely on account of the absence of faults like the Sun whose glorious rise worshipped by the universe shines violently at the close of the night, (and) who purifies the Earth of . . . .

V. 15. Whose (Nannarāja's) forces cast longing eyes on the shores of the Lord of the streams, adorned with young *tilaka* (trees) which are exceedingly beautiful on account of the sport of rising (waves) which resemble eye-brows, which have blue lotuses for bright eyes, petals of white lotuses for their smile and reddish (ones) for their fickle lower lips; just as damsels behold eagerly the faces of their husbands which are adorned with fresh *tilaka* marks, which are extremely handsome on account of the sportive and prominent knitting of brows, which have bright eyes like blue lotuses, smiles like petals of white lotuses and restless lower lips like reddish lotuses. [The subject of the verse is **आपगानां पत्या** and the object is **आपगानां [मुखानि]** "The ocean who is the lord of the rivers, saw with surprise the faces of his wives (*i.e.*, rivers) (*viz.*, river cuths) 'adorned etc. . . . . .' by the women in his (*i.e.*, Nannarāja's) forces."— Ed.]

---

[1] Prajāpatis were the Maharishis whom Brahman created to assist him in the work of creation. According to the *Manu-Smṛiti*, I. 35, these sages were ten in number.

[2] The Kahla plate inscription of Sōḍhadēva referred to above and the *Harivaṁśa*, v. 1850, give **Arjuna** as the name of this king who was the son of Kṛitavīrya.

23 – – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
– – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – [॥*] [२९*]
– – – – ⏑ – न्द्रस्खलित ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
सम्प्राप्तानेकवल्गत्सुरग[खु]र ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –
– – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – [॥] [३०*]

24 . . . . . वृत्तादर . . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ! Salutation to the Self-controlled,[1] salutation to the **Buddha**!

Verse 1. May the eternal vision of Śiva, who destroys the threefold[2] fear of (mundane) existence, protect (us or you, the vision) which is subtle and unique, which is luminous after having cut asunder the knot of dense and extensive darkness by the sword of knowledge which is hostile to the assembly of the entire multitude of all the sense-organs; which shines in various superhuman aspects such as the manifest, etc., and which gladdens. . . . .

V. 2. May Śaṅkara defend you for a long time, (Śaṅkara) who is engaged in coaxing entreaties befitting the occasion on seeing Pārvatī averse (to him) on account of anger through jealousy due to his salutation to Sandhyā; (and) who (Śaṅkara) at that very moment obtains the pleasure of a violent embrace (given) by her (Pārvatī) frightened (by the Kailāsa mountain being lifted up) by the two mighty arms of Rāvaṇa).[3]

V. 3. May Tārā, the mistress of the three worlds, extend enjoyments to you, (Tārā) who bears her body (which is beautified) by the law of the Buddha in this way:—(her) form (is) an embodiment of piety; (her) mind (is) replete with the sentiment of mercy; (her) intellect (is) clear; (her) eyes (are) beautiful with love for the merit of friendship (and her) hands are disposed in a peaceful posture.

V. 4. Victorious is the Buddha, the ascetic, whose intellect is bright on account of the absence of partiality for (the three) qualities and desires of various kinds, who having curbed the triumphant joy of Māra was extolled by the groups of Siddhas.

V. 5. Who, seeing the highest bliss in the welfare of the sentient beings has performed good actions of various kinds for the sake of the needy even at the cost of his own life, which (actions) are eulogised in stories; (and) who, having assumed by (his) power of *yōga* very many incarnations in the world, was always the sole (repository)[4] of mercy; such is the lord of sages.

V. 6. That God Vishṇu (Bhagavān) the Destroyer of Demons, who is the root cause of the worlds and the sole support in the processes of dissolution and maintenance, created Brahman in the beginning. And by him (Brahman) who is the store-house of the art of skill in the creation

[1] See note on the text.—Ed.

[2] In the translation, the word *triparvva* has been construed with *prabhava-bhaya*, the three dangers in question being birth, old age and death (cf. *Vairāgya-Śataka*, verse 7). Or possibly the three miseries *Ādhyātmika*, etc., are meant. The word might, however, equally well be rendered as an adjective to *jyōtiḥ* like *śāśvataṁ* in the same line.

[3] This episode is frequently alluded to in the *Purāṇas* and other Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Śiśupālavadha*, I, verse 50.

[4] This is a mere conjecture.

V. 16. He (Nannarāja), the creeper-canopy of whose unrivalled dense fame had covered the entire body of the quarters, had a son (named) the illustrious **Lakshmaṇa** (I)[1] who had destroyed the strength of his enemies (and) was, as it were, glory (itself) which had assumed a visible body.

V. 17. . . . . . having entered a fort . . . . afterwards that lord (śrī-Lakshmaṇa) resorted to a mountainous district named **Śaivaya** which was the sum total of the universe and the residence of **Śibi Auśīnara**.

V. 18. From him (Lakshmaṇa) was born the famous lord of this wide world named **Śivarāja** (I)[2] who . . . . . brilliant . . . . . . with (his) prowess resembling the light of the flame created by Aurva[3] (Ṛishi), who was more successful even than Kīrtti,[4] and was famous in the whole world like Śiva.

V. 19. The son of that king (Śivarāja) was the Lord of the Earth, the illustrious **Bhīmaṭa** (I) of fortunate birth, the sole repository of the multitude of qualities and all comparisons . . . . good warriors, ... a sword dexterous in the art of deceitless destruction (of the wicked) . . .

V. 20. . . . . . there was the illustrious **Lakshmaṇa** (II)[5] who had mastered all the feats of bowmanship (and) whom the title, the son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.

V. 21. His (Lakshmaṇa's) son was **Śivarāja** (II) (who) was conversant with all topics, like Śiva who . . . . confusion in the circle of (his) enemies.

V. 22. . . . . . . there was born the crest-jewel of kings, whose fame was sung in the three worlds, who was the desire-granting-tree of[6] . . . .

V. 23. That prosperous king had a heart-captivating wife named **Bhūdā** of noble descent on both sides, whose patronage was beneficial (or who had a clear complexion) like a female goose going to the Mānasa lake and casting the shadow of both her white wings.

V. 24. From him[7] (Bhūdā's husband) was born **Lakshmaṇarājadēva** (III) . . . . in the world.

V. 25. By whom (Lakshmaṇarājadēva) . . . . with pearls dropped from the broad temples of the elephants of the enemies split asunder by hard strokes of the sword on the battle field, (pearls) which are mixed with tears resembling the trickling saffron.

V. 26. . . named **Kāñchanā**,[8] the daughter of . . . .

V. 27. On her (Kāñchanā), that king (Lakshmaṇarājadēva) whose footstool was illumined by the multitude of the crest-jewels of the circle of prostrating enemies, begot the illustrious **Bhīmaṭa II** who had earned fame by his fierce prowess.

---

[1] Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of Lakshmaṇa to Nannarāja.

[2] Here, too, Prof. Kielhorn's query about this king being the son of Lakshmaṇa should be deleted.

[3] Aurva was a descendant of Bhṛigu. Kārttavīrya intent on destroying the descendants of Bhṛigu destroyed the children even in the wombs of the women of that family. One of these women secreted her embryo in her thigh. Hence the child that was born was called Aurva. At the very sight of him, the sons of Kārttavīrya were struck with blindness and his wrath produced a flame which threatened to destroy the whole world.

[4] The reading of this passage is almost certain, but who the Kīrtti was, that is referred to here, cannot be ascertained.

[5] This name is not noticed by Prof. Kielhorn.

[6] The name of the king in this verse has disappeared in the missing portion of the stanza.

[7] Prof. Kielhorn's summary here reads "her son Lakshmaṇarāja (II)". The first word of the stanza is, however, most probably *tasmāt*.

[8] This lady would appear to have been the wife of Lakshmaṇarājadēva (III) mentioned in v. 24.

No. 17.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATES OF DEVARAYA II; SAKA-SAMVAT 1356.

BY S. V. VISWANATHAN, M.A., MANNARGUDI, AND THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM.

This is another set of copper-plates of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II in the possession of the authorities of the Śrī-Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam (see above, Vol. XVII, No. 8). It was examined by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, and noted as No. 19 of App. A. We edit the inscription below from inked estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The description of the plates as noted on his office copy runs as follows: "Three plates in a ring in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam." The following further details may be added :—

The inscription is written on three[1] copper-plates with a ring hole at the top. The first and third plates are engraved only on their inner sides. They measure 11·3″ in length including the arch at the top, and 7″ in breadth. The hole has a diameter of ·75″. The first and second plates are numbered at the left hand top corner with the Kannada numerals 1 and 2 and the word *puṭa* in Nāgarī; the third plate bears the Kannaḍa numeral 3 just below the ring hole. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The writing runs across the breadth of the plates, is legible and devoid of any erasures. The average height of a letter is ·25″. The inscription is in the **Nandi-Nāgarī** characters. But the signature *Śrī-Virūpāksha* at the end is in **Kannaḍa**. The **Tamil** letters *ḻ* and *ṟ* have been used in lines 51, 58, 65, the latter being sometimes expressed by a *rēpha* marked above the letter *ra* (*e.g.*, in ll. 50, 51, 53). The languages employed are **Sanskrit** which is largely the language of the inscription and **Tamil** (*Dēśabhāshā*) which is used in describing the details of the property granted. The latter is here and there interspersed with a few Kannaḍa words.

The **orthographical** peculiarities to notice in this inscription are :—the insertion of an *anusvāra* before *n* and *ṇ* and the labial *m*, e.g., *puṁṇya* for *puṇya* (ll. 4 and 12), *sāṁmrājya* for *sāmrājya* (l. 20) and *hiraṁṇya* for *hiraṇya* (l. 66); the doubling of consonant after an *anusvāra*, as in *bhrāṁtta* (l. 30), *iṁtta* for *iṁda* (l. 47), *maṁchchal* (l. 49); and the omission of the *visarga* or the consequent doubling of *s* in *chatusīmā* (l. 38) and *prāptai sarvair* and *āyai samanvitam* (l. 44).

The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the inscription, runs thus :

Saṅgama.
|
Bukka (I).
|
Harihara (II).
|
Dēvarāja (or Dēvarāya) I.
|
Vijayarāya.
|
Dēvarāya Mahārāja II.

[1] Originally, it appears as if only two villages were granted by these three plates, but after reconsideration the number of villages was changed to five and a revised second plate was added without, however, destroying the original second plate for which this was substituted. Thus there are now four plates in the set, the second of which has to be deleted inasmuch as the revised fresh plate has to take its place. Care was taken to begin the revised second plate with the same word as in the old plate and end it similarly with the same word as in the old one, so that the passage might fit in with the context of the first and the third plates, though in the middle a few more verses in praise of Dēvarāya II and some lines regarding the additional villages were added. The odd plate which Mr. Venkayya noted under 'Remarks' in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, App. A., No. 20, was perhaps the original second plate.

The date of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *rasēshurāmachandra*=1356 of the Śaka era which corresponded to the cyclic year **Ānanda**, the **Paurṇimā** day of **Vaiśākha**. On this day and on the occasion of the *Hēmāśvaratha-mahādāna*, the king granted the five villages of **Kulamāṇikyanallūr** *alias* **Nācchikrurchchi**, **Tiruvaraṅganallūr**, **Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr**, **Kumārakkuḍi**, and **Rājanārāyaṇanallūr**, These villages were situated in **Chōḷa-maṇḍala** and in the **Trisirāppalli-rājya**. The first three villages were on the southern bank of the river **Kāvēri**, in **Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu**. The last two villages were on the northern bank of the Kāvēri,—Kumārakkuḍi being situated in the western half of **Maḷa-nāḍu** and Rājanārāyaṇanallūr being in the eastern half of the same division. Thus the villages given lay on either bank of the Kāvērī. Of these places, Nāchchikurchchi is the village **Nāchchikkurichi** in the **Trichinopoly** Taluk. The donee was *Vaḷiyaḍimainilayiṭṭa*-**Perumāḷ-Uttamanambi**, son of **Uttamanambi**, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* Ṛik-*śākhā* and the Āśvalāyana-*sūtra*. He was the *sthānapati* of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the above said villages were evidently granted to him for conducting the daily worship of the god Śrīraṅganātha.

A large number of taxes and incomes accruing from the villages are enumerated in the inscription such as those on *nañjai* (wet-land), *puñjai* (dry-land), *kamuku* (areca grove), *karṇṇu*, *vaippu* (Margosa), *tennamaram* (coconut trees), *koḻundu*, *vāḻai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugarcane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *śeṅkaḻunīr* (flower) and other *vāṇ-payir* (minor cultivation); *vāśal-vari*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *taṟi-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kkaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil mills), *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *iḍatorai*, *pulvari*, *mandai-kaṇḍēṟṟam*, *oḻugu-nīr-pāṭṭam*, *uḷḷāyam*, *vil-paṇam*, *maghamai*, *mallāyi-maghamai*, *ina-vari*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai*, *kaḍḍāyam*, *kirukuḷa-viśēsham*, *araśupēṟu*, *nallerudu* (good bull), *nal-kiḍā* (good sheep), *nal-paśu* (good cow), *palataḷi*, *ariśi-kāṇam*, *taḷaiyarikkam*, *mādārikkai*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasaravarttanni*, *kaṭṭigevarttanai*, *karaṇike*, *jōḍi*, *nīrāṇivari* (water tax), *nāṭṭukaṇakkuvari akkasālevari*, *āḷamañji*, *ūḻigam* (service), etc.

The above list includes taxes and customary dues levied in ancient times. We have not the means of knowing the proportion of the taxes to the produce, the right incidence of taxation, etc. It is clear, however, that no produce from the land or any other property was left untaxed. The various kind s of proceeds from the villages, as enumerated in our record, disclose how carefully municipal taxes were levied in South India under Vijayanagara kings. The incomes granted to the donee included *vari* (revenue taxes), *magamai* and *suṅka* (tolls).

The donee *Vaḷiyaḍimainilayiṭṭa*-Perumāḷ-Uttamanambi who, under the name Uttamanambi, **has been already referred to in the Śrīraṅgam Plates of** Harihararāya-Uḍaiyar III (above, Vol. XVI, page 223), **is said in the** *Kōyiloḻugu*—**the temple history** of Śrīraṅgam in Tamiḻ—to have **made some additions and repairs to the Raṅganātha temple.** The same work also refers to him **by the names** *Meynilaiyiṭṭa*-Uttamanambi **and** *Ellainilaiyiṭṭa*-Uttamanambi. Two other re**lations of his who, like himself, had been the managers of** the temple were Periyakṛishṇarāya-**Uttamanambi** and **Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi.** The *Lakshmīkāvya*, a Sanskrit poem written **by the latter, gives the genealogy of the family as under :—**

In the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*.

- **Chakrarāya**
- **Uttamarāya** (possessed royal insignia and managed the Raṅganātha temple)
  - **Uttama-Chakrarāya** *m.* **Lakshmī**
    - **Tirumalādhīśa**
    - **Kūḍalśaravāḷa-Nayiṇār**
  - Krishṇa
  - Rāma
- Timmanārya (became a *sanyāsin*)

In the above pedigree, Uttamarāya the brother of Chakrarāya must be identical with the donee of our grant. According to the *Kōyiloḻugu*,[1] he set up an image of Garuḍa in front of the central shrine of Raṅganātha in Śaka 1337 and replaced the image of Rāma, which was originally installed by Vikrama-Chōḻa but which was destroyed by the Musalmans. It is also stated that he obtained from Gajavēṭṭai Pratāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya for himself the sole management of the Raṅganātha temple, and the title Chakrarāya for his brother and that he was in power from Śaka 1340 to 1366.

The inscription states that the verses were composed by Rājaśēkhara. We do not find mention of the name of Rājaśēkhara in any of the hitherto known grants of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. We find that some inscriptions of the time of Dēvarāya II were engraved by one Muddaṇṇa.

TEXT.[2]

[Metres: vv. 1 and 2, 4 to 36, 43 to 46 and 48 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 3, 37 and 42 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 38 and 47 *Śālinī*; vv. 39, 40 and 41 *Āryā-Gīti*.]

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । कल्याणायास्तु जगतां कारणं कलभा-
2 ननं । अनादियूनोः शिवयोरानंदाद्वैतक[द]कं ।[।१*] स पायात्स-
3 ततं मायावराहो वदनेन यः । जगदात्मा जलनिधेर्जगतीमु-
4 ददीधरत् ।[। २*] कावेरीहृदयाभिरामपुलिने पुं(पु)ण्ये जगन्मंग(ङ्ग)ले चं-
5 द्रांभोजवतीतटोपरिसरे धात्रा सम[ा*]राधिते । श्रीरंगे भु[ज*]गें-
6 द्रभोगशयने लक्ष्मीमहीसेविते शेते यः पुरुषोत्तमः स भ-
7 [3]गवांनरायणः पातु वः ।[। ३*] नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामरच[ा*]र-
8 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमू[ल*]स्तंभाय शंभवे ।[। ४*] अस्ति क्षीरार्णवो नाम
9 त्रिदशायुष्यकारणं । उत्तंसोपवनं शंभोश्शुभ्रां(भ्रां)तप्रभवो ह-
10 रेः ।[। ५*] ततोजनि[4] सुधासूतिश्श(स्स)हायः पुष्पधन्वनः । मुरारेर्वामनयनं
11 मूर्द्धरत्नमुमापतेः[5] ।[। ६*] तत्सूनोः सौम्यतो जाता बाहुजा बाहुशा-
12 लिनः । पुरूरवःप्रभृतयः[6] पुं(पु)ण्यश्लोकपुरस्सराः[7] ।[। ७*] तत्कुले सत्कु-
13 लनिधिर्यदुर्नाम नृपोजनि । तद्वंशे संगमो जज्ञे संगमस्स°-
14 संपदां ।[। ८*] तत्सुतो बुक्कभूपो[भू]त्[8] शौर्यधैर्यनिवासभूः । मचारा-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL., p. 141 ff.

[2] From ink-impressions supplied by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

[3] Read °वान्ना°.

[4] नि of जनि is inserted above the line.

[5] ते: is a correction from ति:.

[6] भृ has in addition the consonantal sign of र.

[7] श्रा. is inserted below the line.

[8] भू is corrected from भो; Read भूच्छौ°.

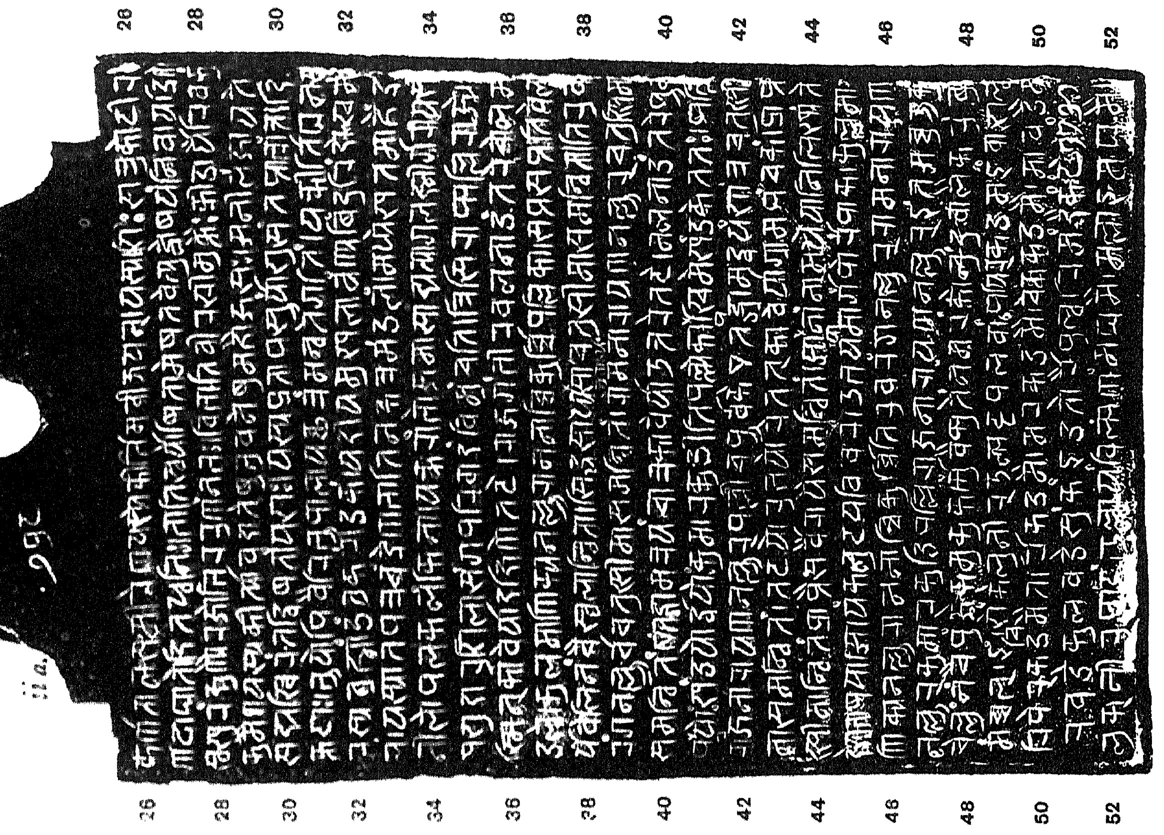
15 जो हरिहरस्तत्सूनुरभिषन्महीं ।[। ९*] देवराजोभवत्तस्य नंदनः
16 साधुनंदन । दोर्दंडखंडितारातिमंडलखंडविक्रमः ।[। १०*] ततो वि-
17 जयराजोभूत्सर्वविद्यासुधांबुधिः । निजाज्ञामात्रनिर्व्यूढजग-
18 द्रक्षाविचक्षणः ।[। ११*] स्वतस्सुलभसौरभ्यसारस्वतसरस्वतः । त-
19 स्य ह्रष्यंति सुधियः सुधानिष्यंदया गिरा ।[। १२*] तदात्मजो देवराय-
20 महाराजः प्रतापवान् । सत्वसाधितसर्वोर्वीसां(सा)म्राज्यःसंप्रका-
21 शते ।[। १३*] कूर्मेण कुंडलीन्द्रेण कुंजरैश्च कुलाचलैः । दुर्वहां यो महीं
22 धत्ते केयूरमकरोमिव ।[। १४*] दारितारातिभूपालदुर्वसाविस्र-
23 गधिनी[1] । यस्य खड्गलता सूते सुरभिं कीर्त्तिमंजरीं ।[। १५*] यस्य की-
24 र्त्तिमये दुग्धपारावारे प्रसर्पति । स्फुरंति बुद्बुदाकारा[:*] स्फा-
25 रा ब्रह्मांडकोटयः ।[। १६*] दिग्गजा येन संहृष्टा[:*] सर्वाशालंघनोन्मुखीं ।

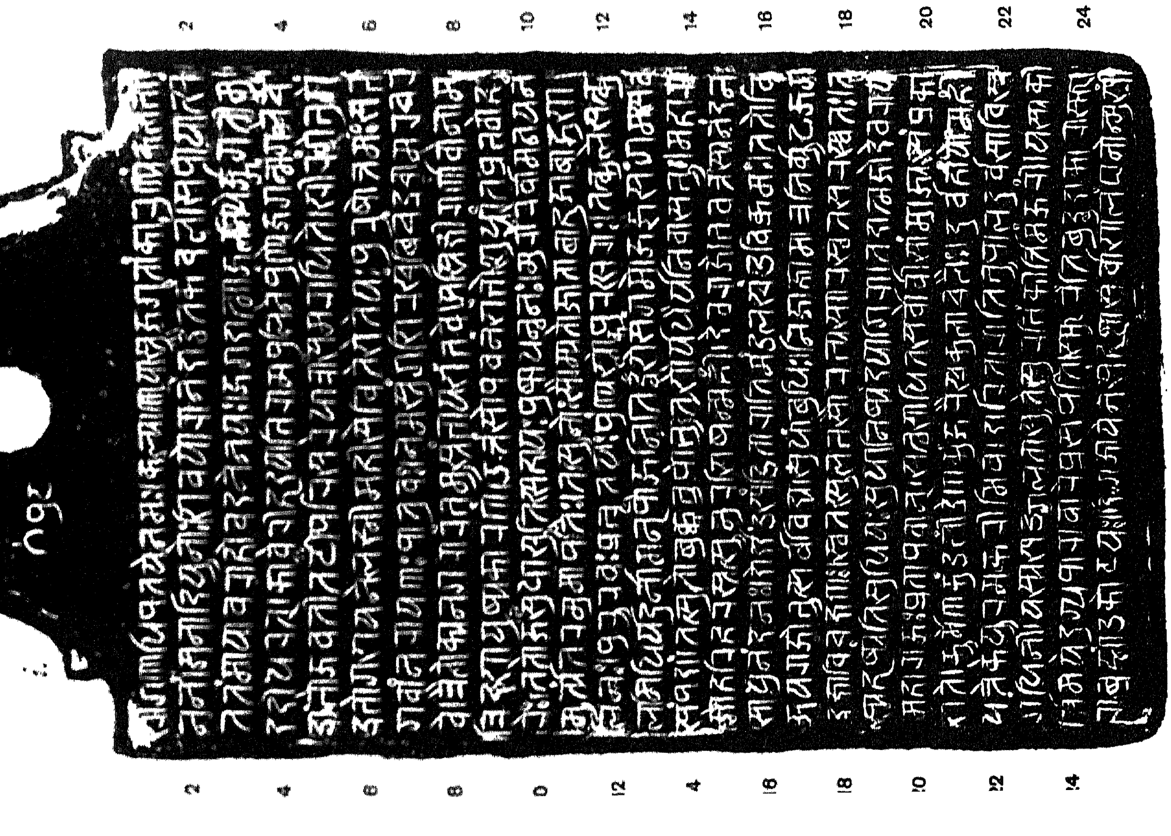
Second Plate ; First Side.

26 कर्णताळसमीरेण यस्य कीर्तिमवीजयन् ।[। १७*] यस्यासिः शत्रुकोटीर-
27 गाढाघातोदितध्वनिः । भाति स्वर्योषितामेष तवेत्युद्घोषयंनि(यन्नि)व । [। १८*] यद्रि[णि](णा)-
28 स्वखुरंचग्धे[2] रजोभिररुणं नभः । विभाति वीरश्रीमुक्तैः क्रीडार्थैरिव कुं-
29 कुमैः ।[। १९*] यस्य कीर्त्यवदातेषु भुवनेषु महौजसः । अनीलं जायते
30 सद्यस्चि(श्चि)त्रं तद्द्विषतां यशः ।[। २०*] यस्य प्रतापसूर्यांशुसंतप्ता भ्रांत्ता(न्त)दि-
31 क्तटाः । भूयोपि वैरिभूपाला [यच्छ]त्रं मन्वते गतिं ।[। २१*] यत्कीर्तिघनसा-
32 रस्य ब्रह्मांडं तु करां(रं)डकं । यदीयसुखलावं(व)ण्यबिंदुरिंदोश्च मं[ड]-
33 लं ।[। २२*] यस्यातपत्रचंद्रेण भाति नक्षत्रमंडलं । मध्ये ख[चि*]तमाहेंद्र-
34 नीलोपलकर्णिकया ।[। २३*] यत्करांभोजमासाद्य त्यागलक्ष्मीर्गरीय[सी] [।*]
35 पद्मादाकमलासंगपरिवादं विमुंचति ।[। २४*] त्रिसिराप्पल्लिराज्ये-
36 स्मिन् कावेर्या दक्षिणे तटे । राजगंभीरवळनाडंतरे चोळमं-
37 डले ।[। २५*] कुलमाणिक्यनल्लूराननावित्रुर्विपल्लिका । सप्तसप्ततिवे[ल्य]-
38 [र्धं]वेलिनंचैस्यसान्विता ।[। २६*] सिद्धसाध्यभुवा सार्धं[4] चतुसी(स्री)-मासमन्विता । तिरुव-
39 रंगनल्लूर्च चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वितं ।[। २७*] रामनारायणनल्लूर् चतुस्रि(स्री)मा-
40 समन्वितं । [एतन्ना]मत्रयं चात्र कावेर्या उत्तरे तटे ।[। २८*] मळना-डंतरे पू[र्वा]-

[1] There is an extra length-sign for वा.
[2] Read गन्धिनी.
[3] Read द्रणाश्वखुरक्षतै.
[4] धुवा and र्धं are entered below the line, their omission being denoted by asterisks.

Srirangam Plates of Devaraya II : Vikrama Samvat 1356.





41 [1]परयोः खंडयोर्द्वयोः [।*] कुमारकुडोति पश्चिका [2] पश्चिमे खंडके ततः ।[।२८*] पश्चि-
42 राजनारायणनल्लूरपल्ली च पूर्वके [।*] एतद्ग्रामद्वयं ग्रा(चा)त्र चतुस्सी-
43 मासमन्वितं ।[।३०*] तटयोरुभयोरेतत्कावेर्या ग्रामपंचकं [।*] ग्राम-
44 स्सी(सी)मान्वितं ग्रामैश्व(स्स)र्वैरायैस(स्स)मन्वितं । [3] आयानां नामधेयानि लिख्यंते
45 देशभाषया ।[।३१*] आयंककुटय विवरं । उभयमार्गे पोरंपाक[4] कुल(ल)मा-
46 णिक्यनल्लूरान नाच्चिकुच्चि तिरुवरंगनल्लूर् राममारायण-
47 नल्लूर् कुमारकु(कु)डिपल्लि राजमारायणनल्लूर् इंत्त(द) च[...](न्न)[5] आ[.कं]-
48 चेत्तु नंचे(जै) पुंजे(जै) कमुकु कयर्ग्ं वेप्पु तेंनमरं कोकंद् वाले[6] ककंबु
49 मंचल्[7] । इंचि[8] । ग्रेंकेलुनीर्[9] उत्पद्द पल वां(वा)न्पयिरुकडमई[10] वाशलव-
50 रि पेरुकडमै तरि(रि)क(क)डमै । मरक(क)डमै । चेक(कु)कडमै । आवडै म-
51 रवडे(डै) कुळवडे(डै) सुंकं इडतोरै पुल्वरि मंदेकांढ(डै)[11] शो-
52 कु[कु]नीरुपाट्ट[12] उक्कायं विल्पणं मघमै मक्काइमघम[13] ।

Second Plate ; Second Side.

53 इनवरि [14]नाट्टुकाणिकै(कै) । कड्डायं किर्वकुळविसै(ग्रे)यं अरमुपेर्[15] म-
54 स्लेरदु । नल्किडा । नल्पशु । पलतळि । अरिशिकाणं यिरिक्[16] अ-
55 रिशिकाणं तलि(लै)यारिक्कुं(कं) मादारिके(कै) रायवर्तने(नै) । अरमर[व]-

[1] र् is entered below the line.

[2] घ is inserted below the line.

[3] या is entered below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—the passage after चतुस्सीमासमन्वितं of line 39, begins with एतद्ग्रामद्वयं, and continues with the word ग्रामैस्सर्वैरायैस्समन्वितं as in l. 44, thus omitting ll. 39-44.

[4] पोरंपाक is probably *poramboke*=' waste land '.

[5] इंत इरंडुकु चेत्तु is what we find in the original second plate.

[6] Read वाळै.

[7] Read मञ्चळ्.

[8] चि is inserted below the line. Read इंजि.

[9] Read ग्रेङ्गळुनीर्.

[10] Read कडमैयुं.

[11] After डै *rram* is seen in the original.

[12] Read शोल्लुगुनीर्पाट्ट

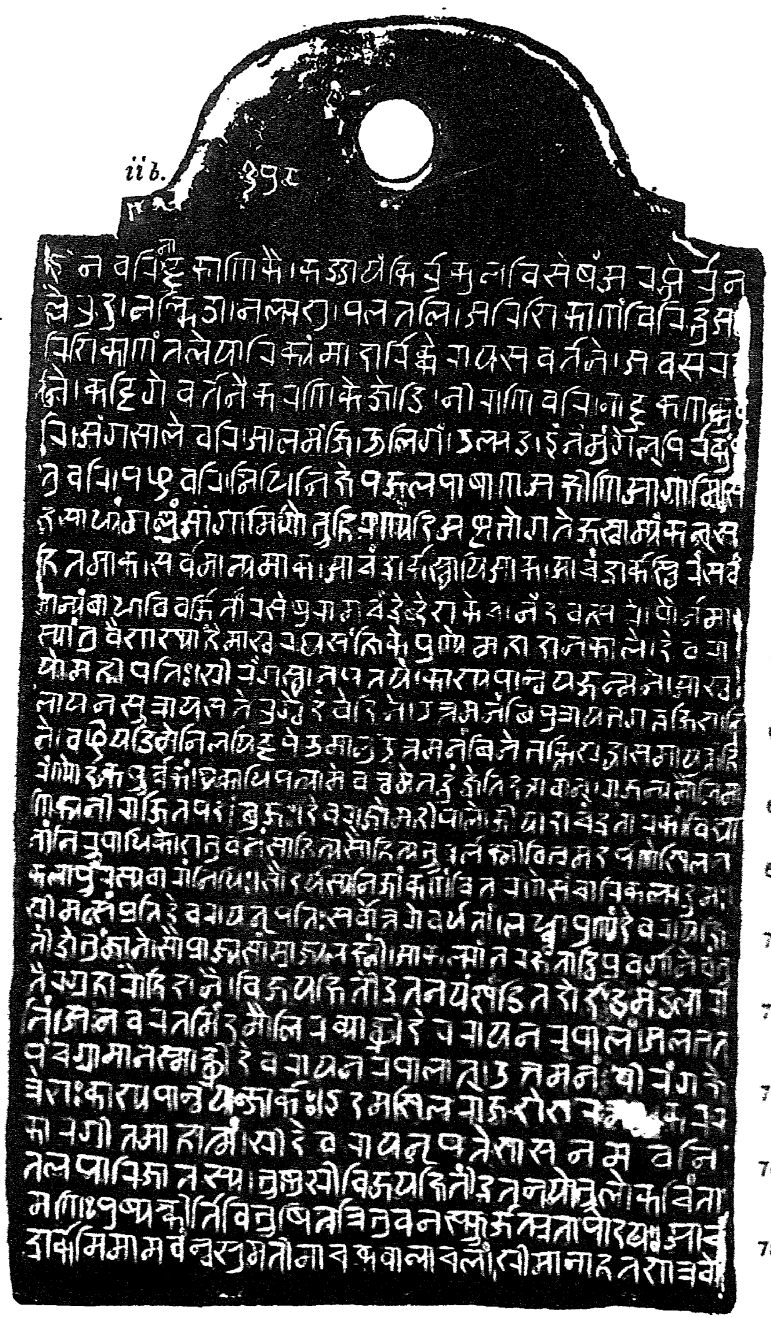
[13] Between मक्काइ मघमै and at the end of line 52 the original second plate has [illegible].

[14] ना is inserted above the line.

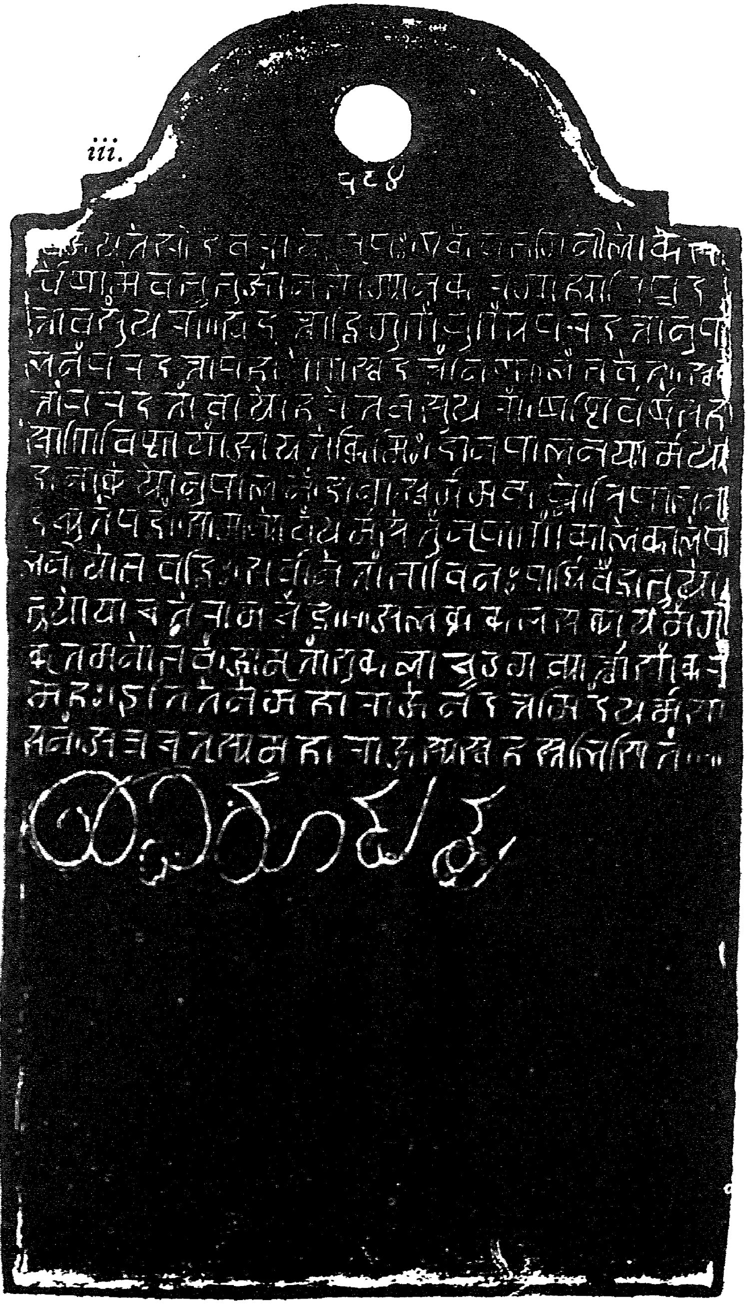
[15] मु is inserted below the line.

[16] For यिरिक्कु we have यिरिम्बु in the original duplicate copy of the second plate.

ii b.



iii.



77 तलपारिजातस्य ।[४१*][1] भूपश्रीविजयक्षितींद्रतनयो भूलोकचिंता-

78 मणि: पृथ्वीकीर्तिविभूषितत्रिभुवनस्फूर्जत्प्रतापोदय: । आचं-

79 द्रार्कमिमामवं(व)न्वसुमतीमाचक्रवाळाचलां श्रीमानाहतशात्रवो

Third Plate.

80 विजयते श्रीदेवरायो नृप: । [४२*] एकैव भगिनी लोके स-

81 र्वेषामेव भूभुजां [।*] न भोग्या न करग्राह्या [वि]प्रद-

82 त्ता वसुंधरा ॥ [४३*] स्व(स्व)दत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-

83 लनं [।*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [४४*] स्व[द]-

84 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु(सुं)धरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसह-

85 स्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमि: ।[४५*] दानपालनया(यो)र्मध्ये

86 दानाच्छ्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालना-

87 दच्यु[तं] पदं ॥ [४६*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु[2] नृपाणां काले काले पा-

88 लनीयो भवद्भि: । सर्वानेतां[3] भाविन: पार्थिवेंद्रा[4] भूयो

89 भूयो याचते रामचंद्र[:*] ॥ [४७*]—॥ अलकाकलसका(च्छा)यमंगो-

90 ज्झतमनोभवं । जा(ज)म्रतांशुकळाचूडमव्यात्त्वां शांकरं

91 मह: ।[४८*] इति तेने(न) महाराजेन दत्तमिदं धर्मशा-

92 सनं । अत्र च तस्य महाराजस्य स्वहस्तलिखितं ॥—॥[5]

93 श्रीविरूप(पा)क्ष[6]

Abstract of Contents.

V. 1. Adoration to the Elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśa).

V. 2. Adoration to the Boar *avatāra* (of **Vishṇu**).

V. 3. May God Nārāyaṇa, who is pleased to recline on (the serpent) Śēsha in (the island of) **Śrīraṅga**, on the bank of the tank **Chandrapushkariṇī** in the sands of the **Kāvēri** adored by **Brahmā**, and who is attended by the Goddesses **Lakshmī** and the **Bhū** (Earth), protect you.

V. 4. Adoration to **Śambhu**.

Vv. 5-8. Describes the descent of the family, as usual, from the **Moon** through **Purūravas** and **Yadu** to **Saṁgama**, the first historical king of the dynasty.

Vv. 9-12. Saṁgama was succeeded by his son **Bukka** and Bukka by his son **Harihara** who was succeeded by his son **Dēvarāja**. **Vijayarāja** succeeded Dēvarāya I.

V. 13. His son, the valiant **Dēvarāya-Mahārāja** shines in splendour as sovereign having conquered the whole world by his valour.

[1] Verses 39, 40 and 41 are omitted in the original second plate of the duplicate copy.
[2] Read धर्मसेतुर्नृ°.
[3] Read °नेतान्भा°.
[4] Read °द्रान्भू°.
[5] It is doubtful if the new sentences preceding the *sign manual* of the king form a verse.
[6] In Telugu-Kannaḍa characters.

56 [तै]म(मै) । काद्दिमेयतंने वरम्पिले जोडि । मोराणिवरि । माडुकथकु[व]-

57 रि । [1]पंगमालिवरि । पाकमंलि । छाकिगं । तथ(त्प)ड । वंनं[2] मुंगीख्रिरेकुं(कुं)[पु]-

58 तुवरि । प[3] वरि निधिनिक्षेपजलपाषाणाक्षीणिआगामिसि-

59 द्धसाध्यंगळ् आगामि गोभूहिरण्य[र*]दिषष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्यंकळ् व-

60 नितमाक । सर्वमान्यमाक । आचंद्रार्कस्थायि याक । आचंद्रार्कस्थिरं सर्व-

61 मान्यं [illegible] । रसेषुरामचंद्राब्दे शके चानंदवत्सरे । पौर्न(र्ण)मा-

62 स्यां तु वैशाख्यां [illegible] ॥[३२*] पुण्ये महादानकाले (।) देवरा-

63 यो महोपतिः । श्रीरंगनाथपतये (।) काश्यपान्वयजन्मने ॥[३३*] आश्व-

64 लायनसूत्राय [illegible] वेदिने । उत्तमर्नतिसूराय भग[व*]द्भक्तिशालि-

65 ने ॥[३४*] व[4] [illegible] [।*] भक्तिश्रद्धा-समायुक्तं हि-

66 र(र)ण्योदकपूर्वकं । एकाधिपत्या[5]मेव त्वमेतद्भुंक्ष्वेति दत्ता[6]वान् ॥[३५*] राजश्रीमौक्तिका-

67 [illegible] । देवराजो महीपालो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं ॥[३६*] विद्या-

68 [नां] [illegible] साहित्यसौहित्यभूः[7] श्रीविभ्रमदर्पणोखिल-[7]

69 कलापूरस्य वारांनिधिः । सौंदर्यस्य निशाक(ग)णं वितरणे संचारिकल्पद्रुमः (।)

70 श्रीम[।*]न्संप्रति देवरायनृपतिः सर्वोत्तरो वर्तते ॥[३७*] लब्ध्वा[8] पुण्यं देवरायक्षि-

71 तींद्रो [illegible] । आकल्पांत(तं) रक्षतादिप्रवर्गोनिवंभू-

72 [illegible] ॥[३८*] विजयक्षितींद्रतनयं खंडितदोर्दंडमंडलारा-

73 तिं । [illegible] देवरायनरपालं ॥[३९*] चतुरत

74 [illegible] । उत्तमर्नंबी रंगक्षे-

75 त्रेश: काश्यपान्वयाब्धार्क: ॥[४०*] इदमखिलराजशेखरम[ु]कुर[भं]-

76 कारनीलमालाकं[9] । श्रीदेवरायनृपते[:*] शासनमवनि-

[1] Read [illegible].

[2] Read [illegible] as in the original of second plate in the duplicate copy.

[3] The original reads [illegible].

[4] The original reads [illegible].

[5] Read [illegible] as in the original of the second plate in the duplicate copy and भुंक्ष्वेति.

[6] Read [illegible].

[7] A letter was here wrongly entered and erased.

[8] Read [illegible]

[9] Read [illegible]

evidently the present name Vāyalūr is a relic. The current name Vyāghrapurīśvara, *i.e.*, 'the lord of Vyāghrapurī,' is a Sanskrit translation from Pilavāyal which was somehow connected by mistaken analogy with Pulivāyal.

The importance of the record under publication was first brought to notice in my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1908-9, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17. Since then Professor Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry has discussed its contents in detail in Chapter II of his work "*The Pallavas*" published in 1917 and has given there the facsimile of a part of the inscription. The present paper supplying the deficiency by giving a complete facsimile of the record which was examined *in situ* attempts to discuss certain discrepancies in the readings of Professor Dubreuil and to examine certain other points in the chronology of the Pallavas to which the book of the Professor has given publicity.

The dilapidated temple of Vyāghrapurīśvara at Vāyalūr must have had its palmy days when its *prākāra* wall, subordinate shrines, *maṇḍapas* and *vimāna* were in a perfectly good condition. The central shrine, which is now the only standing structure, has the *gajaprishṭha* or the elephant-back form peculiar to many Śiva temples in the Chingleput district and enshrines within it a stone *liṅga*.[1] On the back side of the *liṅga* and close to the rear wall is placed a stone panel containing the group of figures Śiva, Pārvatī and Kumāra, generally known in iconography by the name Sōmāskanda. The existence of such Sōmāskanda panels is a striking characteristic of the Śaiva shrines of Pallava origin; but the panels, in these cases, are invariably cut or fixed into the wall behind the *liṅga*. What then could the existence of this detached panel in the Vyāghrapurīśvara shrine signify? Perhaps the original temple which was founded in Pallava times disintegrated in course of time and was rebuilt, as is found to be the case with many other South-Indian temples, in some later period, only to repeat once again a second course of dilapidation, such as it now presents to us. Still another characteristic, if one is required, of the Pallava origin of the temple, consists in the many Pallava pillars with large cubical sections intercepted by an octagonal middle, bearing medallions of lotus decorations on each face of the cube and plain-cut corbels.[2] These pillars are largely found in the east *gōpura*—the main outer entrance into the temple; and one of them—the one on the right side as one enters—has on it the subjoined record inscribed in 14 lines of writing, going round the pillar in the form of a spiral from top to bottom. Line 1 of the inscription begins on the south face of the upper cube and ends on the west. From line 2 which commences on the west, just below the lotus, and by the side of a creeper-device suggesting a branch of sprouts,[3] the lines go on regularly descending so that the end of line 2 runs on to meet the commencement of line 3 on the west face until we reach line 14 on this face with which the inscription closes.

The alphabet is the usual Pallava-Grantha of the florid type used in the Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa, the Gaṇēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-ratha inscriptions,[4] of Mahābalipuram, the Balipīṭha inscription of the Shore Temple in the same village[5] and the Kailāsanātha temple inscription at Conjeeveram.[6] The writing is for the most part well preserved and could be completely deciphered with the exception of three or four syllables in line 2 and some doubtful letters in line 12. As regards palæography it may be remarked that the initial vowels *a* and *i*

[1] The *liṅga* of the Vyāghrapurīśvara temple is plain and does not show the eight or sixteen facets which is one of the special features of the *Śiva-liṅgas* set up by the Pallava kings after Mahēndravarman I.

[2] See Dubreuil's "*Handbook of Dravidian Architecture*," p. 33, fig. 25.

[3] The name Pallava which happens to occur here is by tradition connected with a bed of sprouts; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 355.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Plates 2, 3 and 4.

[5] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1916, Plates I and II, between pages 112 and 113.

[6] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Plate IX, facing p. 248.

V. 14. He held in his arm, as a bracelet, the earth, which could not be supported even by the primeval Tortoise, the Serpent Lord, the Mountains and the Elephants.

[Vv. 15-24 describe his exploits and fame, which spread to all the eight quarters of the globe, his beauty and his charity.]

Vv. 25-31. The king granted the three villages of **Kulamāṇikyanallūr** *alias* **Nāchchikkuruchchi,** comprising 77 *vēlis* (of dry land ?) and ½ *vēli* of *nañjai* (wet land), **Tiruvaraṁganallūr** and **Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr**, all situated on the southern bank of the **Kāvēri**, in **Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu** of **Chōḷa-maṇḍala**, and the **Trisirāppalli-rājya** together with the new villages of **Kumārakkuḍi** and **Rājanārāyaṇanallūr**, situated respectively in the western and eastern divisions of **Maḷa-nāḍu**, on the northern bank of the Kāvēri.

[Ll. 45 to 49, enumerate in the *dēśabhāshā* (*i.e.* Tamiḷ) the taxes and incomes due from the villages granted to the donee.]

Vv. 32-35. The grant was issued in the **Śaka** year counted by the numerical words *rasa* (6), *ishu* (5), *Rāma* (3), and *Chandra* (1) (*i.e.*, **1356**), corresponding to the cyclic year **Ānanda**. **On the full moon day** of the month of **Vaiśākha**, king **Dēvarāya**, at the time of making the celebrated *mahādāna* gift called *Hēmāśvaratha*, to *Vaḷiyaḍimai-nilayiṭṭa*[1]*-Perumāḷ* **Uttamanambi**, son of **Uttamanambi**, the *sthānapati* of the Śrīraṅgam temple who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, the Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and the Ṛig-Vēda.

[Vv. 36-42 contain the praises of Dēvarāja (or Dēvarāya) and a prayer for his long life and increased prosperity and mention the name of the composer **Rājaśēkhara**.

[Vv. 43-47. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 48. Benediction (by the donee).]

Ll. 91 to 93 Thus was the grant given and signed by the king with his own hand (as) *Śrī-Virupa-(pā)ksha*.

No. 18. THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II.

By H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., Rao Bahadur, Ootacamund.

Vāyalūr is a small village on the north bank of the river **Pālār** at its mouth and is situated three miles south of the historic town of Sadras once the chief seat of the powerful Dutch Factory and 22 miles south-east by south of Chingleput on the South-Indian Railway. The village is also reached direct from Madras by the Buckingham Canal and would then be 43 miles due south of it, past Mahabalipuram, the famous "Seven Pagodas" of Pallava antiquities.

The Śiva temple of **Vyāghrapurīśvara** at Vāyalūr was first examined by the Epigraphical Department, Madras, in 1908 and its lithic records were then completely secured.[2] The earliest of these, from the palæographical and historical points of view, is No. 368 of 1908 which is published for the first time below with a facsimile plate.[3] The other records of Vāyalūr, which are not quite so interesting as the present one, range in date from the 10th to the 16th Century A.D. and mention the village by its surname **Jananāthanallūr**; and the god of the temple also is therein called **Tiruppilavāyil-uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār**, *i.e.*, 'the lord of Tiruppilavāyil,' thus supplying the proper name **Tiruppilavāyil** or **Tiruppilavāyal**, *i.e.*, 'the mouth of the sacred cave' of which

[1] The meaning of this Tamiḷ attribute is 'he who established his title as the hereditary servant (of Raṅganātha)' and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Pankti-krama-mūla-bhṛitya* which occurs in the *Lakshmī-Kāvya* referred to above.

[2] These are registered as Nos. 362 to 368 in Appendix B to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 39 f.

[3] From impressions prepared by myself with the help of my friends Messrs. Venkoba Rao and Srinivasa Rao.

occur in ll. 1, 2 and 10 and the Dravidian *ḷ* in ll. 3 and 4. The punctuation symbol used in the inscription is a triple vertical joined at the top, the component lines being often of varying lengths. Two other symbols of an ornamental type occur in line 9, evidently also being used as punctuations; but these are not quite distinct. In the matter of ortnography, the use of the *anusvāra* and its change into the class-nasal in compound letters is generally correctly observed, *e.g.*—*Aṅgirāḥ* in l. 1, *Koṅkaṇiḥ* in line 3 and *Skanda* in l. 4. The doubling of consonants after a conjunct *r* occurs throughout. There is one mistake of spelling in *śrita* for *śruta* (l. 10); and wrong *sandhi* in *jiyat-ma* for *jiyān-ma* (*ibid.*) and *nō sa khalu* for °*nas-sa khalu* (if my reading is correct in l. 11). In line 10 the form *yubdha* for *yuddha* is apparently a mistake of the scribe.

As stated in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1909[1] the record is a very interesting one on account of the long list of Pallava names it supplies. When I drew up the report, I was not able to give the whole list, for want of time and a satisfactory estampage. Also the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates which give, though summarily, a similar list of names in the ancestry of the Pallavas, had not then been published, and consequently, the big list of the Vāyalūr record did not attract much attention. Thanks to the scholarly work of Professor Dubreuil in the field of South-Indian Epigraphical research and especially in the study of the Pallava dynasties, we now possess a full statement of the contents of this valuable inscription and its bearing upon Pallava chronology.

The Purāṇic names in the list from Brahmā to Aśōka (ll. 1 and 2) are found in the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla[2]; and up to the eponymous **Pallava**, the predecessor of Aśōka, they are found also in the Kūram plates[3] of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Udayēndiram Plates.[4] Among the names of other early kings which the Kāśākuḍi plates incidentally mention are those of Vīrasiṁha and Vishṇusiṁha which do not find a place in the Vāyalūr list. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates[5], which are later, give the Purāṇic names in the same order up to Aśōkavarman correctly, but after a gap supply us with the three names **Kāḷabhartṛi**, **Chūtapallava** and **Vīrakūrcha** in the order of father and son exactly as we find in l. 3 of our inscription. After these comes the name of **Skandaśishya** which does not figure in the Vāyalūr record. It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāśākuḍi, Udayēndiram, and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not very much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct. The Vāyalūr record after mentioning Aśōka gives eight names, *viz.*, **Harigupta**, **Bhūtadatta**, **Sūryavarman**, **Vishṇugōpa**, **Dhṛitaka**, **Kaḷinda**, **Jyāmalla** and **Ripumalla**[6] which do not appear in the later grants. After these come the thirty-six names listed by Professor Dubreuil on p. 20 of his "*Pallavas*" with the small difference that the name Koṅkaṇika is actually found on the estampage to be **Koṅkaṇi**.

Monsieur Dubreuil tries to attribute to the Vāyalūr list the credit of supplying a complete genealogical succession from even the time of the eponymous founder Pallava, including practically all the names mentioned in the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit copper-plate grants hitherto discovered and in the later stone inscriptions. In doing this he finds many difficulties in his way but attempts to get over them by finding accidental coincidence in the order of the names. In **Vīrakūrcha**, **Skandaśishya**, **Kumāravishṇu** and **Buddhavarman** of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates for instance, he finds coincidence with the set of names Nos. 29 to 32 (11 to 14)[7] of the Vāyalūr

[1] Part II, paragraph 17, p. 76 f.
[2] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 342.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 144.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 363.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[6] Professor Dubreuil reads by mistake the two names Jyāmalla and Ripumalla as Jyāmalla and Ēkamalla, and Sūryavarman as Āryavarman (see his "*Pallavas*," p. 20).
[7] Here and below, M. Dubreuil's numbers are given in brackets.

list. Here, however, it has to be observed that Vīrakūrcha, whom Dubreuil selects as the first of the ruling Pallava kings, perhaps from a statement made about him in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, was the son of Chūtapallava and grandson of Kāḷabhartṛi—thus corresponding to No. 23 (5) of the Vāyalūr list and not to No. 29 (11). Also the three names that succeed this Vīrakūrcha are Chandravarman, Karāḷa and **Vishṇugōpa** and not Skandasishya, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman as Dubreuil puts it down. Again, his presumption that the Chendalūr plates must be a copy of some ancient record, suits his purpose very well; since the inconvenient names Skandavarman, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman which these plates give, occur in that order in Nos. 30, 31 and 32 (12, 13 and 14) of the Vāyalūr list; but here again he forgets that the fourth name that occurs in the Chendalūr plates is a second Kumāravishṇu and not as is to be expected No. 33 (15) Skandavarman of the Vāyalūr list. The partial coincidence in the earlier Pallava names mentioned in the Vāyalūr list with those of the Chendalūr and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates serves no practical purpose and the agreement, if any, could be attributed only to an accident by what we may call the *kākatālīya-nyāya*. It does not, therefore, give to the Vāyalūr list any more completeness than what could be claimed for the Kasakuḍi or the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam accounts. Perhaps Dubreuil also, though he has not expressed himself clearly on this point, meant the same thing when he said "we should not rely too much on the order of succession of the kings given in the Vāyalūr inscription after Vīrakūrcha (11)."[1]

Passing on after 32 (14) Buddhavarman to eight other kings and in the interim identifying Vishṇugōpa 37 (19) with Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī, the well-known Pallava (?) contemporary of Samudragupta about the end of the 4th Century A.D., Professor Dubreuil says that from Vīravarman 41 (No. 23) the Vāyalūr inscription becomes trustworthy, evidently again in the sense that it supplies a complete list of kings in the order of succession down to Rājasiṁha Narasiṁhavarman II. This is also extremely doubtful. The Sanskrit grants even though we may exclude the Chendalūr plates, which according to the Professor must be a copy of an older inscription giving some early names that have to be placed before the time of Vīravarman, supply us with the names of only six kings whose succession in the order given below may be taken as certain :—

Mahārāja Skandavarman I.
|
Vīrakūrcha or Vīravarman.
|
Skandavarman II.
|
Siṁhavarman I. — Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa.
|
Siṁhavarman II.

Of these, the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa may not have ruled. The information obtained from the Udayēndiram[2] and the Churā[3] copper-plates, both of which are decidedly later by reason of their palæography and are otherwise also untrustworthy, cannot be used, as has been done by Professor Dubreuil, for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Siṁhavarman I or Siṁhavarman II. If this could be done, there is no reason why the names Siṁhavarman, Nandivarman and Siṁhavishṇu which occur in the Amarāvatī pillar inscription of about the 12th Century A.D.[4] should not be utilised for a similar purpose. Again, the assumption, in the first place, of two simultaneously ruling families, one at Kāñchī and the other in the Telugu country, and in the second place, the statement that Siṁhavarman 43 (25) of the

[1] "*The Pallavas*," p. 23.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 144.
[3] *Epigraphical Report* (Madras) for 1914, p. 82.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

Uruvupalli plates probably resumed possession of Kāñchī are not founded on any sure ground. We very well know that the early Pallava kings while ruling at their capital Kāñchī had their Viceroy at Dhaññakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭa) in the Telugu country. Why the later kings succeeding Skandavarman II should have chosen a different course of administration, dividing the kingdom between two ruling dynasties and why, even if this were so, the Vāyalūr inscription whose definite purpose is to describe the ancestry of king Rājasiṁha-Narasiṁhavarman II of the Palakkaḍa branch should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral Kāñchī branch 43 to 46 (Nos. 25 to 28) which according to Professor Dubreuil was altogether unconnected with it, are questions that require to be explained satisfactorily before we could follow the theory of Professor Dubreuil postulating two separate dynasties simultaneously ruling in the Telugu country and in the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. Again, in the set of names enumerated one after the other from Nos. 43 to 50 (25 to 32), what authority does the Professor discover to presume that while the first four ruled in a given order, the second five (omitting the first of them) ruled, not after them as should be expected, but simultaneously with them? Do not these kings possibly stand to each other in the relation of father and son as the first and the last sets of names in the list suggest or again, as the partial coincidence in the order Vīrakūrcha to Buddhavarman (Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates) and full coincidence in Skandavarman to Nandivarman (Udayēndiram plates), indicate? In fact, therefore, the list of the names given by the Vayalūr inscription remains to be as indefinite as those supplied by the Kāśākuḍi, Udayēndiram and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates and there is not the least possibility of finding therein a succession list either whole or partial except after No. 49 (31) Siṁhavarman, the father of Siṁhavishṇu. Professor Dubreuil's arguments are thus seen to be vitiated by wrong identifications and gratuitous assumptions and by his acceptance as genuine material of what still remains only tentative and requires further careful examination and scrutiny.

One positive and important result, however, derived from a study of the Vāyalūr list, is that certain conclusions arrived at in my contribution on the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates require correction. The identification of Kaḷabhartṛi with Kāṇagōpa on page 503 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume II, is now untenable since both these names occur in the Vāyalūr list as Nos. 21 and 28 (3 and 10); similarly, the identification of Chūtapallava with Skandavarman and Vīrakūrcha with Vīravarman of the Pikira and the Māṅgaḍūr grants cannot any more be upheld. The three kings Kaḷabhartṛi, Chūtapallava and Vīrakūrcha mentioned in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates must be some traditionally known very early kings of the Pallava family. Skandaśishya (possibly same as Skandavarman), Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman, who are mentioned in order of succession next in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, do not find the same place in the Vāyalūr list. There must evidently be a mistake due to the carelessness of the author of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates in describing the relationship of Skandaśishya to Vīrakūrcha. Perhaps these three kings also must have been some forgotten old kings with whom the later genealogy derived from the Sanskrit copper-plate grants cannot be connected. Consequently, the probable period of about the middle of the 4th century or thereabouts for kings Siṁhavarman and his son Skandavarman, who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II of the Western Gaṅga dynasty and the beginning of the 7th century fixed for Mahēndravarman I, the author of the rock-cut shrines of South India, must remain still as the only two milestones in Pallava chronology.

The two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription are respectively in the *Vasantatilakā* and the *Sragdharā* metres and are rather corrupt. They give the king the already known titles **Rājasiṁha, Kshatrasiṁha, Yuddhārjuna, Atyantakāma, Śrīmēgha, Mahāmalla, Raṇajaya** and **Śrīnidhi**. The adjunct **सर्वेश्वरशिखामणिदीप्तमौलि:** which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means 'one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, *viz.* Mahēśvara (Śiva),' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like **Śivachūḍāmaṇi** etc.

and the verse यस्याङ्कुशभराक्रान्ता, etc. which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) and अभिषेकजलापूर्णे etc. in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2)—all with reference to king Rājasiṁha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *liṅga*, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि etc. (*ibid.*, No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, v. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of "Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head." All these references clearly point to the existence of a *liṅga*-cult long before the revival of the Vīra-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kalachuri minister Basava (Chenna-Basava) in which the wearing of the *liṅga* plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the **accession of king Rājsiṁha to the throne**. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions.

TEXT.[1]

1 ब्रह्मा ॥ अङ्गिर[ा: ॥] बृहस्पति: ॥ शं[यु: ॥ भ]रद्वाज: ॥ द्रोण: ॥ अश्वत्थामा [॥*]

2 पल्लव: ॥ अशोक: ॥ हरिगुप्त: ॥ [भूत]दत्त: ॥ [सूर्य्यवर्म्मा [॥] . . . . विष्णु]गोप: ॥ धृत-

3 [क:] [॥*] [क]ळिन्द: ॥ श्यामल[: ॥ वि]पुमल्ल: [*॥] विमल: ॥ कोङ्कणि: [॥ क]ाळभर्त्ता ॥*] चूतपल्लव[: ॥] वीरकू[र्च्च:] ॥ चन्द्रवर्म्मा

4 ॥ कराळ: ॥ विष्णुगोप: ॥ स्कन्दमूल: [॥] कानगोप: ॥ वीरकूर्च्च: ॥ [स्क]न्दवर्म्म[ा ॥] कुमारविष्णु:

5 ॥ बुद्धवर्म्मा [॥] स्कन्दवर्म्मा ॥ कुमारविष्णु: ॥ बुद्धवर्म्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्म्मा ॥ विष्णुगो-

6 प: ॥ विष्णुदा[स]: ॥ स्कन्दवर्म्म[ा ॥] सिंहवर्म्मा ॥ वीरवर्म्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्म्मा ॥ सिं-

7 हवर्म्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्म्मा ॥ नन्दिवर्म्मा ॥ सिंहवर्म्मा [॥] सिंहवर्म्मा विष्णुगोप: ॥

8 सिंहवर्म्मा ॥ सिंहविष्णु: ॥ महेन्द्रवर्म्मा ॥ नरसिंहवर्म्मा ॥ महेन्द्रव-

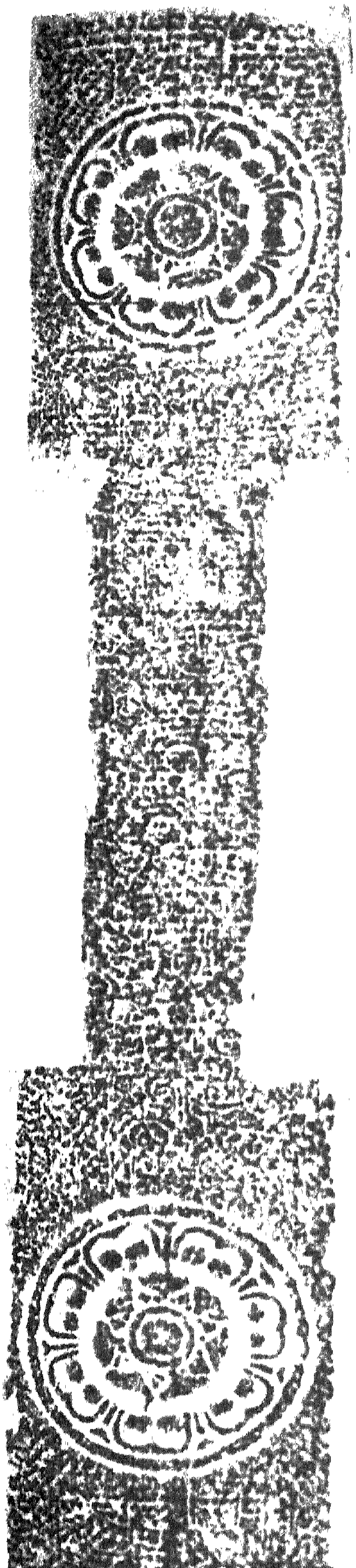
9 र्म्मा ॥ परमेश्वरवर्म्मा ꣼[2] श्रीपल्लवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

[1] Direct from the stone.

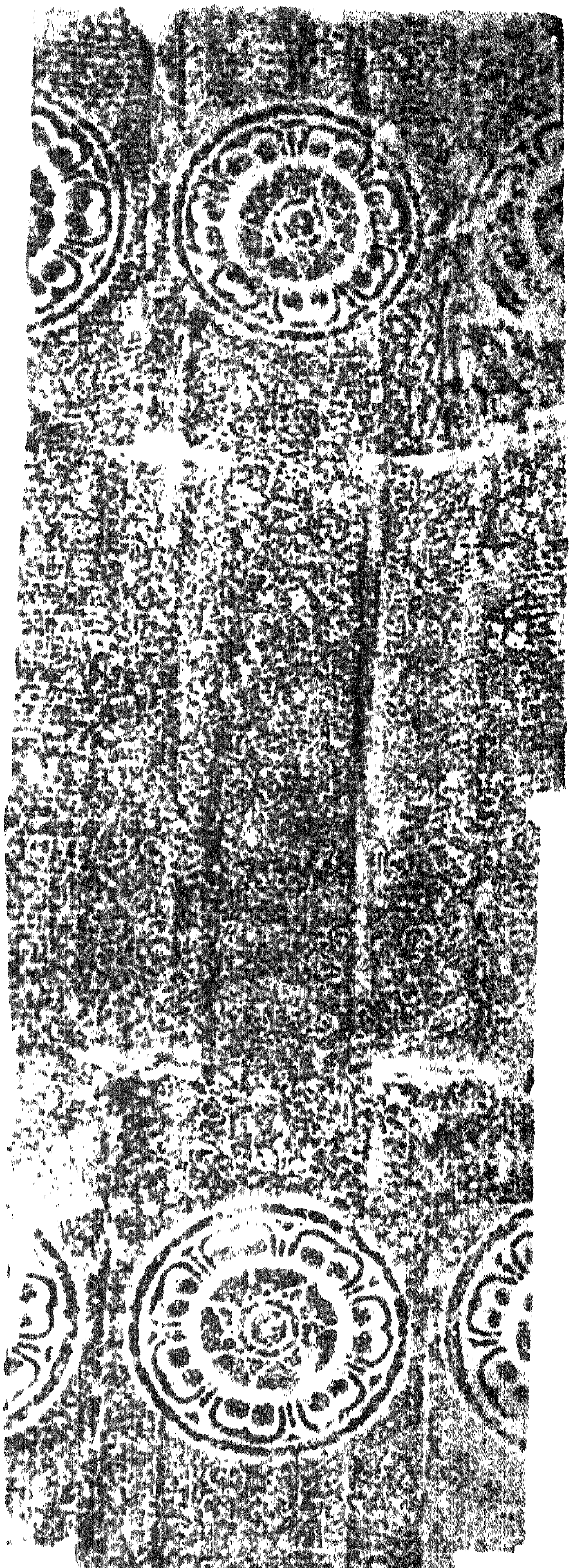
[2] This symbol which is evidently intended as a mark of punctuation is followed by another which is rather complicated. It is seen on the facsimile plate though indistinctly.

Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II.

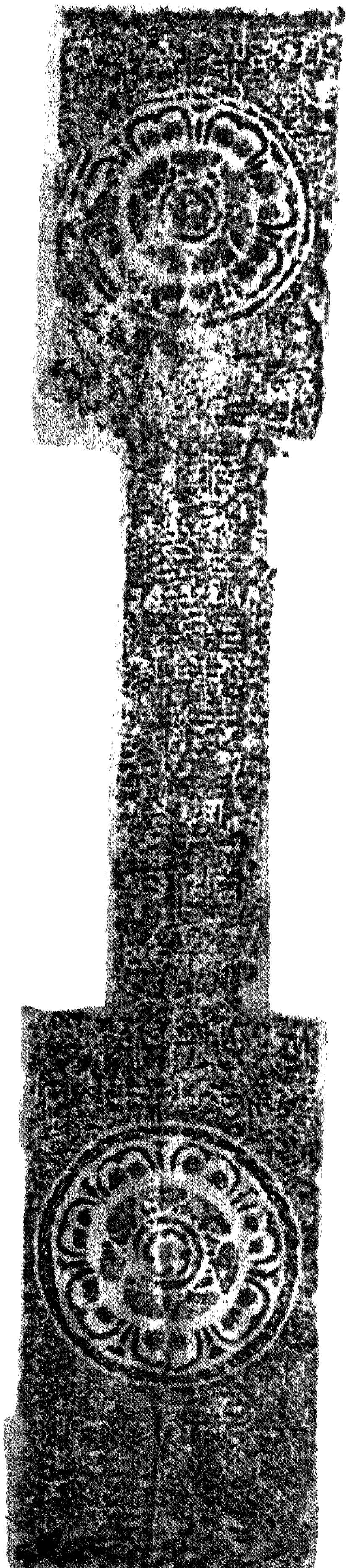
South Face



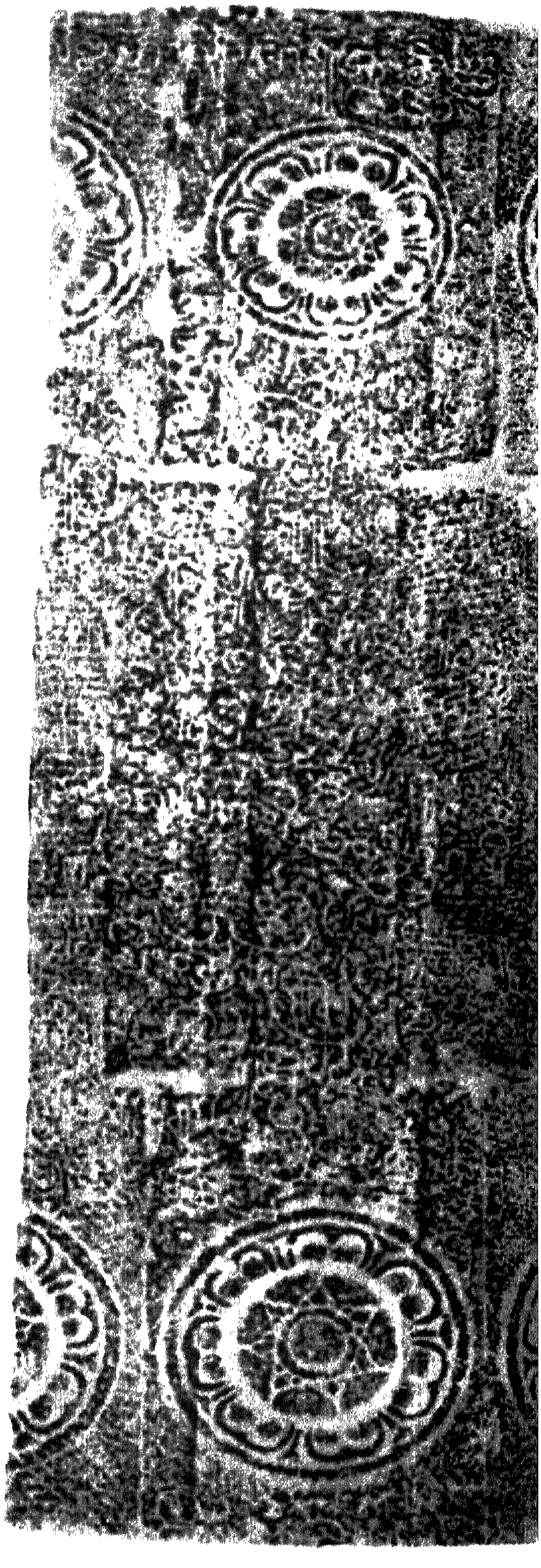
East Face



North Face



West Face



10 यः चत्रसिंह इति [1]विश्र[त]पुण्यकीर्त्तिः [।*] जोयात्मह्रे[2]श्वरशिख[ा]मणिदीप्र-मौलि[र्य्यु]-

11 स्थाज्र्जुने[ा] [स] ख[लु][3] लोकनरेन्द्रसिंह[: ॥१] [१*][श्र]म्भोः पादार[विन्दद्वय]-परिचरणे नित्यमत्य-

12 न्तकामः श्रीमेघो विप्रसख्याकरविभवकरे[4] [व्यो]मरश्चोघच[न्द्रः][5] [।*] राज्या-न्त[ा]राव[गा]हवि-[6]

13 दोतमहामलमक्द[:*] प्रजानां रच्च[ा]दीचाधिकारं वहतु रणजय[:*] श्रीनि-

14 धिहोपलच्चम् ॥[२*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 9)

1. Brahman.
2. Aṅgiras.
3. Bṛihaspati.
4. Śaṁyu.
5. Bharadvāja.
6. Drōṇa.
7. Aśvatthāman.
8. Pallava.
9. Aśōka.
10. Harigupta.
11. Bhūtadatta.
12. Sūryavarman.
13. ......
14. Vishṇugōpa.
15. Dhṛitaka.
16. Kaḷinda.
17. Jyāmalla.
18. Ripumalla.
19. Vimala.
20. Kōṅkaṇi.
21. Kāḷabhartṛi.
22. Chūtapallava.
23. Vīrakurcha.
24. Chandravarman.
25. Karāḷa.
26. Vishṇugōpa.
27. Skandamūla.
28. Kāṇagōpa.
29. Vīrakūrcha.
30. Skandavarman.
31. Kumāravishṇu.
32. Buddhavarman.
33. Skandavarman.
34. Kumāravishṇu.
35. Buddhavarman.
36. Skandavarman.
37. Vishṇugōpa.
38. Vishṇudāsa.
39. Skandavarman.
40. Siṁhavarman.
41. Vīravarman.
42. Skandavarman.
43. Siṁhavarman.
44. Skandavarman.
45. Nandivarman.
46. Siṁhavarman.
47. Siṁhavarman.
48. Vishṇugōpa.
49. Siṁhavarman.
50. Siṁhavishṇu.
51. Mahēndravarman.
52. Narasiṁhavarman.
53. Mahēndravarman.
54. Paramēśvaravarman

[1] Read विश्रुत°.

[2] Read जीयान्महे°.

[3] Read °हार्ज्जुनसमकल°.

[4] Read करो.

[5] It is difficult to rectify this corrupt passage. श्रोम is perhaps a mistake for सम and रवोघ corrected into रत्नोघ perhaps stands for रत्नाकर, an ocean. Among the numerous titles of Rājasiṁha given in the Conjeeveram inscriptions the only one which ends in *chandra* is Udayachandraḥ. [Analogy with परिचरणे...काम ; and the epithets like avanidivākara, chaṇḍadaṇḍa and udayachandra would suggest that the reading might be श्रीमेघो विप्रसख्ये करविभवकरे व्योमरत्नौघ चन्द्रः — Ed.].

[6] This is again corrupt. Metrically one long and one short syllables are wanting. °गाहवर्धितद्योतमहामलक्ष्मः appears to be a possible emendation of the latter part of the compound. Can the first part be रत्नादोच

(Ll. 9 to 11.) Be he victorious, the royal lion (*Rājasiṁha*) on (*the top of*) the chief mountain of the glorious **Pallava** race, whose spotless fame as the lion of warriors (*Kshatrasiṁha*) is widely known, whose crown is resplendent with the crest-jewel, *viz.* Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lion among lords of kings (*Narēndrasiṁha*) of the whole earth, and an Arjuna in battle (*Yuddhārjuna*).

(Ll. 11 to 14.) May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand-islands,[1] he, who is known by the name "the great wrestler" (*Mahāmalla*) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (*Atyantakāma*) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), who is the blessed cloud (Śrī-Mēgha) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmans, prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (*Raṇajaya*) and "the storehouse of prosperity" (*Śrīnidhi*)!

No. 19.—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRARI.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.

Kirāṛī is a small village in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It lies some ten miles to the west of Chandarpur and about twenty miles to the south-east of Kharsiā, which leads to the Jogīmārā cave, so well known for its very ancient fresco-paintings as well as early Brāhmī inscriptions. The river Mahānadī flows some four miles to the south of it. Outside this village there lies a large and old tank called Hīrābandh which is rather an embankment meant to collect the overflowing rain water at the time of floods. Owing to draught this tank had dried up and in April 1921 the agriculturists of the village began digging its bed to throw the fertilizing silt over their fields. On the 29th or 30th of that month they hit upon a wooden pillar which they removed from the mud and placed in the sun, not knowing the disservice they were doing thereby to the cause of Indian Epigraphy for, the moment the pillar began to dry a good deal of its surface peeled off carrying with it the major portion of the invaluable record which was incised on the pillar. Noticing that the pillar bore some letters on it some of the villagers called their Pandit, named Lakshmīprasāda Upādhyāya, to see if he could read the writing. Failing to make it out he very carefully took an eye-copy of all the letters which he noticed on the pillar at the time of his arrival, not omitting even the faintest traces of a letter over it. Apparently, he was not aware how the record ran, which side came first or which was the top or bottom of the letters. Like a true copyist he wrote out each line separately on sheets of paper available to him at the time according to the maxim of writers :—

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥

---

[1] This is a doubtful translation of the word द्वीपलक्षम्. I propose to take it as an *avyayībhāva* deriving it द्वीपा लक्ष्यन्ते यस्मिन् कर्मणि इति. [द्वीपाः लक्ष' यस्मिन्, etc., is another suggestion—H. S.] If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasiṁha even to the distant islands in the ocean. The word द्वीपलक्षम् may also be corrected into द्वीपलक्षात् and with आ repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands.'

Could there be a reference by *dhvani* in the word द्वीपलक्षम to the Laccadive Islands called लक्षद्वीप in Sanskrit? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasiṁha and the Laccadive Islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East-Borneo) (*Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, p. 192) asks :—"Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñchīpura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champā and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their *praśastis* with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chālukyas?" Here we have, though not a *praśasti*, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

so often found at the end of the manuscript copies of Sanskirt books. How faithful his copy is can be judged from the facsimile of the mechanical impressions of the portions which were copied when I first inspected the pillar in 1921 and which were still intact when I again examined it in 1924 at the Nagpur Museum. Comparison will show that the eye-copy can be taken as quite trustworthy in the case of the portions which are now lost for ever. The fact that the copyist did not even understand which side represented the top and which the bottom of the lettering precludes the suspicion of forgery altogether. How he succeeded in bringing out the shapes of the letters accurately is, I think, due to the little knowledge of drawing which he possessed and to his intelligence. But as the fact remains that those portions of the epigraph do not exist now, we would naturally feel hesitant to draw large conclusions from the hand-copy. The Pandit took a copy of not less than 349 *aksharas* whereas at the time of my first inspection the pillar had not more than 60 or 70 letters and now not more than 30 or 40 including the traces of vowel marks. The Pandit's eye-copy was handed over to my draftsman at the time of my visit to Kirārī and I have used it in preparing the comparative facsimile plate as well as in reading the lost portion for which it was the only source now to depend upon.

The find was next brought to the notice of Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur, a village attached to the Chandarpur Post Office, not very far off from Kirārī. He promptly brought it to the notice of Sir John Marshall under whose instructions the pillar was immersed in water in a tank at Kirārī where it lay till it was finally removed to the Government Museum at Nagpur after being very carefully treated chemically for the preservation of the writing on it. The Museum authorities have now cut it into two parts, one of which, *i.e.*, the upper portion, they have placed in a glazed case, accommodating the other in an outer verandah of the Museum. The former still shows not less than twenty-two continuous letters more or less distinctly, while the latter retains traces of lettering here and there and some three or four complete *aksharas* as well. The fate of the lower portion cannot fail to remind us of the all powerful law of nature which permits the survival of the fittest only!

As has been stated above, the pillar is wooden and measures about 13′ 9″ from top to bottom. It is surmounted by a solid *kalaśa* which is about 1′ 2″ high. The *kalaśa* has a narrow neck, a broad and almost flat mouth, the body being more elliptical than round. I am reproducing here two of the photographs which were taken at the time of my inspection during 1921 to replace further description of this interesting find. The surface of the pillar has badly flaked and I cannot positively say if it was shaped into facets and planed, at least at the middle, for writing the inscription. The lower portion, in all probability, must have been left unshaped, as it was meant for insertion in the ground. I got a few chips of the pillar examined and am told that the tree of which it was made belongs to the order of Leguminosae papilionaceae and its botanical name is Pterocarpus marsupium, the Hindi name being Bījā Sāl. This tree gives a handsome and useful timber of Central India and is almost as good as teak.

This find, I believe, is the first of its kind yet made in India. So far some four sacrificial posts have been found in this country and perhaps a similar number in Koetei in the Indian Archipelago. All these have recently been noticed by Dr. Vogel in his paper on the Yūpa Inscriptions of king Mūlavarmman. They are all of stone and appear to be memorial *yūpas* for, sacrificial *yūpas*, as would be shown by the terms *yūpa-dru*, *yūpa-druma* or *yūpa-dāru*, were usually made of wood. Possibly these were put up instead of the wooden pillars or *yūpas* and were their exact copies in stone. A close comparison of the illustrations of these pillars and of the one represented on the *aśvamēdha* coins of Samudragupta the Great, with the photograph of the Kirārī pillar, herein reproduced, will show that the latter cannot be a *yūpa* or sacrificial post. The description given of a *yūpa* in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* would point towards the same inference

According to this authority[1] the shaft of a *yūpa*, except for the lower portion, should be octagon and bent at the top. At the same time a *yūpa* is distinguished by a head-piece or top-ring (*ch shāla*) and marked by a girdle rope (*raśanā*) which winds round it. The Kirari pillar reveals no of these characteristics. Taking it for granted that all the eight corners and the 17 cloths wit which, according to this authority, a sacrificial post is to be wrapt or bound, have disappeare we cannot account for the absence of the hollow at the top and the disagreement in height whic ought to be 17 cubits in the case of a *yūpa*. But as the *Brāhmaṇa* gives different heights fo different purposes and says that "the sacrificial stake of the (ordinary) animal sacrifice is eithe three or four cubits long and one above that belongs to the Soma sacrifice" we cannot depen on the length of the pillar for its identification. That it cannot be a *yūpa* or pillar connecte with animal sacrifice will be shown by a reference to Patañjali who in his *Mahābhāshya* clearly puts down[2] that a *yūpa* must be made of either *Bilva* (Ægle marmelos) or *Khadira* (Acacia catechu)—

"बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात्" इत्युच्यते । यूपश्च नाम पश्वनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ।
शक्यं चानेन यत्किञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्यानुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुरनुबन्द्धुम् । तत्र नियमः क्रियते ॥"

As I have already stated, the Kirārī pillar is made neither of Ægle marmelos nor of Acacia catechu but of Pterocarpus marsupium. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] of Valmiki, however, it is stated that 21 *yūpas* were erected at the time when a horse sacrifice or *Aśvamēdha* was performed by Daśaratha. Out of these six were made of *Bilva* (Ægle marmelos), six of *Khadira* (Acacia catechu), six of *Palāśa* (Butea frondosa), one of *Śleshmātaka* (Cordia Myxa or Latifolia) and two of *Dēvadāru* (Avaria longifolia and Erythroxylon sideroxyloides or Pinus deodar). Including the one added by Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*[4] we find that the pillar under examination cannot come within the category of *yūpas* as far as the tree of which it is made is concerned. In other words the Kirārī pillar cannot be connected with any animal sacrifice (*paśu-anubandha*) on the authority of Vālmīki and Patañjali at least. The description given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is not free from confusion and if we follow it, I think, the Kirārī pillar might be connected with the *Vājapēya* rites. The top portion does not provide a very convenient seat for the householder to occupy at the time he has to hold a dialogue with his wife in reference to their mounting to heaven. Still, as we learn from the *Brāhmaṇa*,[5] in

---

[1] *Śatapatha Br.* S.B.E., Vol. XLI, p. 31, and Vol. XLIV, p. 124. The height of a sacrificial stake has to vary, for the *Brāhmaṇa* says: "When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this (terrestrial) world; and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world; and when he makes one three cubits long, he thereby gains the heavens; and when he makes one four cubits long, he thereby gains the regions."

[2] Adhyāya 1, Pāda 1, Āhnika 1.

[3] I, 14, *sts.* 22—25.

[4] Under the word *yūpa* and in reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* he has brought in one *yupa* of *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) saying 6 of *Bilva*, 6 of *Khadira*, 6 of *Palāśa*, one of *Udumbara*, one of *Śleshmātaka* and one of *Dēvadāru*. The text would not support this division for, it makes no mention of the *Udumbara yūpa*. It runs as follows:—

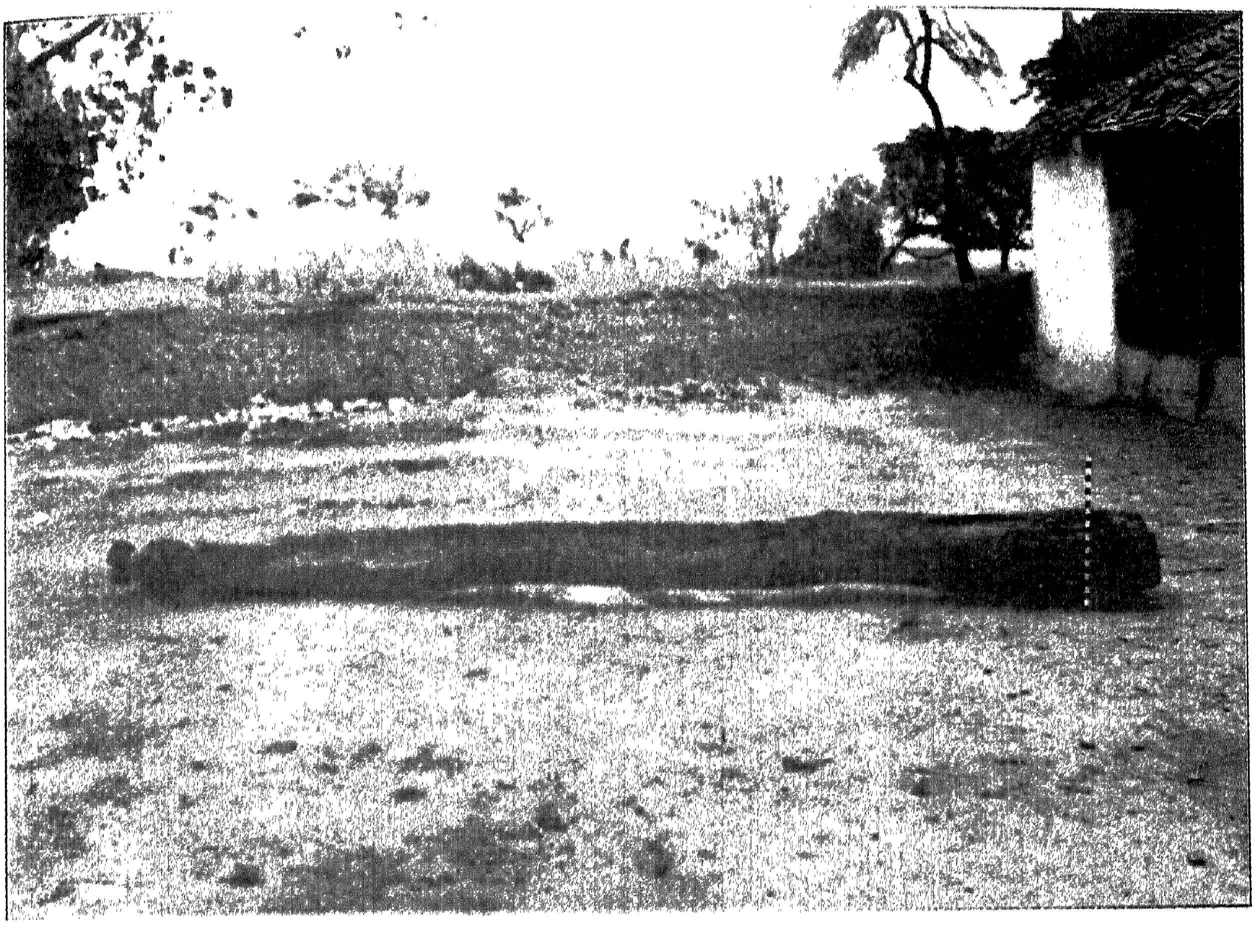
प्राप्ते यूपोच्छ्रये तस्मिन् षड्बैल्वाः खादिरास्तथा ।
तावन्तो बिल्वसहिताः पर्णिनश्च तथा परे ॥
श्लेष्मातकमयो दिष्टो देवदारुमयस्तथा ।
द्वावेव तत्र विहितौ बाहुव्यस्तपरिग्रहौ ॥

The words *dvāvēva* as explained by the commentator Rāma (*drau dēvadārumayau stutau*) mean two of *Dēvadāru* and make no room for *Udumbara*. Possibly Mon. Williams had another edition before him.

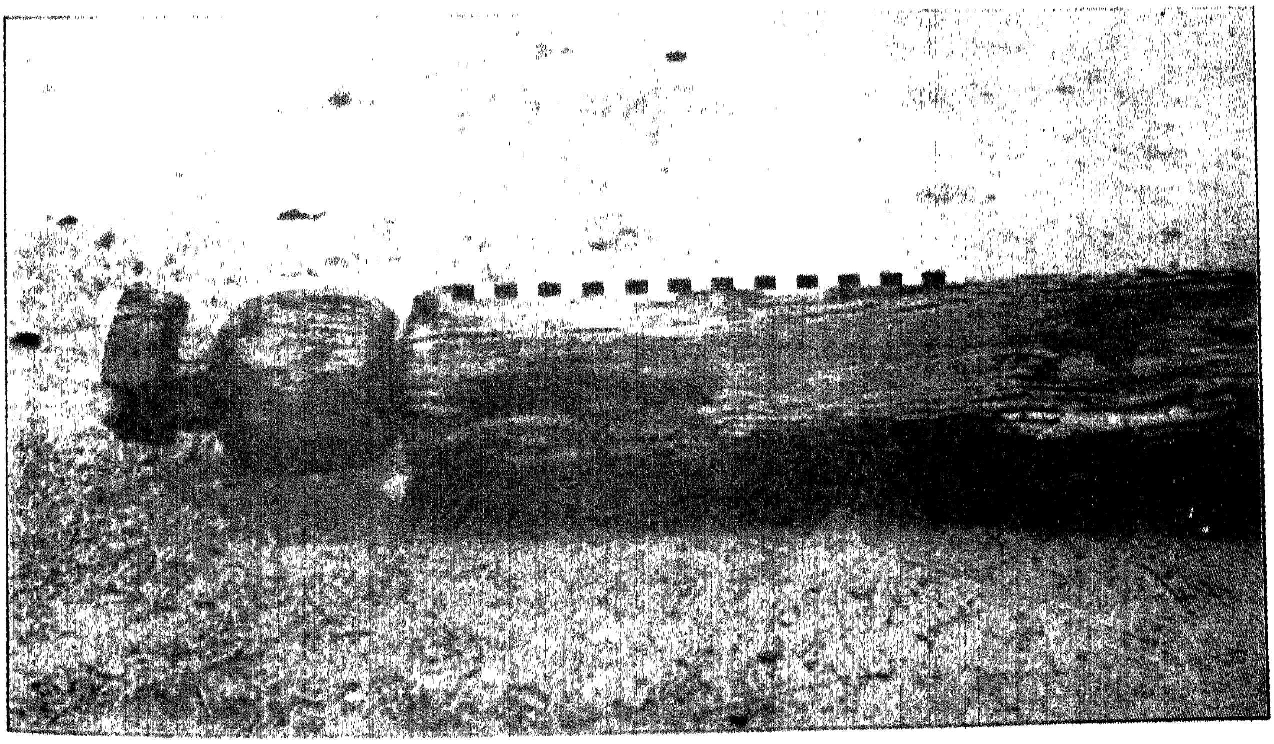
[5] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XLI, p. 31, and footnotes, etc.; also Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, p. 167, and references given above.

WOODEN PILLAR WITH A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KIRARI.

A.—COMPLETE.



B.—UPPER PORTION (DETAIL).



(FROM PHOTOGRAPHS).

HIRANANDA SASTRI. SCALE THREE-FOURTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

some cases he has to ascend a *yūpa* by a ladder, touch the mortar-shaped top-piece made of wheaten dough, rise by the measure of his head over the post and descend after performing certain rites. Our pillar could serve such a purpose very well. But here we should remember that *Vājapēya* is one of the several Sōma sacrifices which kings or Brāhmaṇs have to offer before celebrating the *Rājasūya* and the *Bṛihaspatisava*. Why should a sacrificer select a thing connected with a rite which is after all a minor one as compared to the principal *Yajña* and write a large inscription on it giving the names of very high officials such as this pillar bears? To solve such a question satisfactorily one would like to explore the site where the pillar was unearthed and see if any vestiges of some other sacrifice or sacrifices are to be found there.

The association of a reservoir or tank (Hīrābandh) might suggest this pillar to be an ordinary tank-pillar, such as we see erected in the midst of tanks in the Central Provinces or elsewhere. But then, we have to remember that such columns are generally of stone. Besides, there would be no reason why such an important record should be incised on it mostly to remain hidden under water. Another likelihood may be that it was a *jayastambha* or column of victory, but there too, looking at the position of the personage responsible for its setting up and of the officers connected with him, it will be quite reasonable to expect a more permanent and dignified material than an ordinary *bīja* tree of which the pillar is made. The other alternative would be that it was a *dhvajastambha* or a flagstaff connected with some temple for, that may be made[1] of stone or wood, circular, sixteen- or eight-sided and shaped like a *kumbha* (pot) at the middle or at the beginning. Its height varies according to its nature. The emblem (*vāhana*) of the god to whom it is dedicated is to be put on it together with the banner cloth (*dhvaja-paṭa*). Such an assumption would naturally suggest the existence of some structure close by and until we find any traces of it we are not in a position to call the pillar a *dhvajastambha*. Whether it is a post connected with the *Vājapēya* or similar rites or a *dhvajastambha*, the fact remains that it is a unique find yet made in India.

The **writing** on this pillar very closely resembles that of the Nāsik cave inscriptions.[2] Leaving aside other symbols the one for *khi* is particularly noteworthy. In the two impressions reproduced here this is represented by the fifth letter while in the Nāsik cave inscriptions it is to be seen in the word *dhamarakhitēna* though in another word, *i.e.*, in *bhikhusaṅghasa*, it is written in a different manner. Regarding the **age**, I am to remark that on palæographic grounds the record is to be assigned to about the second century of the Christian era. The extant portion shows no trace of any date in it. It is chiefly on account of its age that this relic of the past possesses considerable epigraphical value for, early Brāhmī inscriptions are rather very rare. As an historical document, however, one will be sorry to find that whatever importance it had originally is now irretrievably lost with the portion that has peeled off. What we may now surmise from the nature of the contents as they are at present is that the inscription must have been connected with some mighty ruler of a very high rank who had a well-organized staff of officers such as the Commander-in-Chief, the Accountant, the Treasurer, etc., etc.

The **language** in which the document is couched is Prakṛit, or one might call it corrupt Sanskrit prose. It is like the language of the Nāsik inscriptions alluded to above.

As to the nature of its **contents** I am to observe that the record now mostly consists of official titles or designations and the names of some of the individuals who must have held them.

---

[1] *Cf. Śilparatna* (Trivandrum S. S. No. LXXV), p. 234 :—

शिलया दारुणाथ वृत्ताकारमथापि वा ।
षोडशाश्रं तु वाष्टाश्रं कुम्भमध्यादिसंयुतम् ॥ etc., etc.

[2] See above, Vol. VIII, No. 18, plate V (n. 3).

BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRARI.

I.



II.



(From impressions).

Such of the designations as are practically certain together with the names of a few of th incumbents as are still intact or can be made out are these : **Nagararakhins** (city-guards or police-inspectors) named Vīrapālita and Chiragohaka ; **Sēnāpati** (commander of army) name Bāma[1]dēya[1] (?) (l. 1, estampage and eye-copy); **Pratihāra** (door-keeper) named Khipatti **Gaṇaka** (accountant) called Hēasi, a **Nāga** ; **Gāhapātiya** (?=*gārhapatya*, keeper of the hous hold fire) named Gharika ; **Bhāṇḍākā(gā)rika** (store-keeper) called Asadhia ; **Hāthārōh** (?=*hastyārōha* or ? the king's elephant-driver) ; **Aśvārōha** (horseman, perhaps Superintender of horses); **Pādamūlika**[2] (temple attendant) ; **Rathika** (possibly the Superintendent of chariots) ; **Mahānasika** (kitchen-officer), (l. ii, estampage and eye-copy) ; **Hath[i]vak** (=*hastipaka*, perhaps Superintendent of elephants); **Dhāvaka** (fore-runner) ; **Sa[u]ga[ndh]ak** (=*Saugandhika*, officer in charge of perfumery ?) ; **Gōma[ndi]lika** (= *gōmaṇḍalika*, or offic in charge of cows or cattle ?) ; **Yāna[śā]lāyudhagharika** (officer in charge of carriage-she and armoury) ; **Palavīthida(ka ?)vā-(pā)lika** (Inspector of meat-stalls) ; **Lēhahārak** (=*lēkhahāraka*, letter-carrier) ; **Kulaputraka**[3] (perhaps chief architect) ; and **Mahāsēnān** or Commander-in-Chief (l. 4). It is interesting the observe here in passing that these desig nations do not fail to remind us of the several functionaries like Aśvā[dh]yaksha, Hastyādhya ksha, Rathādhyaksha mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. As I have alread remarked above the mention of all such persons of rank would show that our pillar must hav been set up in connection with some extraordinary ceremony performed by a very hig personage who was, in all probability, not less than a great king of renown, whose name i now cast into oblivion but, perhaps, would have been preserved had photographs or mechanica copies been carefully taken the moment this important relic of the hoary past was du out. In line 4 of the eye-copy there is a name which comes after the title of Mahāsēnānī an reads like **Siṭha(dha)rāja**. A few letters after it we have a word which reads *putas* (*putrasya*), and then comes a verb which may be taken to be *arpayati*. This might indicate tha the pillar was in some way connected with Si[dha]rāja or his son. The proper names o some of the officers, which are fully preserved on the pillar, like **Khipatti** or **Hēasi** are, ap parently, non-Sanskritic. The latter, *i.e.*, Hēasi, is distinctly called a Nāga or a member o the Serpent tribe. Possibly these people were non-Aryan or aboriginal.

The portions of the two lines which were copied at the time of my first inspection and are represented in the facsimiles may be transcribed as follows :—

No. 1.

(PART OF LINE 1.)

Text.

Nagar[a]rakhiṇō V[ī]rapa(ā)lita-Ch[i]ragohaka-[Sēnāpatid]ēva.

Remarks.—*Nagararakhiṇō* possibly stands for *nagara-rakshiṇau* and means the two guar dians of the city or police-officers. These were named Vīrapālita and Chiragohaka. The first is more an attribute than a proper name. The second looks to be of non-Sanskritic origin. The name of the Sēnāpati or commander of the army is not certain but might have been **Deva**[1].

[1] See footnote 2 on page 157.

[2] *Pādamūlika* is a derivative of *pādamūla* which occurs both in Sanskrit (see Kielhorn's note in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII, p. 252) and Tamil inscriptions (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 138 n. and p. 250) apparently in the sense of a temple attendant—one attached to the feet (of the god). It frequently occurs in the *Jātakas*. From the *Parantapa Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 417, lines 2 and 3) it would appear that *pādamūlikas* were associated with *purōhitas* for it says '*dēviñ cha purōhitañ cha Paratapaṁ nāmākam pādamūlikañ cha gahētvā*,' etc. In this inscription the term comes after the word *dēvathāyaka*, which reminds us of *dēva-sthānika*. So the word seems to signify a priestly attendant or one whose function is to attend to the feet of (*i.e.* worship) god or do some such duties.

[3] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol I, p. 58 ; Vol. IX, p. 58. The word usually means 'sons of noble men.'

No. 2.

(PART OF LINE 2.)

Text.

P[r]ati[hā]ra-Khipat[t]i-gaṇakā(a)—Nāgō(a)-Hēasi-gāhapâtiya-Gharika-bh[â]ṇḍāk(g)āri[ka].

Remarks.—The first word is certainly *pratihāra* which means door-keeper. The second word may read *vaipatti* signifying good foot soldier but comparison with the Nāsik cave inscription, referred to above, would show that it must be read as *Khipatti*. The conjunct *t* is partly visible in the impression but clear on the eye-copy. What follows must be *gaṇaka*. Had the preceding word been *vaipatti* one could take it, in reference to the *Kirātārjunīyam* (XV. 16), in the sense of 'an officer whose chief function is to muster the infantry or superior foot-soldiers.' But I prefer to read the first *akshara* as *khi* and would take *gaṇaka* in the sense of 'accountant'. The word that follows, *i.e.*, Nāga, indicates the tribe to which Hēasi belonged. Hēasi is apparently an aboriginal term. *Gāhapātiya*[1] I would connect with the word *Gārhapatya* and translate as the keeper of the household or *gārhapatya* fire. **Gharika** must have been the name of this officer and is perhaps an *apabhraṁśa* of *grihika* (?) as is *gharinī*, the Pāli form of *grihiṇī*. The word that follows is certainly the equivalent of Sanskrit *bhāṇḍāgārika* and means 'store-keeper'.

Now I give a transcript of the eye-copy, as far as I have been able to make it out, for what it is worth, or rather to satisfy a curiosity. In the facsimiles the impressions of the existing portions of the epigraph and the whole of the eye-copy are reproduced. The paper used by the Pandit was of a small size. So lines could not be brought out in their full length. Taking the entire lines into consideration, the inscribed portion of the pillar measures about 8 feet and the eye-copy approximately supplies ⅜ of the actual size of the letters on it. The text given below follows the order in which Pandit Lakshmi Prasād copied the inscription.

Text.

(Line 1.) Naga[ra]-rakhiṇō-V[ī]rap[ā]lita Chirag[ō]hakē Sē[n]āpa[ti]-[Dē]va[2] bama[dē]-yādhi....g(?)..ṇautāvasa(b?)hathi bama [dē]yikama . sa paṭali . i .... i ....sā . i . i. ...sā. . i ..... sā . ā . nō bhaṭāya kēs[a]va-vīṭhidakāmik(a or ē) tatē (or bhabhē) sāviḍa (n)im[i]tta.

(Line 2.) P[r]atih[ā]ra Khipatti ga[ṇa]ka-Nāga Hēasi gāhapâtiya Gharika-bhaṇḍā-kārika Asādhia vaihāthādhiāra hathārōhē asārōhō dēvathayaka pādamūlika rathika sisāra khakhimala (?) butanamaka tabhaka mahānasika kukuḍabata.

(Line 3.) Hāthivaka yamasrika dhāvaka sagandhakē gōmaṇḍilika yānasālāyudhagharikē daliakhōmha (?) palaviṭhida vālikē avasakāraka sava(or kha)radāpa(or ha)dēaka vadi Kēsavanāshō(?) vacharē anu . yinō dunuvritta lōhahārakō pōtsa (?) payutasāva (?) kuli(la)puttra kuli(la)puttramanusēn[ā]pati.

(Line 4.) Vu . . . salinama . [bu] . hēsara mah[ā]sēnāni Siṭhar[ā]ja . . Kudva (?) . . . . putasa . . . . pijta (?) . . rapayati game puvaraṭhi . . . . kavayu . . . sō . na k[u]m[ā]rō . . . . ḍa . nāvaka

(Line 5.) Bhayayu (or ghē ?)ra (da)pā . ṭa(?) (a?) . . puna[vi?]yā ma

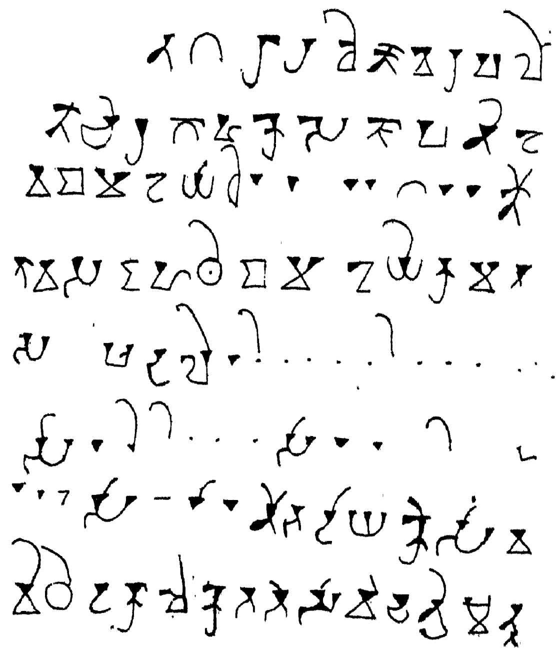
---

[1] Gāhapātiya is a proper name, also, see Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 89.

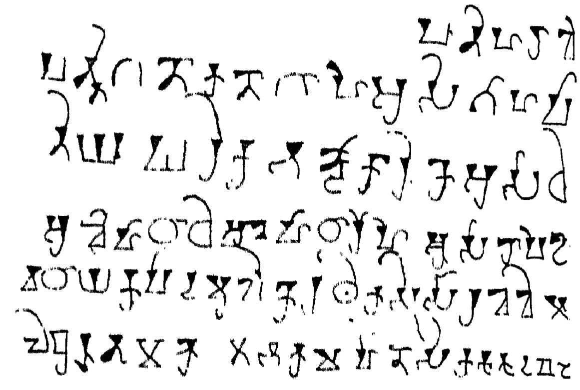
[2] *Dēva* may be taken as a proper name, and *bamadēya* may stand for *brahmadēya*. That will give one more official, to wit, one in charge of charities ?

(FROM EYE-COPY BY PANDIT LAKSHMI PRASAD UPADHYAYA).

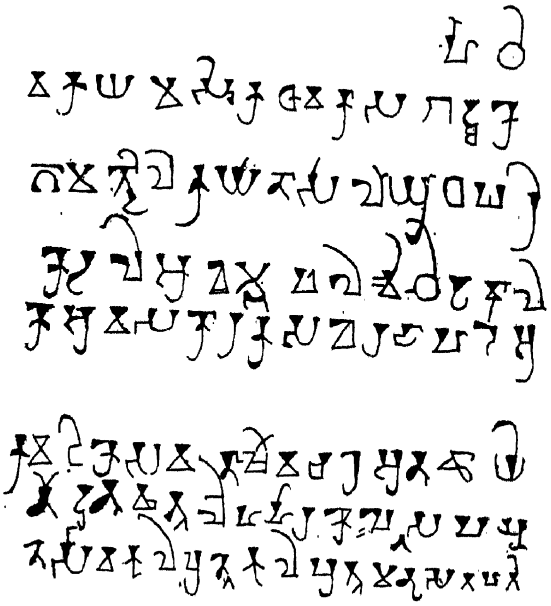
1st line.



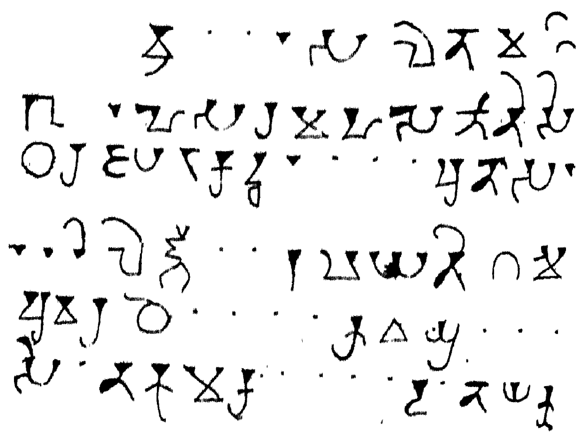
2nd line.



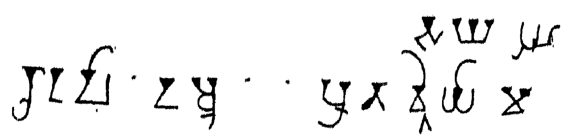
3rd line.



4th line.



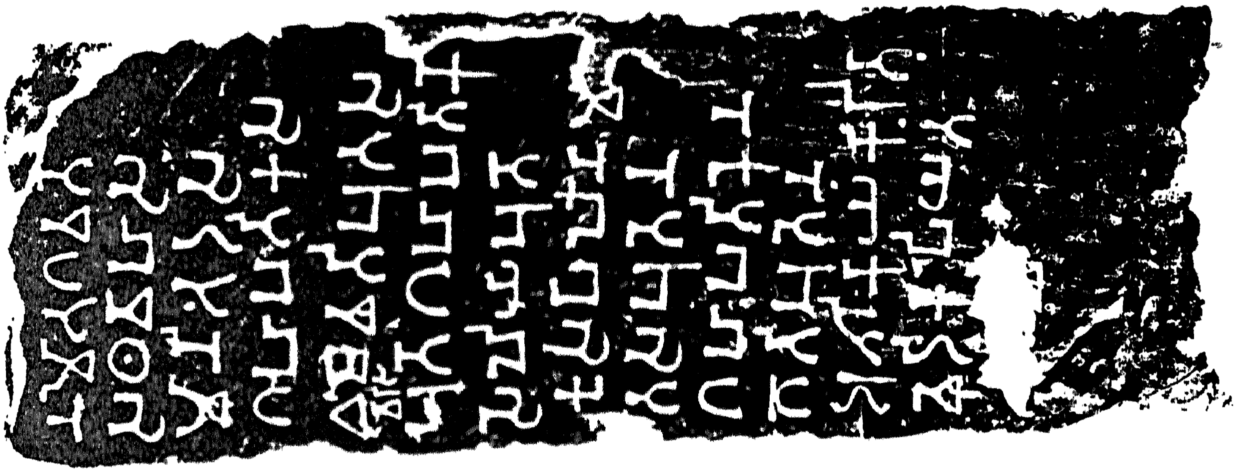
5th line.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.

No. I.



No. II.



No. III.



Inscription No. III.

The slab bearing this inscription was secured from the village of Hasanābād close to ancient remains of Kosam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a port of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the up round portion of the stone. but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab obvious from the traces of *aksharas* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. characters are similar to those of inscription No. II. like which the record is composed Sanskrit. The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding epigraph has been read Mahārāja Śri-Bhadram[ēgha]. It is gratifying to note that in this inscription it is possible make out the date with a considerable degree of certainty and it is the 5th day of the fortnight of the rainy season in the year 88. The era unfortunately is not given but if, as see likely, it was the Gupta era, the corresponding Christian year would be 407 A.D. Th however, is a mere conjecture. Śivamēgha mentioned in Inscription No. II and Bhadram[ēgh of the present inscription presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at pres know nothing more.

TEXT.

1 . . Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[ēghasya]
2 [Saṁvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5
3 . . . . sya Śamarasya(?) puttra Him[i]ṅgana
4 . . . . . . ayayādāvadāra[1].

No. 21.—TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM, AND K. AMRITA RAO, M.A., MADRAS

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved upon two sets of copper-plates belonging the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at Śrīraṅgam. They are edited for the first time fro impressions prepared under the supervision of one of us.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1436.

This record (No. 23 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Copper-plate Collection* for 1905-0 is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring which bears a circul seal. On the seal are shaped in half relief a boar, the sun and the moon—the usual Vijayan gara emblems. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left witho writing, and the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is consequently very we preserved. The plates are numbered with the Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals 1, 2 and 3 engrave on the second side of the first, and on the first side of the second and third plates respectivel to the right of the ring-hole.

The alphabet in which the epigraph is written is Nandināgarī, and the languag Sanskrit. At the end of the inscription is the word *Śrī-Virūpāksha*, the sign-manual of th king, written in the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. The inscription almost always employs the *anu vāra*, wherever the nasals have to be used. The *t* in conjunct consonants is usually doubled u necessarily, as in *prattyūha* in ll. 4 and 52, in *kīrttyā* in ll. 28 and 44, in *vrajēdittyā°* in l. 4 in *āvarttyā°* in l. 55, in *ittyuktō* in l. 60, *ittyādi* in l. 62 and *nittyā* in l. 65. There occur als omissions of letters in some places, due to the carelessness of the engraver, *e.g.*, *t* in *vyatānīt* i

[1] My attention has been kindly drawn to the existence of the first *dā* in this word by Mr. H. Krishna Sastr The meaning of the compound is uncertain. It may perhaps be interpreted as *ārya-yādava-dārāḥ*, the wife of th noble Yādava, who ever he was.

l. 21, *āt* in *Nrisiṁhēndrāt* in l. 25, *t* in *akārshīt* in l. 31, the secondary *ā* symbol in *yā* in *hiraṇmyā* in l. 40, *t* in *bhṅgalyatānīt* in l. 41 and so on; these omissions are supplied in the transcript with an asterisk. The *visarga* is also omitted in a large number of instances where it is wanted and there again it is inserted similarly in our transcript. Besides these cases, there are here and there verbal errors, and the corrections of these are effected in foot-notes.

In both the records the genealogy of the king Krishṇadēvarāya is given as follows :—

The Moon
|
Budha
|
Purūravas
|
Āyuḥ
|
Nahusha
|
Yayāti, *m.* Dēvayānī
|
Turvasu
|
Timma, *m.* Dēvakī
|
Īśvara, *m.* Bukkamā
|
Narasa,
who, having built a bridge across the Kāvērī, defeated the enemy, took him prisoner and captured Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa; defeated the Chēra, the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya, Mānabhūsha, the lord of Madhurā, the Turushkas, the Gajapati and others.

By Tippājī	By Nāgalādēvī
Vīra-Nṛisiṁha	Krishṇadēvarāya

The record is dated S. 1436, which corresponds to the cyclic year Bhāva, in the reign of Krishṇadeva-Mahārāya of Vijayanagara. In this year, on a Wednesday which coincided with the Gō-dvadaśi *tithi* in the month Kārttika, the *nakshatra* for that day being Bharaṇī, the king granted the village of Eṇṇakuḍi to the Brāhmaṇa Allala-Bhaṭṭa. Regarding this date the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, Dewan Bahadur, writes :—

"S. 1436, Bhāva, Wednesday, Gō-dvādaśī-*tithi* in the month Kārtika, Bharaṇī *nakshatra*.

Āśvina Śukla Dvādaśī is called Gō-dvādaśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX); but in A.D. 1514-15=Ś. 1436, Bhāva, Āśvina Śu. 12 fell on Saturday, 30th September, 1514, and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The day intended was probably Mārgaśira Śu. 12, Wednesday, 29th November, A.D. 1514, when the *nakshatra* was Bharaṇī."

The name *Gō-dvādaśī* occurs in other documents also. We meet with it, for instance, in the ancient record of the Āy chieftain, Vikramāditya Varaguṇa (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. 1, p. 192); what observances there are on this particular *dvādaśī* is not known. On the date specified the king Krishṇadēvarāya, being in the presence of the god Virūpāksha in the temple at Vijayanagara (Hampi), standing upon the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā and near the hill Hēmakūṭa, granted the village of Eṇṇakuḍi under the name of Krishṇarāyapuram to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarājārya, of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, of the Āpastamba *sūtra* and of the Yajus *śākhā*, who was a master in the six systems of philosophy. The occasion on which this

grant was made was the giving of the *mahādāna* called the *Gō-sahasra*. The village granted is said to be situated in the Chōḷamaṇḍala-*rājya*, that is, that province of the empire which was known by the name of Chōḷamaṇḍala; the village was in the western portion of the division called the Uyyagoṇḍachōlēndra-vaḷanāḍu, which belonged to the [Tiruv]ārūr-chāvaḍi and was situated in the Tirumihachchūr-paṭṭu; the village was situated on the bank of the river Kāvēri and was to the east of Karkaktai (?), to the south of the canal Nāṭṭāvākkāl, to the west of Pēlaikuḍi (Mēlaikkuḍi) and to the north of the river Vīrāntanāṟu.

It is not quite patent how a document issued to a private person found its way into the treasury of the temple of Raṅganāthasvāmin at Śrīraṅgam. Perhaps the donor, a Śrīvaishṇava, was a native of Śrīraṅgam, and he may have either deposited the copper-plates in the temple treasury for safe custody or have presented the village with its original deed of gift to the god Raṅganātha. As regards the donee, nothing can be said definitely, as no distinguishing family names are affixed to his name; to which of the *āchārya-purusha* families he belonged is not easy to ascertain.

At the end of the document it is stated that the composer of the inscription is Sabhāpati and the engraver Mallaṇāchārya, the son of Viraṇāchārya.

The names of places, etc., which occur in the document are:—Uyyagoṇḍachōlēndra-vaḷānāḍu, [Tiruv]ārūr, Tirumihachchūr, Eṇṇakuḍi, Karkaktai, Pēlaikuḍi and the rivers Kāvērī, Vīrāntanāṟu and Nāṭṭāvākkāl. Of these Uyyagoṇḍachōlēndra-vaḷanāḍu is the same as Uyyakkoṇḍachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, an ancient division of the Chōḷa days. Tiruvārūr is a town of great importance for the large Śiva temple situated in it; it is in the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District. Tirumihachchūr, same as Tirumīyachchūr, a place whose praises are sung by the Śaiva saints Tiru-Jñānasambandha and Appar, is situated in the Nannilam Taluk. The river Kāvērī is too well known to need any comment. The Nāṭṭāvākkāl is the same as the Nāṭṭār, which runs through the Nannilam Taluk and the French territory of Kāraikkāl. The river Vīrāntanāṟu seems to be the same as the Vīrasōḷaṉāṟu, which runs through the Māyavaram Taluk and disembogues south of Tranquebar. We are not able to identify Karkaktai (here the reading itself appears to be wrong) and Pēlaikuḍi (Mēlaikkuḍi) and Eṇṇakuḍi.

The portions of the inscriptions A and B which contain the genealogy of Kṛishṇadēvarāya are similar to those found in other inscriptions of this king. For instance, vv. 1-28 of A are identical with those of the Conjeeveram Plates of Kṛishṇadēvarāya edited in Vol. XIII, pp. 126-129. Vv. 9-11 found in A are omitted in B. Therefore vv. 1-8 of B agree with vv. 1-8 of A, and vv. 9-24 of B with vv. 12-28 of A. Since the genealogical portion of the inscriptions A and B have been printed in the *Epigraphia Indica* more than once, they are omitted in the transcripts of the texts given below.

A.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres: v. 28, *Sragdharā*; vv. 29-45½, 47½-50½, *Anushṭubh*; v. 46½, *Gīti*; v. 51½, *Śālinī*.]

Second Plate: Second Side.

63 * * * * * * * * * स्तुत्यै[।*]दा[यैः]

64 [सु]घोभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्तः[2] क्ष्मापालान् कृष्णराय-

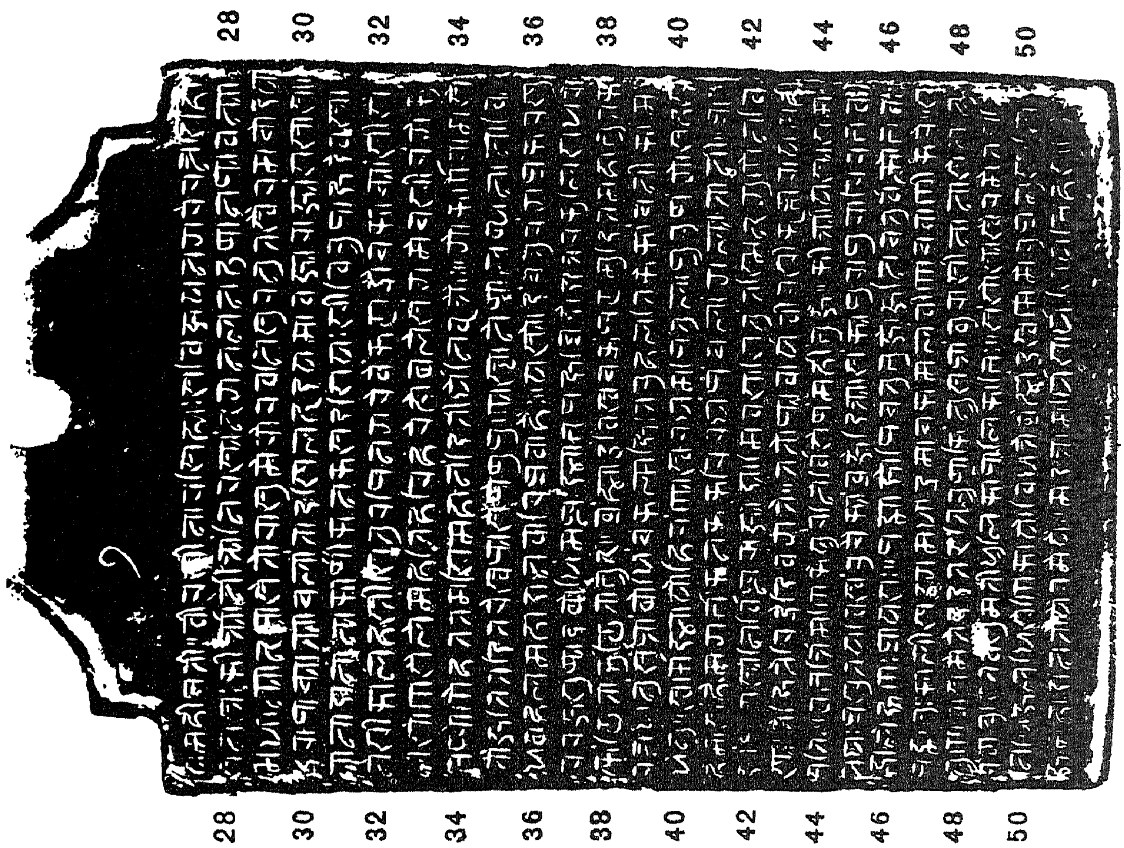
65 क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादीत्[3] [।*] आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्त(:)क्षितिधर-

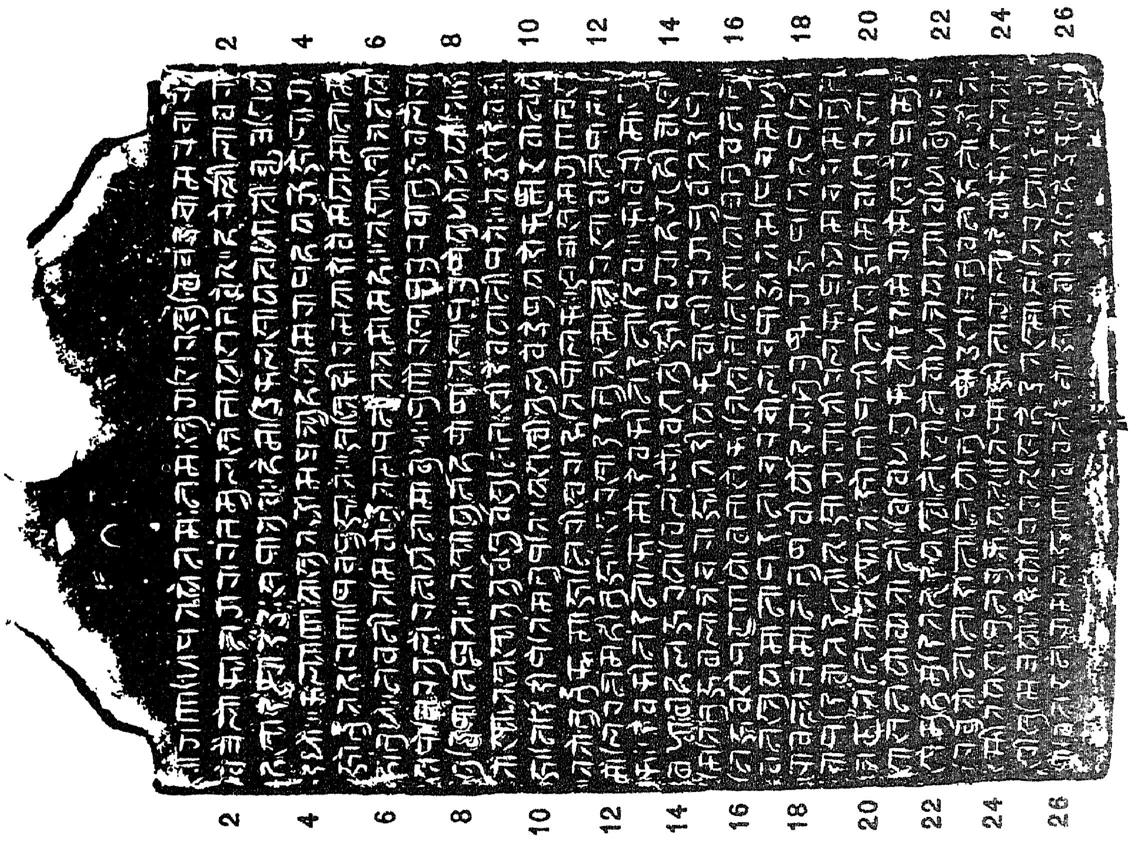
[1] From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

[2] Read स्थः.

[3] Read न्.

Srirangam Copper-plate Grant of Krishnadeva-Raya; S.S. 1436





iib.



iii.



66 कटकाद्दा च हेमाचलाता[1](।)द्दा सेतोरर्थिसार्थं(:)श्रियमिह बहलीकृत्य

67 कोर्त्यां समिंधे(:) ॥[२८*] शालिवाहननिर्नते[2] शकाब्दे सचतु[:*]शतैः षट्ति[3][श]-

68 ता च संयुक्तैः संख्याते दशभि[:*] शतैः ॥[२९*] भावसंवत्सरे मास-कार्तिके बुधवा-

69 सरे । गोद्वादस्यां [4]च पुण्यायां भरण्यां समये शुभे ॥[३०*] तुंग-भद्रापग[ा]-

70 तीरे हेमकु[5]टोपशोभिते । श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ मुक्ति[दा]-

71 द[6]नि ॥[३१*] आत्रेयगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसु[7]त्रिणे । यशस्विने यजु[:*]-

72 शाखा[ध्या]यिने गुणशा[लि]ने ॥[३२*] ष[ड्]दर्शन्यंबुधेः पारदृश्वने श[8]त-

73 शोभिने । श्रीमद्वरदराजाख्यसुनवे सुन्ट[9]तोक्तये ।[३३*] गोसहस्र[10]महा[ा]-

74 दाने विश्रुते शुभदायिनि । आचार्याय विशुंधा[11]य वाचार्याय म-

75 हात्मने ॥[३४*] पुरु[षा]र्थे[12] सरस्वत्यै पुं[13]ण्यशीलाय धीमते । मल्लाल-

76 भट्टवेषाय शेषाय गुरवे धिया ।[। ३५*] चोलमंडलराज्यांत[र्भू]तदक्षि-

77 णरोधसि । पुण्ये(ा) कवेरकन्याया दृश्यमाननिजस्थिति ।[। ३६*] आरु-[14]

78 कुचावडेरंतर्भावं चापि समाश्रो[15]तं । विख्यातमुख्यपौंडश्रीचो[लं][16]-

79 [द्र]वऊना[डु]के ।[। ३७*] तस्यैव पश्चिमो भाग इति ख्यातिमुपाश्रीतं[17][।] [र]-

Third Plate: First Side.

80 [म्ये] तिरुमिहच्चुरपट्टके[18] विहितस्थितिं ।[। ३८*] कर्कत्रीग्रामतः प्रा[च्यं]

81 नाट्टावाक्क[ा*]लप्रदेशतः । दक्षिणत्वं श्रीतं[19] पेलैकुडिग्रामाच्च पश्चि-

82 मं ।[। ३९*] वोरांतनात्तुशी[20]माया उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं । कृष्णरायपुरं चे-

83 ति प्रतिनाम समाश्रितं [॥ ४०*] ग्राममेण्णकुडीत्याख्यां विख्यातामाश्रि[तं]

84 वरं । सर्वमा[न्यं] चतु[:*]सीमास[21]युतं च समंततः ।[। ४१*] निधिनिक्ष[22]-पपाषाण-

85 [सि]द्धशा[23]ध्यजलान्वितं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्त[24]मेकभोग्यं सभूरु-

---

[1] Read त्ता.
[2] Read °र्णीते.
[3] Read षट्त्रिं°.
[4] Read °श्यां च.
[5] Read कू.
[6] Read यि.
[7] Read सू.
[8] Read शु.
[9] Read °सूनवे सून्ट°.
[10] Read स्र.
[11] Read °शुद्धा.
[12] [The actual reading on the plate is पुं रुपार्थे.—which has to be corrected into पुं रूपायै.—Ed.]
[13] Read पु.
[14] Read रु.
[15] Read श्रि.
[16] Read °मुख्यगौंडश्रीचोलें°.
[17] Read °मुपाश्रितं.
[18] Read तिरुमिहच्चूर°.
[19] Read [illegible]
[20] Read [illegible]
[21] Read र्ष.
[22] Read क्ष°.
[23] Read [illegible]
[24] Read क्त

86 ष्टं ।[। ४२*] वापीकूपतटा[1]कोश कच्छेमाधि [स]मन्वि[तम् ।*] पुत्रपौत्रादि-
भि(:)र्भो[ग्यं] क्र-

87 मादाचंद्रतारकं [॥ ४३*] दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । प-

88 रीत: प्रयते[:*] श्रिन[2]र्वधै[:*] पुरोहितपुरोगमै: [॥ ४४*] विविधै(:)विबु-
धै[:*] श्रोतप-

89 विकैरधिकैर्गिरा । कृष्णदेवमहारायो मानीयो मनस्विना[3] [॥ ४५*] स-

90 हिर[4]ण्यपयोधारापू[र्व]कं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥[४६॥)*] तदिदमवमीवनीपकविनु-

91 तधरायस्य कृष्णरायस्य [।*] शासनमतिवलि[5]शासनतकरदान-

92 स्य सां[प]दानस्य ।[। ४६॥)*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन सभापति[:*]
श्रमा-

93 णोम्[6][दुवं]द्रमें तदिदं ताम्रशासनं[7] ।[। ४७॥)*] त्वष्टा श्रीमल्लणाचार्य[ो*]
वीर[णा]-

94 चार्यनंदन[:।*] श्राकल्पमक्षतैकां कृत्तिं शासनं[8]लेखक[: ॥ ४८॥)*]

95 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छ्रे]योनुपालनं [।*] दानात्स्व[9]र्गमवा-

96 प्नोति पालनादच्यु[10]तं पदं ॥[४९॥)*] स्वदत्ताद्दिगुणं पुंण्यं[11] परदत्ता-

97 नुपालनं [।*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवे[त्] [॥ ५०॥)*]

98 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु[12]र्नृपाणां काले काले पालनोयो भव[द्भि][: ।*]

99 सर्वा[13]नेतान् भाविन: पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्र: [॥ ५१॥)*]

100 श्रोविरुपाच [॥*][14]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Vv. 25 to 28.) King Krishṇarāya ruled the earth, being seated upon the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, in as glorious a fashion as (the ancient kings) Nṛiga and others granting ample sums of money to suppliants throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Sētu to the Mēru mountain, from the Mountain of the rising Sun to that of the setting Sun.

(Vv. 29-35.) In the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-six of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Bhāva, in the month of Kārtika, on a Wednesday, the Gō-dvādaśi *tithi* and the Bharaṇī *nakshatra*, the king granted, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā and near the Hēmakūṭa hill (at Vijayanagara), the village of Eṇṇakuḍi under the new name of Krishṇarāyapuram, to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarājārya, of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Yajuś *śākhā*, who was a master

---

[1] Read टा

[2] Read रिव.

[3] Read स्विना.

[4] Read र्

[5] Read ल.

[6] Read न्मृ.

[7] Read ताम्रशासनम्.

[8] Read न.

[9] Read त्स्व°.

[10] Read च्यु.

[11] Read °द्विगुणं पुण्यं.

[12] Read तुर्नृ.

[13] Read र्वा.

[14] Written in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters. Read श्रीविरूपाक्ष.

The village itself seems to have been situated on the bank of the rivulet called the **Rushī** river. In the Tamil portion the boundaries of Vedambūru-Yēkāmbarapuram are given as follows :— **Tirukaḷambūr** on the east; Tirukaḷambūr and Vēlāṅguḍi on the south-east; Vēlāṅguḍi, and **Sēdirāyanallūr** on the south; on the south-west Sēdirāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr; on the west Mānāvarinallūr; on the north-west the same (?); on the north Koṅgarayanellūr, and the same on the north-east. It was divided into thirty-two shares and distributed among Brāhmaṇas who had different *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*. The names of the Brāhmaṇas, however, are not given as promised. One share each was given to the gods Vishṇu and Śiva in the village; and the *śāsana*-engraver **Mallaṇāchārya** gets, as usual, one share for his work.

Regarding the date, the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, C.I.E., kindly furnishes us with the following note :—

" Ś. 1450, Sarvajit; Monday, Utthāna-Dvādaśī, in the month of Kārttika.

Kārttika Śu. 12 is called Utthāna-Dvādaśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX). In A.D. 1527=Ś. 1450 (current) Sarvajit, Utthāna-Dvādaśī or Kārttika Śu. 12 fell on Monday, 4th November A.D. 1527: the *tithi* commenced at 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise on Monday and came to end on Tuesday at $15\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise."

At the end of the inscription we are told that the composer of the document was **Sabhāpati**, and the engraver Mallaṇāchārya, son of **Vīraṇāchārya**.

The following are the names of places, etc., mentioned in the record :—Ēkāmbarapuram, Vaḍambūr or Vedambūr, Tiruvālūr, Śuttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, Ālaṅguḍi, Mānāvarinallūr, Koṅgarāyanellūr, Tirukaḷambūdūr or Tirukaḷambūr, Sēdirāyanallūr, Vēlāṅguḍi and the rivers Kāvērī and Rushī. Of these Tiruvālūr has already been identified with the town of that name in the Negapatam Taluk; Śuttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, which is one of the divisions of the Chōḷa days, takes its name from the village whose modern spelling is Śittamalli and which is situated in the Mannārguḍi Taluk; Ālaṅguḍi, Koṅgarāyanellūr, Tirukaḷambūr and Vēlāṅguḍi are in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District. We are not able to identify Vaḍambūr, Ēkāmbarapuram, Mānāvarinallūr, Sēdirāyanallūr and the river Rushī.

B.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres : v. 25, *Sragdharā*; vv. 26-43, 45-46, *Anushṭubh*; v. 44, *Śālinī*.]

(Lines 1 to 52 have been omitted, as they agree with the text of the Conjeeveram Plates of the same king published on pp. 126-29 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII.)

Second Plate : First Side.

53 * * * स्तुयौदार्य्य[2] सुधोभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नशि[3]ह्वासन-

54 [स्थ] [:*] क्ष्मापालः[4] कृष्णराय(:)क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादी-

55 [न्] । [आ]पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा च हैमा[च]लाता[5][दा से]-

56 तोर(ा)र्थिसार्थ(:)श्रियमिह बहुलीकृत्य कीर्ति[6]समिधे ॥[२५*] शालिवा-

57 [ह]ननिर्नो[7][ते*] शकाब्दे सचतु[:*]शते[:*] । पंचाशद्वर्षे[8]कै[युक्ते*]: सख्या-

तं[9] [द*]शभि[:*] श[ते][: । २६*]

[1] From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

[2] Read स्तुत्यौदार्यैः.

[3] Read सिं.

[4] Read क्ष्मापालानां.

[5] Read ला.।

[6] Read कीर्त्याभिमिश्रे..

[7] Read र्णी.

[8] Read र.

[9] Read संख्याते.

in the Six Systems of philosophy and the *Śruta* (*i.e.* the *Vēdas*), who was ever veracious, who officiated as priest during the *Gōsahasra-mahādāna*, who was pure, praiseworthy, the goddess Sarasvatī in male form, of good conduct and intelligent and in wisdom like the teacher Śēsha (*i.e.* the serpent Ādiśēsha).

(Vv. 36 to 45½.) The village granted was in the **Chōḷamaṇḍala**-*rājya*, on the south bank of the **Kāvērī**. It belonged to the (jurisdiction of the) **Ārūru-chāvaḍi** (Tiruvārūr) and was in the **Tirumihachchūru-paṭṭu** the western half of **Uyyagoṇḍachōlēndra-vaḷanāḍu**. It was situated to the east of the village of **Karkaktai**, to the south of the **Nāṭṭāvākkāl**, to the west of the village of **Pēlaikuḍi** (Mēlaikkuḍi?) and to the north of **Vīrāntanāṟu**. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight items of proprietorship, such as *nidhi*, *nikshēpa*, etc., as a freehold to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the Moon and the Sun subsist, with the rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc., by the illustrious Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya, who was surrounded (at the time of the gift) by his *Purōhitas* and a number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in the *Śrauta* learning, with pouring of water together with gold.

(V. 46½.) This is the *śāsana* of king Kṛishṇarāya, whose income from land is praised by suppliants for munificence, which is equal to that of the tree (*Kalpa-vṛiksha*) of Indra's region.

(V. 47½.) The copper-plate document was composed by **Sabhāpati** at the command of Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya.

(V. 48½.) **Mallaṇāchārya**, the son of **Vīraṇāchārya**, the artificer, who engraved this document on the copper-plates, obtained one share in the gift.

(Vv. 49½ to 51½.) The usual admonitory verses.

Line 100. (Sign-manual of the kings of Vijayanagara, the word) **Śrī-Vir[ū]p[ā]ksha**

B.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1450.

This inscription also is engraved on a set of **three plates**, of which the first side of the first and the second side of the third plates are left unengraved; the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is very well preserved. This set also, like the other set A above, has a ring and seal. The plates are not numbered.

The alphabet in which the record is engraved is Nandināgarī, and the languages Sanskrit and Tamil; the earlier portion, describing the genealogy, the praises of the donor and the donee and the village granted, is in the Sanskrit language, while the latter portion describing the boundaries, etc., of the village granted, is in Tamil. The sign-manual, *Śrī-Virūpāksha*, at the end of the document is written in the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. The orthographical peculiarities of this epigraph are almost the same as those of the other. In addition to those already detailed under A, this inscription introduces *visargas* in a number of places where they are superfluous, and in these instances they are marked off in the transcript by round brackets. The engraver has done his business in a rather slovenly manner, allowing many omissions and errors to occur in the document.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya** and is dated **Śaka 1450** which corresponded to the cyclic year **Sarvajit**. In this year, on a **Monday**, which was also the **Utthāna-dvādaśī** *tithi* in the month of **Kārttika**, the king made a grant of an *agrahāra* to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *Vēdas*. The village granted was **Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbarapuram**—its name being changed into **Kṛishṇarāyapuram** at the time of the grant. The village was situated on the south bank of the river **Kāvērī** in the **Tiruvālūr-sīma** of the **Chōḷa-maṇḍala**, belonged to the **Suttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu** and was in the *sthaḷa* (sub-division) of **Ālaṅguḍi**; it was bounded on the west by **Mānavarinallūr**, on the north by **Koṅgarāyanellūr**, on the east by **Tirukaḷambūdūr**, and on the south by **Vēlāṅguḍi**.

58 सर्वजिद्वत्सरे श्लाघ्ये कार्त्तिक्यं [1]चंद्रवासरे । उथा[2]नद्वादशीति-

59 [श्]यापुं[3]ण्यकाले शुभे दिने ।[। २७*] तुंगभद्रानदीतीर(रे) विरूपाचस्यं[4] संनि-

60 धौ । अग्रहारचकीर्षयों[5] परमप्रीतिमां(।)[6] तदा ।[। २८*] विचित्राणि च [गो]-

61 [त्र]ाणि [सूत्राणि*] विविधानि च । शाखाश्च विविधास्तानि[7] नामानि विवि-

62 [ध]ानि च ।[। २९*] विभ्राणेभ्या[8] द्विजाति[भ्यो] वेदविद्भ्यो विश[9] मत[:।*] भूदान-

63 [प]ात्रभूतेभ्यो विश्रुतिभ्योधिमेदिनी[10] ।[। ३०*] चाडमंडलसंमध[11]तिरु-]

64 [व]ालूरिसीमनि । [12]शुत्तवक्कीचोडवकना[डु]ग्रालंगुडिस्थले ।[। ३१*] क[ा]-

65 वेरिदच्चिणझागे सर्वसस्यापशाभिते[13] । मानवारोचनें[ल्लू]रग्रा-[14]

66 च्यां दिग्मिसुपाश्रितं[15] ।[। ३२*] कोग[16]रायाख्यनें[ल्लू]रुर्दाच्चिण[स्यां दिग्गि]

Second Plate: Second Side.

67 [स्थि]तं[17] । [18]तिरुकाळंश्रीबूदूरुपश्चमायां दिग्गि स्थित[19] [॥ ३३*]

68 वेलांगुडिवर(ा)ग्रामादुदीच्या दिग्गिमा[20]श्रितं [।*] वषीन[द्या]-

69 स्थतत्तीरग्रामपश्चमत[21]श्रिथतं ।[। ३४*] वडंबूरिसमं[22] नाम येकां-

70 बरपुरं तथा । प्रतिनाम क्रिष्णरायपुरमित्यभिशाभितं[23] ।[। ३५*] ग्रा[म]-[24]

71 ग्रासार्थं मस्यव[25] चारुग्राममहोतळं । [26]तग्रामपूर्वदिग्भागे सुब्र[ह्म]-

72 [वल्लि]मासकं[27] ।[। ३६*] निधिनिक्षपपाषाणसिध[28]साध्यजलान्वत:[29] । अच्चि-

73 ण्यागामिसंयुक्तं समस्तवलयान्वित[म्*] [॥ ३७*] पुत्रपौत्रादिभि(:)र्भोग्यं क्र[मा]-

---

1 [The reading is चंद्रु and must be corrected into चंद्र.—Ed.]

2 Read °त्था.

3 Read ण्या: पु.

4 Read ° चस्य.

5 Read यां.

6 Read °मांस्त°.

7 Read °स्तानि.

8 Read भ्यो.

9 Read श्रे.

10 Read विश्रु° and °मेदिनि.

11 Read च्चोल° and °संबद्ध°.

12 Read °माडावा°.

13 Read कावेर्या दक्षिणे भागे सर्वसस्योपशोभिते.

14 Read मानावरिनल्लूरु as in ll. 84 and 86 below.

15 Read प्राच्यां दिग्नसुपाश्रितम्.

16 Read क्ष.

17 Read तम्.

18 Lines 80 and 82 below read तिरुक्कालबूरु without the penultimate consonant दु.

19 Read पश्चि° and °स्थितम्.

20 Read °दीच्यां दिशमा°.

21 Read श्चिमत:स्थि° [स्थ at the beginning of the line must be changed into स°.—Ed.]

22 The *anusvāra* on म is merged slightly in the top line of the next letter. Read एका.

23 Read प्रतिनाम्ना कृष्ण and शोभितम्.

24 There is a dot on ग्रा resembling an *anusvāra*.

25 Read °मस्यैव.

26 Read तद्ग्राम°.

27 Read सुब्रह्मवल्लिमासक.

28 Read निक्षेप and सिद्ध.

29 Read °न्वितम्.

74 [दा]चंद्रतारकं । सहि[र*]ण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा[1] ।[। ३८*] तत्र

75 [द्वा]त्रिंशतिं [2]त्रित्तिकत्वा[इ]त्वा समाहितः । [3]त्रित्तिमंतो विलि[ख्यं]-

76 ते [वे]दवेदांगपारगाः ॥[३९*] स्व[4]ग्रामदेवयोश्चैव शैववैष्णवया[5]रपि

77 । पूजानैवेद्यभोगार्थं [6]त्रित्तिराद्या [स*]मर्पितं ॥[४०*]

Third Plate : First Side.

78 तैस्त[7]समन्वितास्त्रिक्षे दिक्षु प्राच्यादिष[8] क्रमात् । सोमनुसा[9] ग्रहा-

79 रस्य लिख्य[न्*]ते देशभाषया [॥ ४१*] बेडंबूरुयेकांबरपुरतुक्कु[10] प्रतिनाम-

80 मान क्रि[11]ष्णारायपुरतुक्कु[12] येल्लै[13] विवर[14] [।*] किळक्कि[15] तिरुक्कळंबूरिल्लि[16]

81 येल्लै चंदु[17] मुनैरु नडुविलु वामनमुद्रकल्लु[18] ॥ आ[ग्ने]यत्त[क्कु][19] ति[रु]-

82 कळंबूरि[20] वलाकांडि वेडंबूरि[ल्*] यल्ल चदु[17] [कू]कुडिन वामनमुद्रक[18]-

83 लु ॥ [21]तिर्क्कै वै[लां]कुडि शेंदिरायनल्लूरु[22] बेड(।)बू[रं][न्*] येल्लै चेंदु[17] कूडि-

84 न वामनमुद्रकल्लु[23] ॥ तेंमेल्लमूलै[24] शेंदिरायनकू[25]रु मानावरी-[26]

85 नल्लूरु वेडंबूरि[न्*] येल्लै चेंदु[17] कूडिन[27] मुक्किलि[28] वामनमुद्र[क*]ल्लु[23] ॥

86 मेक्कु मानावरिनल्लू[रु*] येल्लै चेंदु[17] कूडन[27] वामनमुद्रकल्लु[23] ॥ ते-

87 कु[28a] वडमल्ल मूलशारु[29] येल्लै चेंदु[17] कूडिन वामनमुद्रकल्लु[23] ॥ वड[क्कु]-

88 शारु [कों]गरायनेल्लू[रु*] यल्लै चेंदु[17] कूडिन वामनमुद्रकल्लु[23] ॥ वडक्के-

89 डकमूलै[30] कोंगरायनेल्लूरु वेडबूरि[31] येल्लै चंदु[17] कूडिन वामनमु[द्र]-

90 कल्लु[23] ॥—॥ येकैव[32] भगिनो लोके सर्वेषामा[33]व भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्या न कर-

91 ग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता[34] वसुंधरा ॥[४२*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-

92 लनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनाद[च्यु]तं पदं ॥[४३*] सामान्योयं ध-

---

[1] Read °न्मुदा.

[2] Read द्वात्रिंशतं वृत्तीः कल्पयित्वा.

[3] Read वृत्ति°.

[4] Read स्व.

[5] Read यो.

[6] Read वृत्ति° and °र्पिता.

[7] Read तैस्तैस्स° and °दिंचु.

[8] Read प्राच्यादिषु. The secondary *ā* symbol of प्रा looks like a line representing a stop rather than like the secondary symbol.

[9] Read सौमानोस्या°.

[10] Read पुरत्तुक्कु.

[11] Read कृ.

[12] Read °त्तुक्कु.

[13] Read ए°.

[14] Read °रं.

[15] Read किळक्के.

[16] Read तिरुक्कळंबूरिल्.

[17] Read एल्लै चेन्रु.

[18] Read नडुविल् and °मुद्रैक्कल.

[19] Read °ग्नेयत्तुक्कु°.

[20] Read तिरुक्कळंबूरु वेलांकुडि.

[21] Read तेर्क्कै वे°.

[22] Read शेंदियरायनल्लूरु वेडंबूरिन्.

[23] Read मुद्रैकल्.

[24] Read तेन्मेलमूलै.

[25] Read लू.

[26] Read °रि.

[27] Read चेन्रु कूडिन.

[28] Read मुक्किल्.

[29] Read वडमेल मूलै शारु.

[30] Read वडकिळक्कु मूलै.

[31] Read वेडंबूरिन्.

[32] Read एकैव.

[33] Read मे.

[34] Read त्ता.

93 मश्रतुं न्ट [1]पाणां [काले*] काल [2]पोलनोया भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां[3] भाविनः [पा]-
94 र्थिवेंद्रा[4] भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[४४*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासने-
95 न सभापतिः । [5]युक्तवान्मुद्सदत्तं तदिदं तांबुशासनं ॥[४५] मल्लणाचा-
96 [र्य]वर्य्य[:*] श्रीवीरणाचार्य्यनंदनः । आकल्पमश्नुतायेक[6] व्रित्ति[7] शास-
97 नलेखकः ॥—॥ [४६*]
98 श्रीविरूपच्च[8] [॥*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Verses 26-40.) In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year **Sarvajit**, on **Monday** in the **month Kārttika** and the **Utthāna-dvādaśī** *tithi*, the king **Krishṇadēva-Mahārāya** granted as an *agrahāra* the village of **Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbarapuram** to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, *sūtras*, *śākhās* and of **different** names, who are well versed in the *Vēdas*, fit to receive land-grant and well known. The village granted was in the **Tiruvālūr-sīma** and belonged to the **Chōḷa-maṇḍala**; it was situated in the **Ālaṅguḍi-sthala** in the **Śuttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu**, on the south of the river **Kāvērī**. It stood to the east of **Mānāvarinallūr**, to the south of **Koṅgarāyanellūr**, to the west of **Tirukaḷambūdūr** and to the north of the village of **Vēlāṅguḍi**, on the river **Rushī**. The village was divided into thirty-two shares and given to learned Brāhmaṇas by the pouring of water together with gold. One share was given to each of the gods Śiva and Vishṇu in that village. (The rest of the plate is left unengraved, perhaps it was meant to fill up the names of donees.)

[V. 41 states that the boundaries, etc., will be given in the language of the country in which the village is situated.]

(Ll. 79-90.) The details of the boundaries, of **Kṛishṇarāyapuram** *alias* **Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbarapuram** are :—

On the east the boundary line joins the boundary of **Tirukaḷambūr** and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* in the middle of **Munnēru**.

On the south-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Tirukaḷambūr and **Vēlāṅguḍi** join the boundary of **Veḍambūr**.

On the south the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Vēlāṅguḍi and **Śēdiyarāyanallūr** join the boundary of Veḍambūr.

At the south-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the meeting point where Śēdiyarāyanallūr and **Mānāvarinallūr** join the boundary of Veḍambūr.

On the west the boundary line joins the boundary of Mānāvarinallūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.

At the north-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.

On the north the boundary line joins the boundary of Koṅgarāyanellūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*; and

On the north-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Koṅgarāyanellūr meets the boundary of Veḍambūr.

[Vv. 41-43. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 44 states that **Sabhāpati** composed the document at the command of **Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya**.]

[V. 45. Allots one share to the engraver of the *śāsana*, **Mallaṇāchārya**, son of **Vīraṇāchārya**.]

(L. 98.) *Śrī-Virūpāksha*, (the sign-manual of the king.)

---

[1] Read °सेतु न्टं. [2] Read काले पालनीयो. [3] Read तान्. [4] Read °वेन्द्रान्.

[5] Read °उक्तवान्मुदुसन्दर्भं तदिदं ताम्रशासनम्.

[6] Read °तामिकां. [7] Read वृत्ति. [8] Written in Telugu-Kannada alphabet. Read °विरूपाक्ष.

No. 22.—INSCRIPTIONS OF HŪLI.

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

The village of **Hūli,** anciently termed **Pūli,** lies in circa long. 75° 14′, lat. 15° 47½′,[1] about five miles east-by-north of Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Taluk of the Belgaum District. It was formerly a town of considerable importance, and was one of the "Eighteen Agrahāras" (*Dynasties of the Kan. Distr.*, p. 443n.), as some of its inscriptions testify. In his *Archæological Survey of Western India: Report of the First Season's Operations* (1874), pp. 12-14, Dr. Burgess has given an account of its chief architectural remains; and in 1882 the late Dr. Fleet made a survey of its epigraphic records, as a result of which a number of ink-impressions were prepared for him, which are now in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum.[2] Of this collection the texts published below are the most important. Their provenance is as follows:—

- A (a *vīra-gal*), of A.D. 985, from the north of the Bhīmēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple.
- B (Jain), of A.D. 1044-45 and 1145, from the temple of Vīrabhadra.
- C (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1082, from the same temple.
- D (of the cult of Harihara), of A.D. 1097, from the same temple.
- E (Śaiva), of A.D. 1104, 1162, 1184, and 1224, from the temple of Madanēśvara.
- F (Śaiva), of A.D. 1107, from the temple of Keṛe-Siddhappa.
- G (a *vīra-gal*), of A.D. 1107, from a site north of the Bhīmēśvara temple.
- H (Jain), date lost, from the Pañcha-liṅga temple.
- I-J (Śaiva), from the same temple.
- K (Śaiva), from the Bhīmēśvara temple.
- L (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1162, from the Virakta-maṭha.
- M (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1162, from the Agastyēśvara temple.

Of these temples the largest is the **Pañcha-liṅga,** on which see Burgess, *First Arch. Report*, pl. xv and xvi. Burgess attributes it to about A.D. 1100. It was originally Jain, as is shown by the figure of a Jina on the lintel, and by some Jain inscriptions, one of which, carved over the lintel of a door, records some building executed by the lay-disciples of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva in the Śaka year (lapsed) 114[2], corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1220-21. Now, as the name implies, it has been converted to the service of the Śaiva cult. The temple of **Vīrabhadra** is a modern and insignificant building near the tank, which lies on the north-east of the village. That of **Bhīmēśvara,** which the villagers seemed inclined to call **Andhakēśvara,** lies on the north of the village, in Survey No. 693. It was already partially ruined in 1882, and was covered by a rank growth of prickly pear. It is in the Dravidian style, without porch, and contains two shrines, one at the east end and one at the west. The temple of **Madanēśvara,** as the villagers call it (it is termed **Andhakēśvara** by Sir Walter Elliot, but the inscriptions call it the temple of **Andhāsura**), lies to the north of the village, a little way up the hill, in Survey No. 688. It is a Śaiva sanctuary of the Dravidian order, containing a porch, open *manṭapa*, and shrine with *liṅga*. The **Agastyēśvara** is a sandstone temple, situated on the eastern bank of the Nāgara Bhāvi, a well or small tank on the north of the tank marked in Survey No. 694; it is of the Dravidian order, and consists of a porch (now ruined), walled *manṭapa*, and shrine with *liṅga*. The temple of **Keṛe-Siddhap-**

[1] This is the situation according to the Bombay Survey sheet No. 305, where it is entered as "Kasba Huli." In the Indian Atlas sheet 41 (1852), where the name is spelt "Hoolee," it is a little further towards the east.

[2] To the same departed friend I owe drafts of the texts, which have greatly lightened the labour of making my own transcripts, and some notes on the archæological remains of Hūli.

pa, or "Siddhappa of the Tank," stands on the eastern side of the tank marked in Survey No. 694, towards the north-east of the village. It is of sandstone, of the Dravidian order, containing a shrine with *liṅga*, walled *maṇṭapa*, and porch (now in ruins). The **Virakta-maṭha** is (or was) a building in the north-eastern part of the village, which served for lodging ascetics.

The Elliot Collection (Royal Asiatic Society's copy) contains transcripts of nine of these inscriptions: D. is given in vol. 1, fol. 233a, E. ib., fol. 284b, F. ib., fol. 307a, G. ib., fol. 306b H. ib., fol. 412a, I. in vol. 2, fol. 374b, J. ib., fol. 374b, K. ib., fol. 375a, and M. ib., fol. 11a. As usual, these transcripts leave much to be desired.

A.—OF THE REIGN OF TAILA II : SAKA 907.

The following inscription is incised upon a black stone which was found to the north of the Bhīmēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple, on the west bank of the Akkataṅgēra-bhāvi, in Survey No. 693. The slab was set in a base, and was 5 ft. 2 in. in height and 2 ft. 1 in. broad. It was a *vīra-gal*, or hero's monument, and in accordance with the usual practice was divided into horizontal compartments, four containing **sculptures** and three writing. Of the sculptures I have been unable to obtain particulars. The first compartment of the writing (about 5¾" high) contains ll. 1-4, the second (about 3¾" high) ll. 5-9, the third (about 2½" high) ll. 10-11 **The inscription** is fairly well preserved, and is in good Kanarese **script,** with letters between ½" and ⅝" in height. The special form of *y* noted above, Vol. XII, p. 336, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy=*, l. 3.—The **language** is Old Kanarese: ll. 1-4 are in prose, and then come three verses. The forms are those of a transitional period: thus we find the short accusative and genitive, the locative in *-oḷ* (ll. 5-8, 10), and the verbal forms *iṟdan* (l. 5), *iḻdan* (l. 7), *sandar* (l. 4), beside the archaic verbal forms *āntoran* (l. 5) and *kūḍidon* (l. 8). The word *eḻtu*, apparently the original of the later *ettu*, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy=eḻtaṁ*, l. 3. The *ḻ* is not preserved, except in *negaḻda* (ll. 8-9).

The **record** is of the usual type of *vīra-gal*. It announces that on a certain date **Dadda payya,** a *pergaḍe* or official in the service of **Sōbhanayya,** made a raid upon **Pūli,** whereupon **Kendara Kēta, Eṟeviṭṭa,** and **Tambada Kēta** attacked his party, slew the leader, his horse, and three of his men, and died the death of heroes. Verses 1-2 (ll. 5-9) eulogise Kendara Kēta; the mutilated and obscure verse 3 mentions a certain **Kendara Maṟasiṁga** as dying heroically in battle.

The **date** of this record is : Śaka 907 expired, the cyclic year Pārthiva; the full moon of Chaitra; Budhavāra, or Wednesday (ll. 1-2). These details are slightly irregular: the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 15 of the given year corresponded to **Monday, 9 March, A.D. 985,** on which day it ended about 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and it cannot have been connected with the Wednesday.[1]

The only **place** mentioned is Pūli, *i.e.* Hūli (l. 2).

TEXT.[2]

[The metres are : verse 1, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita* ; verse 2, *Kanda*. The fragmentary verse 3 may possibly be a *Dvipada*.]

1 (◎) Svasti [|*] **Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kāḷ-ātīta-saṁvatsaraṁga**[3] **907neya Pārtthiva-saṁvatsaraḍa**

2 Chaitraḍa puṇṇame Budhavārad̄andu **Sōbhanayyana** perggaḍe **Daddapayyaṁ Pūliya** po-

[1] I am indebted to Mr. R. Sewell for the verification of my calculations of this and the other dates in the present paper.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Abbreviated for *saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷu*.

3 lada bhaṇḍiy[1]=eḻtaṁ kemman=akāraṇaṁ koṇḍu pōge **Kendara Kētanuṁ Eṟeviṭ-ṭanuṁ Taṁbada**

4 **Kētanuṁ** parichchē(chchhē)daṁ-geyda mūvaruṁ mēl-āḷuṁ kudureyuma[ṁ*], kondu mōkshakke sandar [||*]

5 Duradoḷ=kāydu kaḍaṁgi poṁgi maled=ōr-ant=iṟdan=eytanda[2] machcharadind=āntoran=Anta-

6 kaṁg=iḍaḍ[e*] kol-chand=ikki mikk=ī vasun[dh]areyoḷ=tan[n]=adaṭuṁ patāpamum=ad=ā rāj-ōttamaṁ pe[r]chchi[3]

7 Kendara Kēta[ṁ*] vara-Vāsav-ā[ṁ*]ganeyaroḷ kūḍ-iḻdan-ā svarggadoḷ || [1*] Tōḍuṁ bīḍum=ad=uḍuga-

8 de pāḍ=aṟid=echch=āji-raṁgadoḷ vājiya[n]=aḻk-āḍi sur-ā[ṁ*]ganeyaroḷaṁ kūḍidon=ēṁ kaliye nega-

9 ḻda Ken[dara Kētaṁ ||] [2*]

10 Si[ṁ]gam=ibhaṁgaḷaṁ nuguv=ante[4] tara[5] . . gi saṁgadoḷ kaḷida **Kendara Maṟasiṁ-**

11 **gaṁ** me . . . . ṁ gaṇḍan=adaṭanō || [3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) Hail! On Wednesday, the full-moon day of Chaitra of **the 907th** *(year)* **of the centuries elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year Pārthiva,** when **Sōbhanayya's** officer **Daddapayya** without right or reason was carrying away the cart-oxen(?) of the fields of Pūli, **Kendara Kēta** and **Eṟeviṭṭa** and **Tambada Kēta,** slaying the three men forming the division, the leader, and his horse, attained salvation.

(Verse 1.) He stood worthily fighting in the fray, burning, striving, boiling: when, advancing,[6] with indignation he despatched his adversaries to the Death-god, exercising the opportunity for slaughter (?), his prowess and majesty were extraordinary on this earth; and this noble prince becoming great, Kendara Kēta was united in paradise to Indra's goodly damsels.

(V. 2.) Shooting on the stage of battle his arrows with understanding of the right manner, so that the fitting *(of the shafts on the bow-string)* and their discharge did not slacken, when he was exhausted he espoused the celestial ladies: what a hero is the illustrious Kendara Kēta!

(V. 3.) As a lion crushes elephants . . . **Kendara Maṟasiṁga,** who passed away in battle . . . what a man of valour and spirit!

B.—OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA I AND JAGADEKAMALLA II: SAKA 966 AND 1067.

This record is carved on a black stone set upright in the ground against the outside of the western face of the Vīrabhadra temple (see above). The stone when found was 4 ft. 7 in. high and 1 ft. 8 in. wide. The upper compartment, which was rounded on the top, contained **sculptures,** *viz.,* in the centre, a squatting Jina facing to the front, with a cow and calf on the proper right and a scimitar on the left, while above these was the sun (to left) and moon (to right). The inscribed area below this is 3 ft. 1 in. high and 1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide.—The **character** is Old Kanarese, the average height of the letters in ll. 1-2 being from $\frac{9}{16}$ in. to $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

---

[1] The *y* is uncertain.

[2] Perhaps to be corrected to *eytandu.*

[3] For *perchche?*

[4] The *e* is not quite clear.

[5] The *t* is somewhat uncertain: it is written very small, below the line.

[6] Reading *eytandu* for the *eytanda* of the stone.

and in l. 3 from $\frac{5}{16}$ in. to $\frac{3}{8}$ in., after which it increases gradually to between $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is a fairly good type of the script used in the middle of the 12th century A.D. (see below).—The **language** is throughout Old Kanarese, verse and prose, with the exception of the introductory Sanskrit verse. The *ḻ* is not preserved : instead we find *ḷ* in *ēḷgeyaṁ* (l. 12), *pogaḷut-* (l. 13), *podaḷda* (l. 16), *nāḷke* (l. 16), *pēḷu* (l. 20), *pēḷ* (l. 54), and on the other hand *r* in *erdda* (l. 6) and *negardda* (ll. 12, 18). On the instrumental *artthiye* (l. 14) see above, Vol. XIV, p. 27, n. 9. Of some lexical interest are the words *chaṭṭa-samaya* (l. 9), (?)*āyavana* (l. 9), *liṁkad=aṁka-pāḷaka* (l. 14), and *aḍḍa-chinna* (ll. 35, 49).

The **record** is a double one, containing two endowments, the first of which is dated in Śaka 966 and the second in Śaka 1067. It was actually written in its present form in the latter year, as is proved by the absence of comminatory formulæ and the character of the script. The first part refers itself to the reign of **Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I)** in ll. 3-5, and then proceeds to celebrate in verse his feudatory **Kāladiya Bōḷagadi** (or **Bōdagadi**), the governor of a **Ninety-six district,** whose son **Pāyimma** married **Hammikabbe** and by her had two daughters, **Bhāgeṇabbe** and **Lachchale** or **Lachchiyabbe.** Lachchale married a governor of the **Kūṇḍi Three-thousand,** and was a generous benefactress of religion (ll. 5-15). After some verses in praise of **Pūli** and the thousand Brāhmaṇ burgesses of that town (ll. 15-20) comes a prose statement that these burgesses sold to Lachchiyabbe an estate, on which she constructed a Jain sanctuary, assigning certain lands for the maintenance thereof, and appointing as trustee **Bāḷachandra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva** (ll. 20-37). Then begins the second document (ll. 37-54), which announces that in the reign of **Jagadēkamalla (II)** a local *pergaḍe* named **Nēmaṇa** or **Nēmayya,** having purchased some land from the burgesses of Pūli, made a further endowment to the same sanctuary for the maintenance of the ascetics residing in it, the trustee being a certain **Rāmachandradēva.** This Nēmaṇa was a great-grandson of the above-mentioned Lachchiyabbe, his pedigree being as follows :—

Lachchiyabbe
|
?
|
Dēma[ṇa?] *m.* **Bhāgiyabbe** — **Pāyimma**
|
Kalidēva — **Nēmaṇa**

The document then ends somewhat abruptly, without any concluding formulæ.

This record, being twofold, contains two dates. The first is given on ll. 20-22 as : Śaka 966 expired, the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Pushya śuddha 10, Ādivāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.* These details have been recently examined by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions,* p. 129, who remarks as follows : " Tāraṇa by the northern luni-solar system=Ś. 966=A.D. 1042. In this year, śu. 10 of the lunar month Pushya ended at 44 *gh.* 21 *p.* after mean sunrise on 24th December, on which day, the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at 14 *gh.* 38 *p.* after mean sunrise according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The week-day however was Friday and not Sunday. In the solar month Pushya, *i.e.* Makara or Tai, [Māgha-]śu. 10 ended at 11 *gh.* 36 *p.* after mean sunrise on Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043. The [Kumbha-]saṅkrānti, which occurred at 41 *gh.* 32 *p.* (S.S.) after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, fell, *i.e.* was observed, on this Sunday. This day, therefore,—Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043—is the regular equivalent of the given date."[1]

[1] Kielhorn in his *List of Southern Inscriptions* (above, Vol. VII, App., No. 159) gives as the equivalent Sunday 23 December, A.D. 1044. [But the *tithi* ought to be the first and *not* the 10th ; *see Ind Ant.* Vol. XXIV, p. 6, No. 148.—Ed.].

The second date is given on ll. 40-41 as: Śaka 1067 (expired), the cyclic year **Krōdhana**, the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. Naturally this cannot be verified The *saṁkrānti* took place 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on **Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1145**, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to Tuesday, 25 December.

The **places** mentioned, besides Pūli, are **Kūṇḍi** (l. 14), the **Beḷvala-nāḍu** (l. 16), **Śiveyagēri** (ll. 34, 47), **Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri** (l. 48), and a nameless **Ninety-six** district (l. 6). For Beḷvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. On the **Kūṇḍi** Three-thousand see *I. A.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 278. The other places I am unable to identify. Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri was a parish (*kēri*) in Pūli.

TEXT.[1]

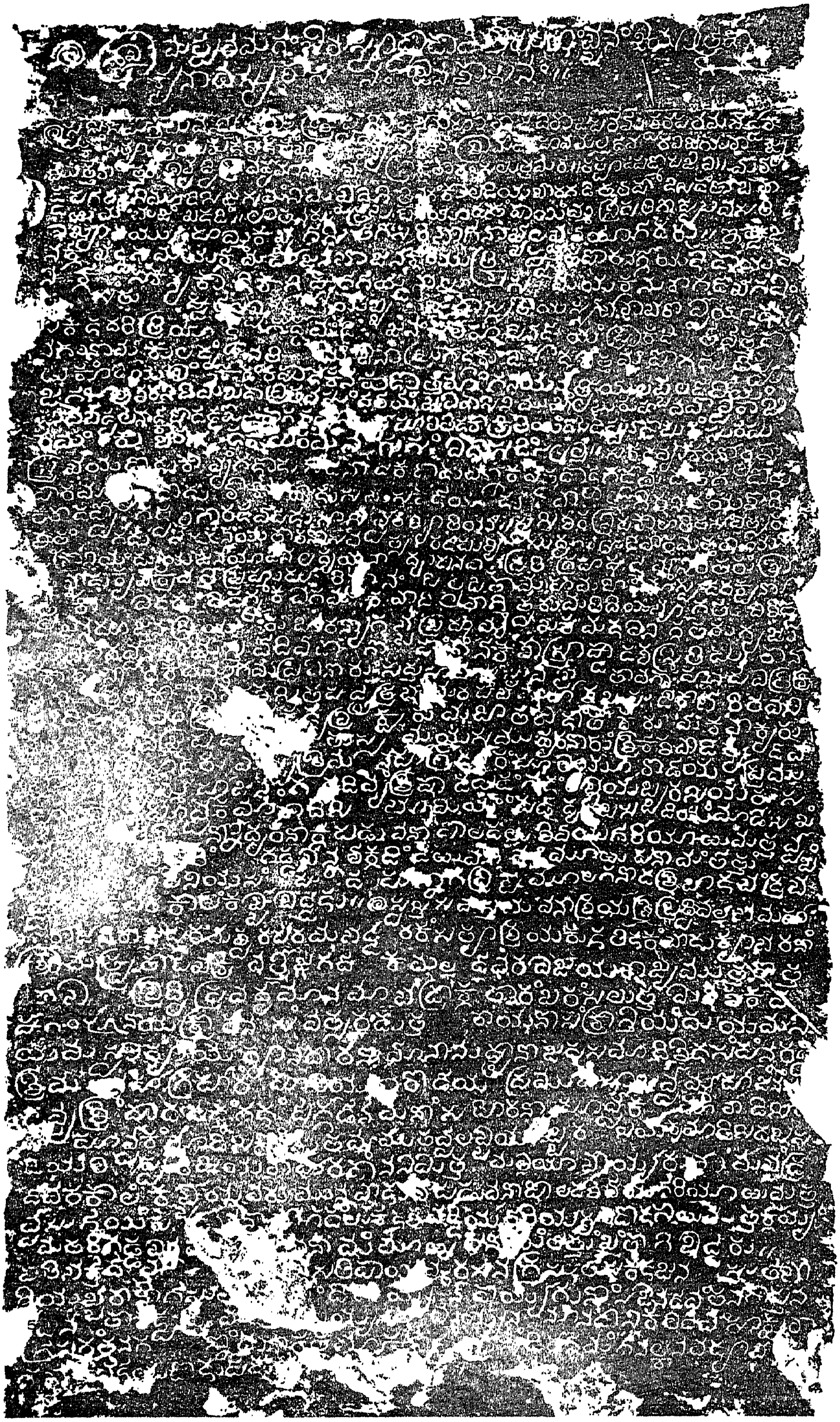
[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Anushṭubh*; verses 2, 3, and 8, *Kanda*; verse 4, *Utpala-mālā*; verses 5 and 6, *Champaka-mālā*; verses 7 and 9, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita.*]

1 Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṁchcha(chchha)naṁ [|*] jīyā[t*] trailō-
2 kya-nāthasya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ || [1*]
3 Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāra-
4 kaṁ **Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakam** **Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ** śrīmad-**Āhavamalladēvara** vijaya-rājya-
5 m=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire || Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi || Mēl-e-
6 rdda[2] pagevaraṁ nirmmūḷi(li)si jasamaṁ nimirchchi dig-bhitti-varaṁ **Kālaḍiya Bōḷagaḍi**[3] tale[4] pāḷi(li)sidaṁ **Toṁbat-ā-**
7 **ṛumaṁ** bhuja-baḷadiṁ || [2*] Ātana putraṁ vinay-ōpētaṁ **Pāyiṁmma-nri(nṛi)patig=** oppuva sati
8 vikhyāti-yute **Hammikabbege** Sītege sari **Bhāgeṇabbe Lachchaley**=ogedar*u* || [3*] Ishṭa-ja-
9 nakke chaṭṭa-samayakke mahājana-bhōjanakkey=utkri(kṛi)shṭa-tapōra(dha)narggey= aḷid=āyava-
10 nakke sa-kaṁnyak-āḷik-a(ā)gnishṭageg=eyde nālku-samayakk=anurāgade bēgav[5]=iṁ-
11 tu saṁtushṭate **Lachchiyabbarasig**=ār=ssati(ri)yar=ssa-char-āchar-ōrvviyoḷ*u* || [4*]
12 Sakaḷa-dharitriyoḷ=negardda(ḷda) vaṁdi-janaṁ sale rūpin=ēḷgeyaṁ prakaṭate-vetta dā-
13 na-guṇamaṁ kuḷad=uṁnatiyaṁ Jin-āṁghrigaḷg=akuṭiḷa-chittamaṁ pogaḷut-i[r]ppu-
14 du **Kūṁḍiya** [6]liṁkad=aṁka-pāḷakana kuḷ-ōttam-āṁganeyan=artthiye **Lachchaladēvi-** yaṁ
15 jagaṁ [5*] Śaranidhi-mēkhaḷ-āvri(vṛi)ta-vasuṁdharey=eṁba viḷāsinī-mukh-āṁburuhava(da)vōl=virāji-
16 suva **Beḷvala-nāḷke**(ḷge) podaḷda śōbheg=āgaram=eni[s-i]rppa **Pūli** tiḷak-ākri(kṛi)- tiyiṁd=esed-irppud=ā puraṁ sura-pu-
17 ramaṁ Kubēran=Aḷakāpuramaṁ nagugum viḷāsadiṁ [6*] Alli || Sakaḷa- vyākaraṇ-ārttha-śā-
18 stra-chayadoḷ*u* kāvyaṁgaḷoḷ*u* saṁda nāṭakadoḷ*u* varṇṇa-kavitvadoḷ=negardda(ḷda) vēdāṁtaṁgaḷoḷ*u*
19 pāramā[rt]th[ika]doḷ*u* lauki[ka]doḷ*u* samasta-kaḷeyoḷ*u* Vāgīśaniṁdaṁ yaśō-dhi-

---

[1] From the ink-impression. [2] *i.e.*, *eḷda.* [3] Or possibly *Bōdagaḍi.*
[4] For *sale*? [5] Or possibly *chēgav=.*
[6] [The *akshara li* looks like *bi* on the plate—Ed.]

Huli Stone Inscription of the reigns of Somesvara I and Jagadekamalla II : Saka 966 and 1067.



F. W. THOMAS WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, COLL

20 kar=ādar=ppogaḷvallig=ār=aḷave pēḷ*u* sāsirvvara khyātiyaṁ || [7*] Svasti **Śaka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāḷ-ātīta-saṁvatsara-**

21 śataṁgaḷu 966neya Tāraṇa-saṁvatsarada Puśya-sudhdha[1] 10 Ādivāram=a(u)ttarāyaṇa-

22 saṁkrāntiyaṁdu || Yajana-yājana-adhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shaṭ-karmma-niratarum śrī-

23 [ma]ch-Chāḷukya-chakravartti-Brahmu(hma)puri-sthānaṁ(na)- pitṛi-pitāmaha - mahim-āspada-rakhshaṇ-ā-

24 rttha-kōvidaruṁ vidagdha-kavi-gamak[i*]-vādi-vāgmitvarum=atithiy-abhyāgata-viśishṭa-

25 jana-pūjana-priyaruṁ Hiraṇyagarbhbha-Brahma-mukha-kamaḷa-vinirggata-Ru(Ṛi)g-Yaju-

26 s-Sām-Atharvvaṇa-samasta-vōdi(da)-vēdāṁg-ōpāṁg-ānēka-śāstr-āshṭādaśa-smri (smṛi)ti-purāṇa-

27 kāvya-nāṭaka-dharmm-āgama-praviṇaruṁ sapta-sōma-saṁsth-āvabhṛit(th)-āvagāhana-pavitrīkri(kṛi)-

28 ta-gātraruṁ kāṁchana-ka[ḷa]śa-sita-shaṭ-chhatra-chāmara-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-ghaṭikā-bhērī-rava-ni-

29 naṁ(nā)ditarum=āśri[ta-jana]-kaḷpa-vri(vṛi)ksharum=abiṭa-Kāḷāṁtakarum=ēka-vākyaruṁ

30 śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[ṁ]ja[raruṁ cha]tus-samaya-samudhdharaṇaruṁ śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-

31 labdha-vara-prasādarum=appa śrīman-mah-āgrahāraṁ Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramu-

32 kha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷa divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṁgaḷaṁ **[La]chchiyabbarasiyaru** sa-

33 hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi bhūmiyaṁ paḍedu basadiyaṁ māḍisi khaṁ-

34 ḍa-sphu[ṭi]ta-jīrṇṇ-ōdhdharaṇakke paḍuvaṇa poladalu Śiveyagēriy=āṟu-mattar=vva-

35 sugeyaṁ ma[t]tariṁg=aḍḍa-chinna-lekkadiṁd=aṟu-vaṇamaṁ mūṟu paṇamaṁ *tett*-umb=aṁ-

36 t=āgi śrī-Yāpanīya-saṁghada Punnāgavri(vṛi)ksha-mūla-gaṇada śrī-**Bāḷachaṁdra-Bhaṭṭārakadēvara** kālaṁ karchchi biṭṭaḷu || ☸ Svasti [1 *] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya

37 Śrī-Pri(pṛi)thvī-vallabha mahā-

38 rājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ**

39 śrīmat-pratāpa-chakri(kra)vartti **Jagadēkamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-

40 r-ābhivri(vṛi)dhdhi-pravardhdhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ baraṁ saluttam=ire [|*] Śaka-va-

41 rsha 1067neya **Krōdhana-saṁvatsarad=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāntiyaṁdhu(du)** yama-ni-

42 yama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāṇa(na)-japa-samādhi-śīḷa-saṁpaṁnnar=appa

43 śrīma[n]-mah-āgrahāraṁ Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁga[ḷa]

44 divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṁgaḷaṁ perggaḍe **Nēmaṇaṁ** sa-hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi [dhā]-

45 [rā]-pūrvvakaṁ māḍisi kōṁ[ḍu] tamma mu[t*]tavve **Lachchiyabbarasiyaru** māḍisida basa-

46 diyal=irppa ri(ṛi)shiyar=āhāra-dāna-nimittam=alliy=āchāryyaru **Rāmachaṁdra-**

47 **dēvara** kālaṁ karchchiy=avaru munnav=āḷuva paḍuvaṇa polada Śiveyagēriy=āṟu-matta-

[1] Read *Pushya-śuddha*.

48 r=vvasugeyiṁ paḍu[va]ṇa [bhā]gadalu Kaḷaśavaḷḷiyagēriya[1] sthā[na]d=oḷag=āṟu mattar=kkeyyaṁ
49 mat[t*]ariṁg=aḍḍa-chinna-l[ekkadiṁd=āṟu]-vaṇamaṁ mūṟu paṇamaṁ tett=uṁb=aṁt=āgi biṭṭaru ||
50 Pati-bhakte Dhē(Dē)ma . . . sati Pāyimmarasan=agra-sute sakaḷa-jana-stute Bhā-
51 giyabbe-rāṇige sut . . . . . ṁd=ī [Nēma]yyan=audāryya-guṇaṁ ಲ [8*] Jina-dēvaṁ tanag=āptan=a-
52 [rtthi]-janatā-kaḷpa-druma[ṁ— ◡ —]yyane tamm=ayyan=anūna-dāni Kalidēvaṁ s-ākshar-ā-
53 grēsaraṁ tanag=aṇṇaṁ guṇa-ratna-bhūshaṇaṅ=e[—] saṁd-irda Nēmaṁg=enalk-anavady-ācha[raṇaṁ]-
54 ge bhū-vaḷe(ḷa)yadoḷ*u* pēḷ [— ◡ — — ◡ —] || [9*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious be the teaching of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of alternatives !

(Lines 3-5.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas,** king **Āhavamalla,** was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(L. 5.) One who finds his sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V. 2.) Uprooting high-rising foes, spreading abroad his fame as far as the walls of the sky-quarters, **Kāḷaḍiya Bōḷagaḍi** perfectly (?) protected the **Ninety-six** by the might of his arm.

(V. 3.) To the renowned **Hammikabbe,** the distinguished wife of his son the cultured prince **Pāyimma,** a peer of Sītā, were born **Bhāgeṇabbe** and **Lachchale.**

(V. 4.) In the *chaṭṭa-samaya*[2] of agreeable persons, in the feeding of Brāhmaṇ householders, in (*the supply of*) measured spoons[3] to distinguished ascetics, in (*furnishing*) fire-places with rows of maidens, indeed, the four churches[4] straightway were delighted with affection: who are equal to **Lachchiyabbarasi** on the earth with its stock of living and lifeless things ?

(V. 5.) While illustrious eulogists are active over the whole earth, the world with joy praises for excellence of beauty, eminent generosity, distinction of race, and sincere devotion to the Jinas' feet **Lachchaladēvi,** the exceedingly high-born wife of the *liṁkad=aṁka-pāḷaka* of **Kūṇḍi.**[5]

---

[1] Read *Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēriya.*

[2] This phrase is obscure. It seems most probable that *chaṭṭa* is to be taken as a derivative of Sanskrit *shaṭ* (cf. Tamil *śaṭṭa-varggam*). Six *samayas* (schools of religion or philosophy) are often mentioned. The Śaivas recognise as orthodox the Bhairava, Vāma, Kāḷāmukha, Māhāvrata, Pāśupata, and Śaiva *samayas*, and as unorthodox the Lōkāyatas, Buddhists, Jains, Mīmāṁsakas, Pāñcharātras, and Bhāṭṭāchāryas. Another group is: Buddhists, Jains, Bhairavas, Kāḷāmukhas, Lōkāyatas, and Śūnyavādins. Six Vaidic *samayas* are recognised, *viz.* Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapata, and Kaumāra; and there are six Vēdāntic *samayas*, viz. Kāpila, Kāṇāda, Pātañjala, Ākshapāda or Nyāya, Vaiyāsa, and Jaiminīya. The Vaishṇavas admit 6 *samayas* as orthodox, *viz.* those of Śaṅkara, Yādava Miśra, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Bhāskara, and Hiraṇyagarbha

[3] The reading here is certain, but the division and sense are not. *Āyavana* is a rare Atharva-vedic word explained as "stirring-spoon"; but here it seems to have another meaning.

[4] The four *samayas* are the Māhēśvaras, Vaishṇavas, Buddhists, and Jains.

[5] I can only conjecture that *liṁka* is connected with *leṁka,* "servant," and that *aṁka* is used in the sense of "war," cf. *aṁkakāṟa*); the phrase would then mean something like "Commander of the military forces of Kūṇḍi" [See foot-note 6, p. 174, above—Ed.]

(V. 6.) Pūli, which is indeed a site of conspicuous charm, appears with the aspect of a beauty-spot upon the county of **Beḷvala**, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that fair lady the ocean-girdled earth. This town by its bright appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of Aḷakā.

(L 17.) In this (*town*)—

(V. 7.) In the series of all grammars and treatises on economic science, in poems, in goodly drama, in panegyric poetry, in the illustrious Upanishads, in transcendental and secular lore, in all arts, they have become superior in glory to the Lord of Speech [Brahman]: say, who are equal to praising the renown of the Thousand ?

(Ll. 20-22.) Hail ! on **Sunday**, the occasion of the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, being **the 10th of the bright fortnight** of **Pushya in the cyclic year Tāraṇa, the 966th of the centuries elapsed since the time of the Śaka king**:—

(Ll. 22-23.) **Lachchiyabbarasi,** having adored with (*offering of*) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (*of charity*),[1] skilful for the purpose of maintaining the rank of honour of father and grandfather at the establishment of the **Chāḷukya** Emperor's Brahmapurī,[2] accomplished as wits, poets, reciters, disputants, and rhetoricians, fond of serving guests, visitors, and men of culture, versed in all the Vēdas, the Ṛik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvaṇa, which have issued from the lotus-mouth of Hiraṇyagarbha-Brahman, and in the Vēdāṅgas, the subsidiary sciences, all books of teaching, the eighteen sacred law-books and Purāṇas, poems, dramas, and traditional rules of religion; whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *sōma-saṁsthās*[3]; who are (*honoured*) with golden pitchers, six white parasols, and yak-tail fans and saluted with the five great musical sounds, gongs, and drums; who are trees of desire to clients, Kālāntakas to adversaries, uniform of speech, adamant chambers to refuge-seekers, restorers of the four churches,[4] and recipients of the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,

(Ll. 33-37.) and having obtained (*from them*) land and constructed a sanctuary, laved the feet of **Bālachandra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva,** of the Punnāgavṛiksha Mūla-Gaṇa in the Yāpanīya-Saṁgha, and granted for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*buildings*) six *mattar* of *vasuge*[5] at Śiveyagēri in the western field, to be enjoyed on payment of an *aṟu-vaṇa*[6] of three *paṇas*, at the rate of half a gold piece on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 37-40.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, the august Emperor **Jagadēkamalladēva,** was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll 40-41.) on the occasion of the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* in **the Śaka year 1067, the cyclic year Krōdhana,**

(Lines 41-49.) the sheriff **Nēmaṇa,** having adored with (*offering of*) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of

---

1 See Manu, i. 88.

2 A quarter for the residence of Brāhmaṇs in connection with a temple.

3 These rites are enumerated in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.

4 See above, on v. 4 of this inscription.

5 See Kittel, s. v. *hasige*, and above, Vol. XIII p. 37.

6 The *aṟu-vaṇa* is a quit-rent for tenancy of land in connection with a religious establishment; here it amounted to ½ *paṇa* per *mattar*, in all amounting to 3 *paṇas*.

the vow of silence, prayer, and absorption, and having arranged for purchase with pouring of water, for the purpose of furnishing food for the Ṛishis resident in the sanctuary constructed by his great-grandmother **Lachchiyabbarasi,** laved the feet of **Rāmachandradēva** and granted six *mattar* of meadow in the grounds of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, in the part west of the six *mattar* of *vasuge* in Śiveyagēri in the western field formerly under his seigniorage, to be enjoyed on payment of an *aṟu-vaṇa* of three *paṇas*, at the rate of half a gold piece per *mattar*.

(V. 8.) This **Nēmayya,** illustrious in virtues, is . . . son of the universally praised **Bhāgiyabbe-rāṇi,** the chaste wife of **Dēma** . . . and elder sister of **Pāyimmarasa.**

(V. 9.) As the Lord Jina is his friend, that tree of desire to the needy . . . his father, **Kalidēva** the unstintingly bountiful and foremost among men of letters his elder brother, say, [who is equal] to **Nēma,** who is adorned by the jewels of virtue . . . and is blameless of conduct, on the circling earth ?

C.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: THE 7TH YEAR.

This inscription is on a black stone built into the western wall inside the temple of Vīrabhadra, at its north-western corner. The stone itself was 4 ft. 11 in. high and 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad. On the upper compartment, which was rounded, were the following **sculptures:** in the centre a standing figure of Vishṇu, facing full front; to the proper right of this, a kneeling Garuḍa, facing half towards Vishṇu and half towards the front; to the left of Vishṇu, a cow with calf; above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). There may have been some other details concealed under the coating of chunam upon the stone. Under this is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 3 in. high and 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide.—The **character** is Kanarese of the period, a fine ornamental hand with a tendency towards flourishes. The letters, which are generally well preserved, are from $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{9}{16}$ in. high.—The **language,** with the exception of the formal Sanskrit verses 1, 12, and 13, is Old Kanarese. Initial *p* is preserved. The archaic *ḻ* remains in *negaḻdar* (l. 22) and *negaḻda* (l. 23), where the vowel before it is metrically short; on this point I may refer to my observations above, Vol. XIII, p. 327. On the other hand, *ḻ* is changed to *ḷ* in *aḷidaṁge* (l. 15), *biḷguṁ* (l. 17), *bēḷpadav=* (l. 26). The double *l* in *Shāṇḍillya*, for *Śīṇḍilya*, (l. 21), is worth notice: cf. Pāṇini VIII. iv. 47, *Siddhānta-kaumudī* 48.

The **record,** after referring itself in ll. 2-5 to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI),** gives in ll. 5-11 details of an endowment, consisting of certain **lands,** which were purchased by **Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-Nāyaka,** a distinguished member of the Hundred Brāhmaṇ burgesses of **Raviyaṇagēri** (a subdivision of the Thousand burgesses of Pūli), for the upkeep of a temple of Vishṇu which he had built. After some hortatory matter in prose (ll. 11-14) and verse (ll. 15-17) the author proceeds to celebrate in verse **Bēḷvala, Pūli,** the Thousand Brāhmaṇs of Pūli, the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri forming a part of them, the family of the donor, and the latter personally (ll. 17-30). The pedigree is as follows :—

Dēmaya, of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*
|
Gommimayya
|
Ravikimayya — **Ṭīkaṇārya** — **Kēśava**

The **date** of this record is given on ll. 4-5 as: the 7th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dundubhi; the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. The *saṁkrānti* in question

occurred on **Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1082**, at 13 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and 1 **Makara** was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to the following Monday.

The **places** mentioned, besides Pūli and the *tīrthas* in l. 15, are **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 9, 20), the **Beḷvala-nāḍu** (l. 17), **Bhaṭṭara-koḷa** or "The Bhaṭṭas' Lake" (l. 11), and **Kalkuṭigagere** or "The Stonemasons' Tank" (l. 11). On Beḷvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. The other places seem to have been in or about Pūli, and can no longer be traced; Raviyaṇagēri was a parish (*kēri*, literally "street") of Pūli, as will appear below.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows : verses 1, 13, *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita* ; verses 3-9, 11, *Kanda* ; verse 10, *Champaka-mālā* ; verse 12, *Śālinī.*]

1 Svasti [|*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṁ [|*] dakshiṇōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrāṁta-bhuvanaṁ vapu[ḥ*] [1*]

2 Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Satyā-**

3 **śraya**-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ **Chāḷuky**-ābharaṇaṁ śrīmat-**Tṛi(Tri)bhuvanamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhi-

4 vṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire [| *] Śrīmach-**Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 7neya**

5 **Duṁndubhi-saṁvatsarad**=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁtiyandu | Svasti [| *] Yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyā-

6 na-dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāṇa(na)-japa-hōma-samādhi-sampannar=appa śrīmad-agrahāraṁ **Pūli-**

7 y=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvaruṁ śrī-**Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-nāyakaṁ** māḍisi-

8 da śrī-Nārāyaṇa-dēvargge dharmm-ābhivṛiddhi-nimitta[ṁ dēva]ra jīrṇṇ-ōdhdhāraṇa-khaṇḍa-sphuṭitakkaṁ snāna-

9 gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakkaṁv=aṁga-bhōgakkaṁ satrakkaṁ Raviyaṇagēriya nūrvvara kayyoḷ **Ravikima-**

10 **yya-nāyakaṁ** dravya-pūrvvakadiṁ dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍisi koṇḍu śrī-Nārāyaṇa-dēvargge Bhaṭṭa-

11 ra-koḷadalli biṭṭa mattar=āṟu Kalkuṭigagereyalli paralu mattar=ondu | Iṁt=ī dharmmamaṁ sarvva-nama-

12 śya(sya)m=āgi sāsirvvaruṁ pratipāḷisuvar=Idaṁ pratipāḷisidargge Vāraṇāsi Kurukshētrav=Argghyatīrtthaṁ

13 Prayāge Gayey=eṁba tīrttha-sthānaṁgaḷoḷ=mahā-dānaṁgaḷaṁ māḍida puṇyam=akkum=iṁt=appudan=aṟidu sā-

14 sirvvaruṁ dharmm-ōttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhiy=app=aṁt=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ-baraṁ pratipāḷisuvar || Vṛitta ||

[1] From the ink-impression.

15 Ivan=īy=aṁdadin=eyde pāḷisidavaṁg=ishṭ-ārttha-saṁsiddhi saṁbhavikuṁ koṇḍ=aḷidaṁge Gaṁge Gaye Khē(Kē)dāraṁ Kuru-

16 kshētram=eṁb=ivaṟoḷ=pēsade pārvvaraṁ goravaraṁ gō-bṛiṁdamaṁ peṇḍiraṁ tave koṁd=ikkida pāpam=eydugum=a-

17 vaṁ bīḷguṁ nigōdaṁgaḷoḷ | [2*] Aṁbudhi-vṛita-dharaṇige vadanam **Beḷvala**-nād(ḍ)=adarkke tiḷakada vōl=chelvaṁ-bīṟuva **Pū-**

18 **li**-grāmaṁ budha-jana-nilayam=enipud=ā puravaradoḷ || [3*] Amita-guṇ-ànvita-vipr-ōttamar=ishṭā-pūrtta-va-

19 rttanar=ssāsirvvar=yyama-niyama-svādhyāya-pramukh-āchārar=ssamasta-dōsha-vidūrar || [4*] Avar=oḷage vēda-śā-

20 stra-pravarar=shaṭ-karmma-niratar=enip=unnatiyiṁ Raviyaṇagēriya nūrvvar-bhbhuvanadoḷ=ativiśada-kīrttiyaṁ

21 prakaṭisidar || [5*] Alli || Shā(Śā)ṇḍillya-gōtra vanaruha-chaṇḍakara[ṁ*] brahma-vidyeyoḷ=sakaḷa-jagan-maṇḍanan=eni-

22 sida peṁp=oḷa-koṇḍ-ire **Dēmaya**-paṇaṁgiyar[1]=ssaḷe negaḷdar || [6*] Avar=ātmajan=akhiḷa-kaḷā-pravīṇan=animi-

23 tta-bāndhavaṁ Manu-charitaṁ dhavaḷa-yaśō-nidhiy=ene peṁpu-vaḍedu jagad=oḷage **Gommimayyaṁ** negaḷda || [7*]

24 Tat-tanujātaṁ śrī-Purushōttama-pada-kamaḷa-yugaḷa-bhṛiṁgaṁ dharmm-ōdātta-manaṁ vibhu sakaḷa-jaga-

25 t-tiḷakaṁ **Ravikimayyan**=amaḷa-charitra || [8*] Tad-anujar=aśēsha-vibhav-āspadha(da)r=ishṭa-viśishṭa-janake Su-

26 rabhiya vōl=bēlpadav=ittu peṁpu-vaḍedar=ssad-amaḷar=ene **Ṭikaṇāryyanuṁ Kēśavanuṁ** || [9*] Vṛitta || Anupama-

27 kīrttiyaṁ paḍeda mūvaroḷaṁ prabhu **Raikimayyan**=oḷpina kaṇi dharmma-chittamane bhāvisi chelvina Vishṇu-gē-

28 hamaṁ jana-nutama[ṁ*] paratre(tra)-hitamaṁ bhuvana-tritayakke pūjyam=āyt=ene kaḍu-sēvyam=ādud=ene māḍisi-

29 d=andam=id=ārgge tī[rttha?]mō || [10*] Vanadhigaḷuṁ chaṁdr-ārkkaruv=animisha-nāgēṁdra-lōkamu[ṁ] vasumatiyuṁ Kanak-

30 mahā[cha]ḷamu[m*] [u]ḷḷinegaṁ sale nilke **Ravikimayyana** dharmma || [11*]

Sāmānyō-yaṁ dharmma-śē(sē)tur=nṛipāṇā[ṁ]

31 k[ālē kā]lē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvvān-ētāṁ(n) bhāgi(vi)naḥ pārtthivēṁ-drāṁ(n) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē

32 Rā[machaṁ]draḥ [|| 12*] Sva-datt[ā*]ṁ para-datt[ā*]ṁ vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[ṁ |*] shashṭir(ṭiṁ)-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jā-

33 yatē kṛimiḥ || [13*]

[1] Read *shaḍaṁgiyar*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious is the manifested Boar-form of Vishṇu that stirs up the ocean and holds the earth at rest upon the tip of his uplifted right tusk.

(Lines 2-4.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tribhuvanamalla**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 4-5.) on the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* of **the 7th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dundubhi**:—

(Ll. 5-11.) the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the Agrahāra of Pūli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of the vow of silence, prayer, oblation, and absorption,[1] for the purpose of fostering the religious practice of (*the temple of*) the god Nārāyaṇa constructed by **Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-Nāyaka**, for the restoration of outworn (*buildings*) and (*renewal of*) broken and burst (*masonry*) belonging to the god, for baths, perfumes, incense, lights, and oblations, for the personal enjoyment (*of the god*), and for the choultry, **Ravikimayya-Nāyaka** made over to the god Nārāyaṇa six *mattar* at the Bhaṭṭas' Lake (*and*) one *mattar* of gravel soil (?) at the Stonemasons' Tank, for which he had arranged the purchase with pouring of water and gift of money from the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri.

(Ll. 11-14.) So the Thousand shall protect this pious foundation as a *sarva-namasya* holding. To those who protect it shall accrue the merit of making the great gifts at the holy places of Benares, Kurukshētra, Arghyatīrtha, Prayāga, and Gaya; knowing this to be so, the Thousand shall protect it for the continuous increase of religion as long as moon, sun, and stars endure.

(V. 2.) To him who protects (*the foundation*) duly as it was given by him (*who established it*) shall befall the fulfilment of the objects of his desire. To him who appropriates and destroys it shall accrue the guilt of downright cold-blooded slaughter of Brāhmaṇs, Goravas[2] herds of kine, and women; he shall fall into (*degraded*) forms of rebirth.

(V. 3.) The county of **Beḷvala** is the face of the ocean-girt Earth. Like a beauty-spot thereon is the town of Pūli, overspread with loveliness; a home of sages there is in this excellent town.

(V. 4.) The Thousand (*of Pūli*) are noble Brāhmaṇs possessing boundless virtues, active in works of kindness and beneficence, practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, and other duties, far removed from all sin.

(V. 5.) Among them, the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, who are eminent in the lore of the Vēdas and devoted to the six practices,[3] have displayed to an exalted degree exceedingly brilliant glory on earth.

(L. 21.) Among them—

(V. 6.) As he possessed such eminence as to be called a sun to the lotuses of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, an ornament of the whole world in divine lore, **Dēmaya** the Shaḍaṅgi[4] was truly illustrious.

(V. 7.) His son **Gommimayya** was illustrious in the world, attaining distinction as one who was expert in all arts, a kinsman without (*selfish*) object, following the practices of Manu, a treasure of white glory.

---

[1] The construction seems to be an anacoluthon, the subject *sāsirvvarum* being left as a *nominativus pendens*.

[2] A class of Saiva ascetics.

[3] See Manu, i. 88.

[4] A master of the six *aṅgas* or ancillary sciences of the Vēdas.

(V. 8.) His son is the lord **Ravikimayya**, a bee to the two lotus-feet of the blest Purushōttama, having a soul exalted in godliness, an ornament of the whole world, stainless in conduct.

(V. 9.) His younger brothers **Ṭīkaṇārya** and **Kēśava**, truly stainless men, have attained eminence, holding rank in perfect dignity, like Surabhi granting their desires to agreeable and cultured persons.

(V. 10.) Among (*these*) three (*brethren*) possessing incomparable fame, the lord **Ravikimayya**, a mine of excellence, inspired by a godly spirit, constructed a beautiful house of Vishṇu renowned among folk, bringing welfare in the other world, so that it has become an object of worship to the three worlds, an object of intense reverence: who are there that have a holy place of such sort?

(V. 11.) As long as the oceans, the moon and sun, the worlds of Gods and **Nāgas**, the earth, and the great Golden Mountain exist, so long forsooth may **Ravikimayya's** pious foundation stand.

Vv. 12-13: two common Sanskrit formulæ.

D.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: SAKA 1019.

This document is cut upon a slab of black stone that was found built into the outside of the northern or front face of the temple of Vīrabhadra, on the western side of the door. The stone is 3 ft. 10½ in. above the ground, and 2 ft. in width. It has a rounded top, with the following **sculptures** in the uppermost compartment: in the centre Vishṇu[1] standing, and facing full front; to his proper right successively, beginning from him, Nandi, a priest behind Nandi standing facing Vishṇu, and two kneeling worshippers likewise facing the god; to the god's left, successively a kneeling Garuḍa (half turned towards Vishṇu and half to front), a cow with calf, and a scimitar; above all these are the sun (on right) and moon (on left) Below this is the inscribed area, measuring 2 ft. 10½ in. in height and 1 ft. 11 in. in breadth. It is on the whole well preserved.—The **character** is good Kanarese, but of a type about a century later than the alleged date of the record (Śaka 1019); it may be a genuine later copy of the original grant, but in estimating its authenticity we must note also the irregularity of the date. The letters in lines 1-4 are about ¼ in. high; then they begin to increase in height, and from line 6 onward are on the average about ⅜ in. The letter *ṛi* in *ṛishi* (l. 13) is apparently represented by a modified *ri*. The special cursive form of *v* (above, Vol. XII, pp. 335, n. 1 and 337) appears 39 times, as far as the text is legible.—The **language**, except in lines 1-2 (verses 1-3, followed by the formula *namō Nārāyaṇāya*), which are in Sanskrit, is Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The archaic *ḷ* is always changed to *ḷ* (*māḷkeyin*, l. 15; *māḷpar*, l. 22; *hāḷa*, ll. 35, 51-53; *aḷidhaṁ[ge]*, l. 58; *bīḷg[uṁ]*, l. 60). *V* is changed sporadically to *b* (*brajad=*, l. 13; *dibyaṁ*, l. 23; *bya[tī]pātamuṁ*, l. 25; *dibya-*, l. 32; *drabya-*, l. 37). The *upadhmānīya* is falsely written in *ḥpuṭita-* (l. 33), for *sphuṭita*. The consonant *t* is doubled before *y* in *attyāyata-* (l. 18) and *attiyaṁta-* (l. 20); cf. above, on inscr. C. Initial *ā* is written *yā* (l. 36). In the prose parts final *m* before a vowel is occasionally changed to *v*, and initial *p* becomes *h* in *hāḷa* (ll. 35, 51-53), *hasuge* (ll. 35, 51), *heb-baṭṭe* (l. 36), *haralalli* (l. 38), *hannoṁdu* (ll. 39, 43), *hēṛiṁge* (l. 55), *hoṛege* (ib.), *hottaliṁge* (ib.), *honnaṁ* (l. 56 f.), while it remains in *paḍeda*, *paṇa*, *paḍuvaṇa*, *paḍuvalu*. As regards flexion, we find an accusative plural in final *-a* three times (*-pādaṁgaḷa*, ll. 37, 39, 42), and a corresponding adverb (*-pūrvvaka*, ll. 42, 50); that this is the genuine medieval form, and not a mere slip, is suggested by the adverb *saṁtata* (l. 22) and the dative *-nāyakaṁga* (l. 16), where the vocalic ending is guaranteed by the metre. There are a few words of lexical interest,

[1] [Probably Harihara, as suggested by vv. 2 and 14 of the inscription and the figure of Nandi to the proper right side.—Ed.]

such as *udgrāhakar*, l. 9 (spelt *udugrāhakaru*), "studying successfully" (cf. the Sinhalese *ugannavā*, "to learn"), and the technical terms *karuva*, ll. 39, 43 (from *karma* ?), *śata*, ll. 52-3, *soṭi* (?), l. 54, and *hottalu*, l. 55.

The **record**, after three introductory verses, refers itself to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI)**, and then launches out into verse in praise of Kuntaḷa, Beḷvala, Pūli, the Thousand Mahājanas of Pūli, and the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri (ll. 1-13). Among the last-named was a distinguished Brāhmaṇ family, the **Ajjavas**, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra*; to this stock belonged **Sōbhana-Nāyaka**, who begot by **Muddikavve Nākimayya** (**Nākarasa** or **Nākiyaṇṇa**). Nākimayya begot by **Nāgikavve Nāṇimeya**, **Rāmadēva**, and **Mahādēva** (written *Mahadēva* for the sake of metre), and rebuilt a temple of Vishṇu in Pūli (ll. 13-23). Then follow specifications of various purchases of land acquired by Nākimayya from the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, and Ghaiśāsagēri, and from the Thousand of Pūli (ll. 23-53). Two minor endowments (ll. 53-57) and a hortatory stanza (ll. 58-60) conclude the document.

The **date** of the record is stated on ll. 23-25 as: Śaka 1019 (expired), the cyclic year **Īśvara**; Pushya śuddha 5, Ādityavāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, the *vyatīpāta*, or *yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon are identical. This date again is irregular. Pushya śuddha 5 of the given year corresponded to **Saturday, December 12, A.D. 1097**; it began about 53 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Friday, and ended about 34 m. after mean sunrise on the Saturday. It could not be connected with the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, which occurred 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on **Thursday, 24 December**—twelve days after it.

The **places** mentioned, besides Pūli and the *tīrthas* in l. 58, are **Kuntaḷa** (l. 4), **Beḷvala** (l. 5), **Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri** (ll. 12, 37, 38), **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 34, 53), **Ghaiśāsagēri** (l. 40), **Koṇaḷagēri** (? l. 50), **Kattiyagēri** (l. 52), and some minor localities; see above.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows: verses 1-3, *Anushṭubh*; verses 4, 5, 16, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*; verse 6, *Mahā-sragdharā*; verses 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, *Kanda*; verses 9, 10, *Champaka-mālā*; verse 13, *Utpala-mālā*.]

1 Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [,*] trailōkya-nagar-āraṁ-bha-mūla-staṁbhāya Sa(Śa)ṁbhavē || [1*] Śrīmatu-Harihar[2]-ākhyasya pād-āṁburha(ruha)m=akshayaṁ [|*] bhakti-namra-janānāṁ

2 cha śānti-pushṭi-karaṁ sadā || [2*] Jayaty=a(ā)vishkri(kṛi)taṁ Vishṇōr=vv[ā*]rāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārnna(rṇa)vaṁ [|*] dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||] [3*] Namō Nārāyaṇāya ||

3 Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka **Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷaka** **Chāḷuky-ābharaṇa** śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvana-

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] Read *Śrīmad-Dharihar-*.

4 **malladēva[ra*]** rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravardhdhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttam-ire || Vasudhā-visṛi(śru)tam=appa **Kuntaḷa-vadhū**-saumy-ā-
5 nanaṁ tān=enal*u* pesaraṁ-betta mah-āgrahāra-nagara-śrī-paṭṭaṇ-ākīrnna(rṇa)diṁ rasavad-dhānya-samasta-vastu-chayadiṁ śrī-**Beḷvalaṁ** sō(śō)-
6 bhisalk=esev=ā **Pūli** mah-āgrahāra-tiḷakaṁ · tad-dēśadoḷ*u* rājikuṁ || [4*] Alli || Alad=aṁbhōrha(ruha)-rājiyiṁ parimaḷa-śrī-mallik-ārāma-
7 diṁ sale saṁd-irdda taṭāka-kūpa-vibhava-prākīrnna(rṇa)diṁ sutti-gond(ṇḍ)=eḷasutt[1]=irppa sahaśra(sra)-ramya-Śiva-kūṭ-ānēka-kōṭi-prabh-ōj[j*]vaḷitaṁ ta-
8 *tu*(d)-bahiraṁga-sēvya-vibhavaṁ śrī-Pūliy=int=oppugu || [5*] Mudadiṁ śrī-Kēśavā-dityara pada-vinu(na)tar=vvēda-vēdāṁga-vidyā-vidi-
9 tar shaṭ*u*-tarkka-śaṭ*u*-pravuḍiyoḷ[2]=atiśayad=ud*u*grāhakar*u* nitya-yajñar*u* mada-mātsaryy-ādi-dūrar sakaḷa-vibhu(bu)dha-
10 saṁrakshakar pūjyar=eṁduṁ sadayar sāsirvvar=urvvī-vinutar=akhiḷa-śāstr-ārttha-kāvya-pravīṇar || [6*] Ka || Dinapaṁ taṁ-
11 nna karaṁgaḷan=anupamadiṁ Pūliyalli puṁjisi nirataṁ jana-vinutar=ssāsirvvaran=anavarataṁ paḍedan=aṁt=av(d?)=ēṁ kri(kṛi)ta-kri(kṛi)tyar*u* || [7*]
12 Palav=agrahārakk(k)=ellaṁ salalitadiṁ Pūli tiḷakam=allige[3] kaḷaśaṁ sale Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēriye viḷa(la)sitam=āg=oppal=ese-
13 dar=aṁt=ā nūrvvar*u* || [8*] Avaroḷ || Tiḷi-goḷad=ante tan-mukuṭad=aṁte riśi[4]-brajad=aṁte kūḍe nirmmaḷam=enis-irddud=**Ajjava**-
14 kulaṁ sale puṭṭidan=alli permmeyiṁ saḷalita[5]-chāru-sach-charitadiṁ prabhu **Śōbhana-Nāyakaṁ** mahā-baḷa-yuta-gōtra-
15 vardhdhanan=udātta-guṇaṁ Śiva-pāda-śēkharaṁ || [9*] Sphuriyise sippinalli sale muttina māḷkeyin=iṁtu puṭṭidaṁ su-
16 ruchire **Muddikavve**-satigaṁ sale **Sō(Śō)bhana-Nāyakaṁga** vistaratara-puṇya-mūrtti puruś(sh)-ārttha-śikhāmaṇi **Nā**-
17 **kimayyan**=udhdharisidan=iṁtu Pūli-pura-madhyadoḷ=ūrjjita-Vishṇu-gēhamaṁ || [10*] Ka || Āyana sati bhuvanado-
18 ḷ=attyāyata-pati-bhakte **Nāgikavve** viśēśa(sha)-śrī-yute mahante ni[chcha]ṁ śrēyaskara-mūrtti putravati bahu-
19 guṇadiṁ || [11*] Ka || Ātrēya-vaṁśan=eṁduṁ mitra-prōtsāhi dāna-tat*u*para-vibhavaṁ pātrav-aṛid=īvan=udya-
20 d*u*-gōtra-pavitraṁ prasidhdha-vibhu **Nākarasaṁ** | [12*] Vṛi || Tat-tanujar śu(su)śōbha-vibhu **Nāṇimeyaṁ** sale **Rāmadēvan**=attyaṁ-
21 ta-manōjña-mūrtti **Mahadēva**-mahā-prabhu nālku-vēda-vēdāṁta-samasta-śāstra-vidaraṁ parishō(pō)shisi dāna-dharmma-
22 maṁ saṁtata māḷpar=aṁt=avara saṁtati rājisal=uttar-ōttaraṁ || [13*] Tad-anaṁ-tara || Ka || Sale nālvar=irddaḍ=alliye nelas-i-
23 kkuṁ deyvam=ante vipra-sahaśra(sra)ṁ salalita-vidyā-vibhavar*u* vviḷasitar[6]=ire Harihar-ākhya-niḷayame dibyaṁ || [14*] Svasti śrī-
24 mat*u*-**Sa(Śa)ka-varsha 1019 neya Īsva(śva)ra-saṁvatsarada** Puśya(shya)-**śudhdha** paṁchami Ādityavāradaṁduv=uttarā-
25 yaṇa-sa[ṁ*]kramā(ma)ṇamuṁ bya[tī]pātamuṁ baṁda puṇya-dinadoḷu [|*] yaja[na]-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pra-

---

[1] The *prāsa*, *l* and *ḷ*, is irregular.
[2] Read *-saṭ-prauḍhiyoḷ*.
[3] Or possibly *all-ire*.
[4] Read *ṛishi-*.
[5] The *prāsa* is irregular, *la* for *ḷa*.
[6] Read *vilasitar-*.

26 tigraha-śa(sha)ṭ-karmma-niratarum̐ | śrīma[ch*]-**Ch[ā*]ḷukya**-chakravartti-Brahmapuri-sthān-ādhipatya(tiya)rum̐ | Hiraṇyagarbhbha-mu-

27 kha-vinirggata-chatur-vvēda-vēdāṁga-śāstra-smri(smṛi)ti-purāṇa-kāvya-nānā-nāṭaka-pravīṇarum̐ | sva-saṃme(ma)ya-samu-

28 dita-saraśchaṁdra[1]-chaṁdrikā-chakōrarum̐ | kāṁchana-kaḷaśa-śi(si)ta-śa(sha)ṭ*u*-chchha(chha)tra-chāmara-paṁcha-mahā-śab*u*da-ghaṭhika[2]-bhēri-rav-ā-

29 di-rāja-chihn-ābhirājitarum̐ | sapta-sōma-saṁsth-āvabri(bhṛi)th-āvagāhana-pavitrikrita-śarirarum̐[3] | Hara-hās-ābhāśa(sa)-vi-

30 śada-yaśaḥ-kīrttigaḷum̐ | śrīmad-Andhāsura[4]-dēva-pād-ārādhakarum̐ śaraṇ-**āgata**-rakshaka[r]um̐ | śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-la-

31 budha-vara-prasāda-sampannarum=appa śrīmau-mah-āgrahāram̐ Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mma-

32 hājanaṁgaḷa dibya-śrī-pādaṁgaḷan=ārādhisi | avara saṁnidhiyalu | **Ajchha(jja)vara Nākimayyaṁ** tānu māḍisi-

33 da śrī-Harihara-dēvara naivēdyakkaṁ Chayitra-pavitrakkaṁ khaṇḍa-ḥpu(sphu)ṭita-jirnn[5]-ōdhdhārakkaṁ pūjāriya jīvitakkaṁ

34 Rave(viya)ṇagēriya nūrvva[ra] pādaṁgaḷaṁ suvarṇṇa-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi Būdana-Moneya Raviyaṇagēriya

35 hāḷa hasugeya baḍagaṇa tale-kaṁḍikeyalli paḍeda mattaru mūṟu | ā keyige paḍuvaṇa sīme Kēśava-dēvara ke-

36 yi | baḍagalu heb-baṭṭe | mūḍalu Būdana-Gutti | teṁkalu yā kēriya bhūmi | ā nūṟu mattarggaṁ |[6] aṟu-vaṇa paṇa-

37 v=oṁdu vi(vī)saṁ eraḍu kāṇi eraḍu | mattaṁ | Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēriya nūrvvara śri(śrī)-pādaṁgaḷa ā **Nākimayyaṁ** drabya-pū-

38 rvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si tōṭada haralalli Sēṇigageṟeyiṁ kelage sarvva-namaśya(sya)-v=āgi paḍeda mattar=oṁdu | mattaṁ Kaḷaśavaḷḷigē[ri]-

39 ya nūrvvara śrī-pādaṁgaḷa ā **Nākimayyaṁ** hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si paḍeda karuva-geyi mattaru ha-

40 nnoṁdu | ā keyige tīṟuva aṟu-vaṇa ma[ttariṁ]ge hāgaṁ eraḍu || Ka || Ghaiśāsagērig=adhipar*u* bhāsura-tēja[*ru*]

41 mahaṁtar=enisida nūrvvar*u* Kēśava-Mahēśa-dēvara lēs=enisida pūjeg=ittaru vūrjjita-dhareyaṁ[7] || [15*] Ant=ā

42 nūrvvara śrī-pādaṁgaḷa **Ajjavara Nākimayyaṁ** dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhisi paḍeda . . . . . . ma

43 mattaru hannoṁdu | ā keyige ti(tī)ṟuva aṟu-vaṇa mattariṁge hāgaṁ eraḍu | ā yeraḍu kēriya karu-

44 va-vaney=eraḍumaṁ nālku maneyaṁ māḍi dēvara Brahmapuriyo[ḷu] gri(gṛi)ha-dāna-bhūmi-dānamaṁ **Nākimayyaṁ**

45 āḍida kramam=eṁt=eṁdoḍe | **Kēśava-Bhaṭṭarige** bhaṭṭa-vri(vṛi)ttiyaṁ naḍasuv=aṁt=ire paḍuvaṇa mūḍala mane | avarige keyi

46 mattaru ayi[du] | avaru dēvarige ti(tī)ṟuva aṟu-vaṇa paṇa eraḍu hāgaṁ eraḍu | al[l*]iṁ mūḍaṇa mane **[Na]rasiṁha-**

47 **Sōmayāj[i*]yarige** | avarige keyi mattaru eraḍakkam aṟu-vaṇa paṇav=oṁdu | alliṁ mūḍaṇa mane **N[a]rasiṁha-**

[1] Read *-śarach-chaṁdra-*.

[2] Read *-ghaṭikā-*.

[3] Read *-pavitrīkṛita-śarīrarum̐*.

[4] Here and below the *dh* is written with the subscript character which usually denotes *th*.

[5] Read *jīrṇ-*.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[7] Read *ittar=ūrjjita-dh°*.

48 **ghaissarige** | avarige keyi mattaru eraḍakkaṁ aṟu-vaṇa paṇav=oṁdu | alliṁ mūḍaṇa mane |[1] **Kōṇeya Ma[lla(?)-kra]mita-**

49 **ṛige** | avarige keyi mattaru mūṟu | avaru ti(tī)ṟuva aṟu-vaṇa paṇav=oṁdu hāgaṁ eraḍu || Mattaṁ vūr-oḍeya-pra-

50 mukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷa divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṁgaḷaṁ **A[j]javara Nākiyaṇṇaṁ** dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhisi [? Ko]ṇa-

51 ḷagēriya hāḷa hasugeyoḷu |[2] sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi paḍeda mattaru eraḍu | kammaṁ nā[l*]nūṟ-ayvattu [|*]

52 ā keyige sīme baḍagalu śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara keyi | mūḍalu Kattiyagēriya hāḷa śata | teṁkalu Mūla-

53 sthāna-dēvara keyi | paḍuval[u Ra]viyaṇiya hāḷa śata | ൭ Ayivatt=okkaluṁ sama-chchhāyeyoḷ=irddu dēvara

54 dīvigege soṭige eṇṇeyaṁ biṭṭaru || ൭ Mattaṁ **Nākimayya-Nāyakaṁ** Rāhara-moraḍiya

55 Chikkarasana eleya suṁka hēṟiṁge . . . . | hoṟege nūṟu | hottaliṁge ayivattu mān=akki

56 gadyāṇaṁ nālvatt-ayidu honnaṁ ko . . . . || paḍuvaṇa bhāgada nāvira kāḍayamanu[3]

57 mūṟu gadyāṇa honnaṁ koḍu . . . . paṇa eraḍu hāga . . . . ||

58 Ida(va)n=īy=aṁda[din=eyde] pāḷisuvava[ṁg=ishṭ-ārttha-saṁsiddhi saṁ]bhavikuṁ koṁḍ=aḷidha(da)ṁ[ge Gaṁge Gaye Kēdāraṁ Ku]ru-

59 kshētram=emb-iva[ṟoḷu] pēsade pārvva[raṁ go]ra[varaṁ gō-vṛiṁdama]ṁ peṇḍiraṁ ta[ve koṁd=ikkida pāpam=e]-

60 [ydugu]m=avaṁ biḷg[uṁ nigō]daṁgaḷo[ḷu ||] [16*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu comely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the structure of the city of the Triple World!

(V. 2.) The blest Harihara's lotus-foot is eternal, and ever causes increase of peace to those who bow down to him in devotion.

(V. 3: identical with verse 1 of C.)

(Line 2.) Homage to Nārāyaṇa!

(Ll. 3-4.) When the reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(V. 4.) While the blessed **Beḷvala** with its multitude of renowned great *agrahāras*, cities, and happy towns and with its abundance of sapful grain and all kinds of treasures shines indeed, as one may say, as the lovely face of the world-renowned lady **Kuntaḷa**, this bright **Pūli**, an ornament of great *agrahāras*, is resplendent in that region.

[1] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is also superfluous.

[3] These letters are mostly very uncertain: we may read either *kā* or *ko*, and the *ya* is doubtful.

(L. 6.) In that (*Pūli*)—

(V. 5.) Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasances of jasmine rich in perfume, indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva wherein men find delight, having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blest Pūli display itself.

(V. 6.) Joyfully bowing at the feet of the blest Kēśavāditya, renowned for lore of Vēdas and Vēdāṁgas, extraordinarily proficient in goodly skill in the six (*courses of*) logic, holding constant sacrifice, remote from conceit, envy, and other (*vices*), protectors of all sages, worshipful ever, gracious, world-famous, versed in the purport of all books of teaching and in poetry are the Thousand (*of Pūli*).

(V. 7.) The sun, massing to an incomparable degree his rays on Pūli, constantly and ceaselessly has engendered the world-famed Thousand: thus have they not fulfilled their end?

(V. 8.) Pūli by its charmingness is an ornament of all the many *agrahāras*; as Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri in truth appears in grace as a pinnacle thereto, thus the Hundred (*of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri*) are eminent.

(L. 13.) Among them—

(V. 9.) Stainless like a clear pool, like a diadem thereof,[1] like a company of saints together is the **Ajjava** family, in truth; in it was born the lord **Sōbhana-Nāyaka,** who by his eminence, his charming and beautiful conduct caused the increase of his mighty *gōtra*, being exalted in virtues, crowned by Śiva's feet.

(V. 10.) In the wise of a pearl in sooth as it flashes in its shell, so was born indeed to the most charming lady **Muddikavve** and to **Śōbhana-Nāyaka, Nākiṁayya,** an embodiment of most abundant merit, a crest-jewel of mankind's desires: so he restored the splendid house of Vishṇu in the midst of Pūli.

(V. 11.) His good wife is **Nāgikavve,** immensely devoted to her lord, peculiarly fortunate, great ever, having a form fraught with blessing on earth, a mother of sons through exceeding virtue.

(V. 12.) Of the Ātrēya lineage, ever encouraging friends, having his high estate devoted to charity, one who makes gifts with knowledge of the recipients, a purifier of his noble *gōtra*, is the renowned lord **Nākarasa.**

(V. 13.) His sons, the brilliant lord **Nāṇimeya,** in truth, **Rāmadēva,** and the great lord **Mahādēva** exceedingly charming of form, foster the masters of all the lore of the Four Vēdas and the Upanishads and practise constantly the duty of charity: as thus their lineage becomes increasingly illustrious:—

(L. 22.) Subsequently to this—

(V. 14.) With the four[2] present there, in sooth, the divine sanctuary of Harihara stands like a celestial (*building*) with a thousand Brāhmaṇs magnificent in charming lore displaying themselves in grace therein.

(Ll. 23-25.) Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Pushya in **the cyclic year Īśvara, the 1019th (*year*) of the Śaka era,** on a holy day on which occurred both the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* and the *vyatīpāta*,[3]—

---

[1] If the text is right, it must mean "a diadem of the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri"; but the sense seems rather strained, and one is tempted to conjecture *san-mukuṭad=*.

[2] Namely Nākimayya and his three sons.

[3] *A yōga* in which the declination of the sun and the moon are the same.

(Ll. 25-32.) Having adored the divinely blest feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (*of charity*), masters of the establishment of the **Chāḷukya** Emperor's Brahmapurī,[1] versed in the lore of the Four Vēdas that issued from Hiraṇyagarbha's mouth, the Upanishads, sacred law, Purāṇas, poetry, and various dramas, who are *chakōra*-birds to the moonlight arising from the autumnal moon of their church, who are decorated with golden pitchers, six white parasols, yak-tail fans, the five great musical sounds, gongs, drums, and other emblems of royalty, whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *sōma-saṁsthās*,[2] who have glory and renown brilliant as the radiance of Hara's smile,[3] who are worshippers of the god Andhāsura's feet, protectors of refuge-seekers, receiving the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,—

(Ll. 32-35.) In their presence, **Ajjavara Nākimayya**, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the feet of the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, purchased three *mattar* in the upper *kaṇḍike* on the north of the waste-land *hasuge*[4] of Raviyaṇagēri at the Ghost's End for (*the expenses of*) the oblations of (*the temple of*) the god Harihara constructed by himself, the *Chaitra-pavitra*,[5] the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry*), and the maintenance of a priest.

(Ll. 35-37.) Of this field the western bound is the field of the god Kēśava; on the north, the high-road; on the east, the Ghost's Copse; on the south, the lands of the parish.[6] For these three *mattar* the *aṛu-vaṇa*[7] is one *paṇa*, two *vīsa*, two *kāṇi*.

(Ll. 37-38.) Likewise the same **Nākimayya**, having adored with (*offering of*) money the blest feet of the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, purchased (*of them*) one *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding below the Gildsmen's Tank in the gravel-land of the garden.

(Ll. 38-40.) Likewise the same **Nākimayya**, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the blest feet of the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, purchased a *karuva*-field of eleven *mattar*; the *aṛu-vaṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*.

(V. 15.) The Hundred who are lords of Ghaiśāsagēri, brilliant of splendour, great, have given abundant land for the approved worship of the gods Kēśava and Mahēśa.

(Ll. 41-43.) So **Ajjavara Nākimayya**, having adored the same Hundred's blest feet with (*offering of*) gold, purchased eleven *mattar* . . . ; the *aṛu-vaṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 43-49.) When he had built two *karuva*-houses in (*each of*) these two parishes,[8] (*altogether*) four houses, the arrangement under which **Nākimayya** made his grants of houses and land in the Brahmapurī of the god was as follows:—For **Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa**, houses on the west and east, so as to keep up a professor's stipend; for him a field of five *mattar*; the *aṛu-vaṇa* paid by him to the god is to be two *paṇa* and two *hāga*. To the east thereof, a house for **Narasiṁha-Sōmayāji**; for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aṛu-vaṇa* is to be one *paṇa*. To the east thereof, a house for **Narasiṁha-Ghaissa**; for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aṛu-vaṇa* is to be one *paṇa*. To the east thereof, a house for **Kōṇeya-Malla(?)-Kramita**; for him a field of three *mattar*; the *aṛu-vaṇa* paid by him is to be one *paṇa* and two *hāga*.

(Ll. 49-53.) Likewise **Ajjavara Nākiyaṇṇa**, having adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, purchased as a *sarva-namasya* holding two *mattar* and four-hundred and fifty *kamma* in the waste-land *hasuge*

[1] Cf. above, on inscr. B.

[2] A list of these is given in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.

[3] Cf. *Mēghadūta* I. 58.

[4] See Kittel, s. v. *hasige*, and above. Vol. XIII, p. 37.

[5] See *I. A.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

[6] Apparently the lands of Raviyaṇageri.

[7] See above, on inscr. B.

[8] Namely Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri and Ghaiśāsagēri.

of Koṇaḷagēri(?). Of this field the bounds are : on the north, the god Andhāsura's field ; on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land of Kattiyagēri ; on the south, the field of the Mūla-sthāna god ; on the west, the *śata* of the waste-land of Raviyaṇi.

(L. 53-54.) The fifty households by common agreement granted oil for burning in the god's lamps.

(L. 54-57.) Likewise **Nākimayya-Nāyaka** [assigned] a toll on the betel-leaves of Chikkarasa of the Rāhas' Hill, . . . on a (*large*) load, a hundred on a (*small*) load, fifty on a bagful ; (*on*) a maund of husked rice, forty-five *gadyāṇa* in gold . . . .

(V. 16 : identical with verse 2 of inscription C.)

E.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI : THE 29TH YEAR, ETC.

This is an inscription upon a black stone that was found standing against the east wall of a small empty shrine a little to the south-east of the front (eastern) face of the temple of Madanēśvara or Andhakēśvara. The stone was 7 ft. 6 in. high, and 3 ft. 0½ in. wide. Its top was a rounded panel containing the following **sculptures** : in the centre, a *liṅga* in a shrine ; to the proper right of this, a priest sitting, facing it, in the same shrine ; in the proper right corner, a cow with calf ; in the left corner, the bull Nandi ; above these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below this is the inscribed area, 4 ft. 8½ in. high and 3 ft. broad.—The **character** is Kanarese, a good hand of the last quarter of the twelfth century, with a supplement in a later hand (ll. 53-56). The letters are on the average ½ in. high ; they are generally well preserved. The type of *jh* noted on the Sūḍi inscription F. above, Vol. XV, p. 86, occurs on ll. 22, 27. The cursive *v* is used in *-chakravartti* (l. 47).—The **language**, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The *ḻ* is preserved in *negaḻda*, l. 38, and *iḻduv=*, l. 39, and wrongly written in *Beḻvalav=*, l. 5 ; on the other hand, it appears as *ḷ* in *pēḷ*, l. 15, *pogaḷguṁ*, l. 30, *ēḷeneya*, l. 40, *ēḷ*, l. 43, *hāḷa*, ll. 37, 42, 50, and as *r* in *negarddar*, l. 8, *negarddaṁ*, l. 25 (both with the second syllable short), and *nōrppaḍa*, l. 24. Initial *p* in the prose is retained in *pēṟiṁge*, l. 34, *pasuge*, l. 37, but changed to *h* in *hāḷa*, ll. 37, 42, 50, *hasuge*, ll. 43, 45, 50, *haṇa*, l. 43, *haḍuvaṇa*, l. 46, *heb-baṭṭe*, l. 51, *haḷḷada*, l. 52. Lexically interesting are : *bhāṇasu*, l. 4, *kuttuṁbitti*, l. 5, *ēkaṟi*, l. 13, *baḷi*, l. 14, *sojja*, l. 34, *chaṁḍāvura*, l. 34, *sata*, ll. 44, 47, 51, 52, and *sauṭi*, l. 46.

The **record** is a consolidated one, comprising three different grants to the same foundation (ll. 1-39, 40-47, and 47-52), with a later supplement (ll. 53-56). When the third grant was executed and written out (A.D. 1184), the two earlier grants were copied and prefixed to it ; and in A.D. 1224 some one began to write as a supplement the fourth grant, but did not complete it. The first grant begins by referring itself to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI)**, and then states that a general and minister, who was also Steward of the Royal Kitchen, by name **Anantapāḷarasa**, had a son-in-law, **Lakkarasa**, a general who administered **Beḷvala** and **Puligeṟe** ; and this Lakkarasa, with the authority of Anantapāḷarasa, commissioned a certain **Siṅgarasa** to assign one share in the proceeds of fines levied in Pūli to the treasury of the god Andhāsura, a form of Śiva (ll. 2-7). This was accordingly done, under the auspices of the Achārya **Tatpurusha**, a disciple of **Jñānaśakti** ; this Jñānaśakti was a distinguished divine and scholar, to whom king **Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II)** paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of Śiva (probably that bearing the name of Andhāsura, with which the present series of grants is concerned) was built (ll. 7-18). Then comes, apparently as a supplement to this grant, a record of two endowments of Andhāsura. The first (ll. 18-36) opens with verses praising the town of **Pūli** and its mayor (*ūr-oḍeya*), a scion of the **Chāḷukya** race named **Maṅgaḷārṇava**, who seems to have won some renown in the wars against the **Chōḷas, Māḷavas**, and **Gūrjaras**, and is stated to have settled 1,000 **Brāhmaṇs** on an estate granted by

himself; after this come verses in praise of the Thousand, who are said to have built a stately temple of Andhāsura (probably that already mentioned). Then follows another supplement (ll. 36-38), chronicling a donation of land by four persons.

The second main division of the record (ll. 40-47) announces gifts of land to Andhāsura from the above-mentioned **Jñānaśakti** (ll. 40-44) and the Thousand (ll. 44-47). Next comes a third paragraph (ll. 47-52) announcing the gift of some land to the god by the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷi-gēri, the Thousand of Pūli, and a certain **Kalidēvayya-Seṭṭi.** Last comes an unfinished paragraph, added long after the preceding, to chronicle a grant by the guild of weavers to the Āchārya **Vāmaśakti** for the expenses of the establishment (ll. 53-56).

Corresponding to its composite character, our inscription contains four **dates.** The first of these is given on ll. 7-8 as: the 29th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Tāraṇa; Pushya śuddha 10, Bṛihaspativāra (Thursday); the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.* This is irregular. The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 10 corresponded properly to **Wednesday, 28 December, A.D. 1104,** on which it ended about 18 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, *i.e.* about 12.25 P.M., so that the connection with the following Thursday is not far wrong. But it cannot possibly have been connected with the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti,* which took place about 6 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding **Saturday, 24 December.**

The next date is that given in ll. 40-41: the 7th year of the **Kaḷachurya Tribhuvanamalla** (**Bijjala**), the cyclic year Chitrabhānu; Śrāvaṇa full-moon, Sōmavāra (Monday); an eclipse of the moon. This again is irregular, but only to a slight degree. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Friday, 27 July, A.D. 1162,** on which it began about 55 m. before mean sunrise; and it ended about 4.41 A.M. on the following Saturday. On the same Friday there was a lunar eclipse lasting from 21 h. 45 m. to 23 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise (see *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. xxvii). The Siṁha-saṁkrānti took place about 6.13 A.M. on Saturday, 28 July.

The third date is given on ll. 47-48: the 2nd year of **Sōmēśvara** [IV], the cyclic year Krōdhi; the full-moon of Pushya, Sōmavāra (Monday); the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.* This is also irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1184;** it began about 4 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday. The *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* did not occur until several days later; it took place about 22 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise on **Monday, 24 December.** Thus we see that the details of our date are a conflation of two distinct dates, as is often the case.

The last date is stated on l. 53 as: Śaka 1146 (expired), the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Jyaishṭha śuddha 8, Sōmavāra (Monday). This is correct. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Monday, 27 May, A.D. 1224,** on which it ended about 19 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

The **places** mentioned, besides Pūli, are **Beḷvala** and the Six-hundred of the "Two Beḷvalas" (ll. 5, 19), **Śiveyagēri** (l. 37), **Kokkuḷigēri** (ll. 42, 49), **Kattiyagēri** (ll. 44, 52), **Ghaiśāsagēri** (l. 46), **Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri** (l. 48), **Raviyaṇi** and **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 44, 51), **Būragutti** (l. 51), and some minor localities.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Anushṭubh*; verses 5, 7, 9, 10, 12-15, 18, *Kanda*; verses 4, 17, *Mahā-sragdharā*; verses 6, 8, 11, *Champaka-mālā*.]

1 ◉ Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [|*] trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē [||1*] ◉

[1] From the ink-impression.

2 Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(pṛi)thvī-vallabha mahārājādhirājaṁ paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ** śrī-
3 ma[t*]-**Tribhuvanamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddha-mānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire [|*] Tat-pāda-padm-ō-
4 pajivī[1] sạmadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍa-nāyakaṁ śrīman-mahāpradhānaṁ bhāṇasu-
5 verggaḍe **Anantapāḷarasara** deseyiṅ=avar=aḷiyaṁ daṇḍanāyaka **Lakkarasaṁ** **kut**-tuṁbitti bhatta-gāvey=oḷag-āgi **Beḷvalav=eraḍ=aṟu-nū-**
6 **ṟumaṁ** dushṭa-nigraha-śishṭa-pratipāḷanadiṁd=āḷuttam-irddu va(dha)rmma-kāryy-ōddē-śadiṁ tanna paḷihataṁ **Siṁgarasanaṁ** kared=agrahāraṁ Pūliya
7 śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvargge Pūliya daṇḍa-dōshad=oḷag=ondu bhāgama[ṁ*] biḍ=eṁdu sama[r*]ppise śrīmach-**Chāḷukya-Vikrama**-**kālada** **29neya** **Tāra-**
8 **ṇa-saṁvatsarada** Pushya-śuddha daśami Bri(Bṛi)haspativārad=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkra-maṇada divya-tithiyoḷ || Ī mahiyoḷ=negardda(ḷda)r=vidyā-mahi-
9 m-ōnnatiyoḷ=ugra-tapadoḷ=muktī(kti)-śri(śrī)- mukha-maṇi-makurar = Kkāḷāmukhar = ēnō-(naḥ)-parān(ṅ)mukhar=mṁuni-mukhyar || [2*] Vṛitta || Avaroḷ=**Pūliya-**
10 **dēvar**=eṁbar=esedar=nnishṭh-āgragaṇyar=bbaḷikk = avariṁdaṁ **Lakuḷīśadēvar** = avariṁ **Vakhkā(kkhā)ṇidēvar**=gguṇa-pravarar=ssarvva-kaḷ-āgama-prathita-**Vidyēśāna-yōgīṁ-**dra-
11 r=ant=avariṁ pe[ṁ]pina **Sōmadēva-munipar**=vviśvambharā-bhāgadoḷ || [3*] Ruchir-ōdyad-ratna-rōchi[s*]-stabaka-viḷasit-ānēka-bhūpāḷa-chūdā(ḍā)-nichaya-prōdghṛishṭa-pā-
12 da-dvayan=upagata-sārasvataṁ nūtna-va(ka)rmm-ōpachay - āṁbhōrāśi - Kāḷānana(ḷa ?)-nikhiḷa-munīṁdr-ōttamaṁ mōksha-lakshmī-kucha-kuṁbh-āḷaṁkṛit-ōra[s*]-sthaḷa-
13 n=amaḷa-yaśa[ṁ*] **Jñānaśakti-vratīṁdra** || [4*] Ēkaṟiy=ire bahu-tarkka-vyākaraṇaṁ **Jñānaśakti-paṇḍita-dēvargg**=ēkāksharam=eṁdu mahī-lōkaṁ baṇṇisuvud[2]=avara
14 mahim-ōnnatiya || [5*] Vitata-yaśaṁ **Chaḷukya**-kuḷa-tigmakaraṁ **Bhuvanay(ai)ka[ma]-lla-bhūpati** baḷiy-aṭṭi tan-muni-paḍ-ābja-yugakke vinamna-
15 n=āgi niśchita-mati koṭṭa pūjeyoḷe māḍisidar=Śśiva-gēhamaṁ śiḷ-āyatanaman=intu māḍipare pēḷ=enutuṁ va(dha)re baṇṇip-annega || [6*] Avar=aṇugi-
16 na śishyar=iḷā-pravarar=gguṇa-gaṇa-samanvitar=nnānā-śāstra-vidar = **Ttatpurushar**=**ddig-**vivaraṁgaḷan=amaḷa-kīrttiyiṁ dhavaḷisidar || [7*] Int=enisida sthāṇ-āchā-
17 ryyar=appa **Tatpurusha-paṇḍitara** samakshadoḷaṁ ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar-mmahājanaṁgaḷa sannidhānadaluṁ śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara pā-
18 da-prakshāḷanaṁ-geydu dēvar=aṁga-bhōgakkaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇṇ-ōddhārakkaṁ daṇḍa-dōshad=oḷag=ondu bhāgamaṁ perggaḍe **Siṁgarasaṁ** biṭṭa Vanadhi-parīta-
19 bhūtaḷa-viḷāsavatī-mukhad=ante tōrppa chelviṇe kaṇi **Beḷvalakke** tiḷak-ākri(kṛi)-tiyiṁd=esed-irppa Pūliy=ēn=Animisha-rājan=irppa puramō Phaṇi-rājana rā-
20 jadhāniyō manuja-nivāsam=allad=enisal=neṟeguṁ peṟat=ondu śōbheyiṁ || [8*] Adu vēdaṁgaḷa tāy-maney=adu nānā-tarkad=irkke-dāṇaṁ kēḷ=ant=adu
21 śāstraṁgaḷa kaṇiy=enisidud=avanī-chakrad=oḷage Pūli-grāma || [9*] Ārame paṇṭ=eṟagida sahakārame bhōr=eṁdu morey ut-irpp=aḷinī-
22 jhaṁkārame sugandha-kusum-āsārame poṟa-voḷaloḷ=eṁdoḍ=ē vaṇṇipudō || [10*] Sura-niḷayaṁgaḷ=Īśana Dinēśana pāda-yugakke bhaktar=appara[n=a]-
23 var=irppa śāśvata-padakk=aḍardd(rd)=ēṟisal=eṁdu sāram=āg=ire Bidi kaṭṭid=oṁdu patham=eṁba vol=aṁbaramaṁ taṟuṁbi bhāsuratara-śātakuṁbha-kaḷaśaṁga-

---

[1] Read *-ōpajīvi*.

[2] The *da* has been omitted and then squeezed in, written small.

24 ḷin=oppugum=entu nōrppaḍa || [11*] Akhiḷa-mahīdēvar=Śśatamakhanaṁ taṇipalke kūḍe māḍutt=ire kārmmukhadha[1] vol=esegum̐ nānā-ma-

25 kha-dhūma-stōmadindam=eṁduṁ vyōma || [12*] Chōḷa-kuḷa-Kāḷa-daṇḍaṁ **Māḷava**-kuḷa-viḷaya-kētu **Gūrjjara**-kuḷa-nirmmūḷa[ka*]n=ene sale negardda(ḷda)ṁ

26 **Chāḷukya**-kuḷ-ēṁdu **Maṁgaḷārṇṇava**-**dēva** || [13*] Ā **Maṁgaḷārṇṇavaṁ** jagatī-mudrita-vimaḷa-kīrtti sarvva-namasyaṁ bhūmiyan=ittu sahasra-dha-

27 rāmararaṁ nilisi Pūliyaṁ pālisida || [14*] Guḍi chamarav=ojjha(jja)raṁ beḷ-goḍe haḍapaṁ ghaḷigey=ubhaya-śaṁkhaṁ modal=āg=oḍeya mahā-

28 mahimeyam=ūr-oḍeya śrī-**Maṁgaḷārṇṇavaṁ** kuḍe paḍedar || [15*] Vachana || Antu paḍed=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷa mahā-

29 mahimey=eṇt=eṁdaḍe || Vipuḷ-āchārar=agaṇṇa(ṇya)-puṇṇa(ṇya)-niḷe(ḷa)yar=llōk-aika-pūjyar=kkaḷā-nīpuṇar=ssā(śśā)rada-nīrad-ōpama-yaśar=śśishṭ-ē-

30 shṭa-vargg-āmar-āṁghripar=udvṛitta-virōdhi-sāva(dha)na-harar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-āṁbhōruha-bhri(bhṛi)ṁgar=eṁdu pogaḷguṁ sāsirvvaraṁ bhūtaḷa || [16*]

31 Param-audāryyakke janm-āḷayar=enisida sāsirvvaruṁ tammoḷ=atyādaradiṁdaṁ kūḍi va(dha)rmm-āmṛitaman=osedu pīral=manaṁ-

32 [go]ṁḍu lōk-ōttaram=app=ātmīya-kīrtti-prabaḷa-lateg=aḍarpp=eṁbinaṁ śrīmad-Andhā-sura-dēv-āvāsamaṁ māḍisidar=amara-śaiḷakke

33 sādri(dṛi)śyam=āgal || [17*] Ant=enisid=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷ=ē(ai)kamatyav=āg-irddu ´nela-varttige sāsirakke

34 pannoṁd=aḍakeya sojjamumaṁ chaṁḍāvuraṁ beḷe modal=āg=uḷid=aḍakegaḷg=ellaṁ sāsirakke irppatt-oṁd=aḍakeya sojjamumaṁ pēṟiṁge lābha-

35 gavaḷigey=eṇṭu-nūṟ=eleyumaṁ tale-voṟ[e*]ge lābha-gavaḷigeya nāl-nūṟ-eleyuma[ṁ*] śrīmad-**Andhāsura-dēvara** pāda-prakshāḷanaṁ-

36 māḍi dēvar=aṁga-bhōgakk=eṁdu sāsirvvar=bbiṭṭar || Āḷāḷara **Nāgadēvayya Haradara Śāntay[y*]a Maṁṇḍeyara Mākaṇayya**

37 **Ubbarada Bammayya** iṁt-ī nālvaru Śiv[e*]yagēriya nūrbbarige pāda-ghā(pū)-jeyaṁ koṭṭu hāḷa pasugeoḷage[2] Kaḍakina-

38 keṟeya keḷage nālku mattar=kkeyya sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi śrīmad-Addhā-(ndhā)sura-dēvarige koṁḍu biṭṭar || Jagad=oḷage negaḷda Pūliyo-

39 ḷ=aga(gha)-paṭṭar=ddēva-nivahav=ellaṁ kichchiṁ dhagadhaga bhugilt=eṁd=uriyal=poge khaṁṇḍaṁ[3] muṭṭad-iḷduv=Aṁndhāsurana || [18*]

40 Svasti [|*] Śrīmatu-**Kaḷachuryya-chakravarttī(rtti) Tribhuvanamalladēva-varśa(rsha)d=ēḷeneya Chitrabhānu-saṁvarsa(tsa)rada** Śrāvaṇa-sudhdha[4] puṇṇami Sōmavāram[u*]ṁ

41 sōma-grahaṇamuṁ kūḍi banda puṇya-dinadoḷu śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvara sthānad=āchāryyar=appa **śrī-Jñānaśakti-dēvaru** śrīman-mah-a(ā)gra-

42 hāraṁ Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvaraṁ dravya-pūrvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si dēvara snāna-nivēdyakk=eṁdu Kokkuḷ[i*]gēriya hāḷa hasuge-

43 yalu koṁḍu biṭṭa mattar=ēḷ=adakke aṟu-vaṇa mattariṁge haṇa oṁdu [|*] keyya sīme ent=e[ṁ*]daḍe baḍagaṇa sīme Gōkharṇṇēsvara[5]-dēvara key[y*]iṁ

44 teṁkalu Ajjavara-dēvta(va)ra key[y*]iṁ baḍagalu mūḍalu Kattiyagēriya sa(śa)ta paḍuvalu Raviyaṇiya sa(śa)ta Svasti [|*] Śrīmad-ū-

46 r-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvaruṁ śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvargge snāna-nivēdyakkey=eḍe-volada hasugeyalli sarvva-namaśya(sya)-

[1] Read *kārmmukada*. [2] Read *pasugey-oḷage* [3] There seems to be an *r* written over the *kha*.
[4] Read *śuddha*. [5] Read *Gōkarṇṇēśvara-*.

46 v=āgi biṭṭa mattar=eṁṭu [|*] adakke sīmey=ent=e[ṁ*]daḍe mūḍaṇa sī[me*] Akkasāligeyi | teṁkaṇa sīme beṭṭa | haḍuvaṇa sīṃe sauṭi | baḍagaṇ sīme Ghais[ā]-
47 sagēriya sa(śa)ta |(||) Svasti [|*] Śrīmat*u*-**Chāḷukya-chakravartti** śrī-**Sōmēsvara-dēva**[1]-**varśa(rsha)d=eraḍeneya Krōdhi-saṁvachha(tsa)rada** Puśya(shya)-sudhdha[2] puṇṇami
48 Sōmavāra uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramā(ma)ṇadaṁdu śrīmat*u*-Kaḷasa(śa)vaḷḷigēriya nūrvvaruṁ sāsirvvaruṁ same(ma)ya-chakravartti **Kali-**
49 **dēvayya-seṭṭiyaruṁ** sah[i*]taṁ śrīmad-Aṁdhāsu[ra*]-dēvargge snāna-nivēdyakke Mairāvaṇada hadinālku mattaru keyaṁ-
50 maṁm[3]=māṛ[ā*]ṭav=āgi Kokkuḷigēriya hāḷa hasugeya modala sthaḷadalli sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi bi-
51 ṭṭa mattaru[4] [|*] adaṛa śi(sī)me Raviyaṇagēriya sa(śa)tadiṁdaṁ mūḍalu baḍagaṇa sīme Būragut[t*]i-heb-baṭṭe
52 mūḍaṇa sīme Kattiyagēriya sa(śa)ta teṁkaṇa sīmey=Eḍavanahaḷḷada baṭṭey=i(ī) da(dha)rmmamaṁ sāsirvvaru pratipāḷisuvaru ||
53 ꩜ Svasti [|*] Śrīmat*u*-**Śaka-varsha 1146neya Tāraṇa-saṁvatsarada** Jyēshṭha-śudhdha[2] ashṭa[mi*] Sōmavāradaṁdu [|*] Svasti [|*] Samasta-guṇa-saṁpannar=appa
54 śrīma[t*]-Trik[ū*]ṭēśvara-dēvara divya-śrī-pāda-padm-ārādhakarum=appa śrī-Pūliya sāliga-sama-
55 yaṁgaḷum=ūr-oḍeya sāsirvvara sannidhānadalu śrīmad-Aṁdhāsura-dēvara sthān-āchāryyaru-
56 m=appa **Vāmaśakti-dēvarige** dēva-kāryyakk=eṁdu dhārā-pūrvvakav=āgi koṭṭa harike[5] okkaliṁge hoṁge[6]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with verse 1 of inscription D above.)

(Lines 2-3.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas,** king **Tribhuvanamalladēva,** was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 3-7.) On behalf of him who finds sustenance at his lotus feet, the great Lord of Feudatories who receives the five great musical sounds, the great august general, high minister, and Steward of the Kitchen, **Anantapāḷarasa,**—his son-in-law, the general **Lakkarasa,** administering the **Six-hundred of the two Beḷvalas,**[7] including the *kuttuṁbitti* and provision-villages,[8] so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, despatched his deputy **Siṅgarasa** on a mission of religious business, and having bade him to assign one share in the proceeds of the fines of **Pūli** to the god Andhāsura of the Agrahāra of Pūli, consecrated (*the same*) ; whereupon—

[1] Read *Sōmēśvaradēva-*. [2] Read *śuddha.* [3] Read *keyya* (?).

[4] Possibly a numeral has been dropped before *mattaru.*

[5] There seems to be a *sonne* at the end of this word on the stone, over the *ge.*

[6] The record here seems to break off in the middle of the sentence.

[7] This means the Three-hundred of Beḷvala and the Three-hundred of Puligeṛe : see Dr. Fleet's note on the Soraṭūr inscription, above, Vol. XIII, p. 178.

[8] See note on *bhatta-grāme* (Sūḍi inscr. F., l. 20) above, Vol. XV, p. 92, n. 1

(Ll. 7-8.) On the holy lunar day, **Thursday**, the **tenth** of the bright fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic **year Tāraṇa**, the **29th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era**, on the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*,—

(V. 2.) Illustrious on this earth are the eminent saints of the **Kāḷāmukha** order for exalted majesty of learning (*and*) for severe austerities, being jewel-mirrors for the face of the Spirit of Salvation, remote from sin.

(V. 3.) Among them flourished one named **Pūliyadēva**, pre-eminent for devotion in the world; after him, **Lakuḷīśadēva**; after him, **Vakkhāṇidēva** excelling in virtues and the great Yōgi **Vidyēśāna**, versed in all arts and sacred tradition; so after him, the distinguished saint **Sōmadēva**.

(V. 4.) The great ascetic **Jñānaśakti** has his two feet much rubbed by many monarchs' crowded crests brilliant with masses of lustre from bright noble gems; he is endowed with literary genius, highest of all the great saints who are like fires of doom to that ocean the rank growth of modern religions, stainless in fame, having his breast adorned by the rounded bosom of the Spirit of Salvation.

(V. 5.) As **Jñānaśakti-Paṇḍitadēva's** vast knowledge of logic and grammar is unique (?), the public lauds his exalted dignity, styling him **Ēkākshara**.[1]

(V. 6.) In the course of the worship which king **Bhuvanaikamalla**, of widespread fame, a sun to the **Chāḷukya** race, despatching a messenger,[2] reverently (*and*) resolutely offered to the lotus-feet of this saint, they constructed a sanctuary of Śiva, which the world ever praises, saying "Say, can they make thus a building of stone?"

(V. 7.) His beloved disciple **Tatpurusha**, eminent on earth, endowed with numerous virtues, knowing divers books of instruction, has caused the expanses of the regions of space to become white with his stainless fame.

(Ll. 16-18.) Having, in the presence of the local Āchārya **Tatpurusha**, as above described, and in the presence of the Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura, the Steward **Siṅgarasa** made over for the personal enjoyment of the god and for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry*) one share in the proceeds of the fines of **Pūli**.

(V. 8.) Shining in the form of a beauty-spot on **Beḷvala**, that mine of loveliness which appears like the face of that graceful lady the ocean-girt Earth, Pūli is perfect in comeliness, a thing unique and apart, so that men say: "Is it the city where dwells the king of gods, or the royal residence of the lord of serpents? It cannot be a dwelling-place of mortals."

(V. 9.) It is a mother-house of the Vēdas, it is a dwelling-place of divers systems of logic, hearken, so it is a mine of books of instruction: thus is the town of Pūli known within the circuit of earth.

(V. 10.) As regards the pleasances, the mango-trees drooping with fruit, the murmuring of swarms of bees that hum with buzzing sound, the showers of scented flowers in the outskirts of the town what description can fit them?

(V. 11.) How brilliant are the temples, when one observes, with their exceedingly radiant golden pinnacles, obstructing the sky, as if to say that this is a peculiar path built by

[1] *Ēkākshara*, lit. "monosyllable," is the mystic *Ōm* and the lore connected with it; applied as a title, it means a master of that lore (cf. the name of the poet Shaḍakshari-dēva, the "master of the six-syllabled spell," scil. *ōṁ namaś=Śivāya*). A work on logic by an earlier Ēkākshara-Muni is mentioned in the Kaḷas inscription of Śaka 851 (above, Vol. XIII, p. 332, l. 54). Here there seems to be a play on the double meaning of *ēkākshara*, which apparently is taken as signifying "uniquely literate" (cf. *s-ākshara*).

[2] See Dr. Fleet's note on th word *baḷi* in his paper on the Dēvagēri inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 3.

the Creator as his choicest work in order to raise the votaries of the feet of Īśa and the Sun to enter into the everlasting seat where they[1] abide.

(V. 12.) The sky is ever bright with masses of smoke of various sacrifices, like a rainbow, which all the Brāhmans together make for the satisfaction of the Lord of a Hundred Sacrifices [Indra].

(V. 13.) **Maṅgaḷārṇavadēva,** a moon of the **Chāḷukya** race, has become in sooth illustrious as a rod of Kāḷa to the **Chōḷa** race, a meteor of ruin to the **Māḷava** race, an uprooter of the **Gūrjara** race.

(V. 14.) This **Maṅgaḷārṇava,** whose stainless fame is stamped upon the earth, having given land on *sarva-namasya* tenure (*and*) settled a thousand Brāhmans, protected Pūli.

(V. 15.) The fortunate **Maṅgaḷārṇava,** the mayor, received as a gift (*marks of*—Ed.) the high dignity of governorship, namely the flag, yak-tail fans, discus (?), white parasol, betel-bag, gong, double shell, and the rest.

(Ll. 28-29.) As regards the high dignity of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor who has had this fortune :—

(V. 16.) The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (*good*) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus-feet of the blest god **Kēśavāditya.**

(V. 17.) The Thousand, who are birth-sites of supreme generosity, having together drunk with delight the nectar of religion with exceeding reverence for him, moved in spirit, built a dwelling for the blessed god Andhāsura, which was to be as it were a support for the mighty creeping-plant of their own superhuman fame, so that it was like to the celestial mountain.

(Ll. 33-36.) The Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor thus described, by unanimous consent, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura and granted for the god's personal enjoyment on *nela-vartti* eleven *sojja* of areca-nuts per thousand ; on all other areca-nuts, such as *chaṇḍāvura* and *beḷe*, twenty-one *sojja* per thousand ; on each load (*of betel-leaf*), a bundle[2] (*consisting of*) eight-hundred betel-leaves ; on each head-load, a bundle (*consisting of*) four-hundred betel-leaves.

(Ll. 36-38.) **Āḷāḷara Nāgadēvayya, Haradara Śāntayya, Maṇḍeyara Mākaṇayya, and Ubbarada Bammayya,** these four, having offered worship at the feet of the Hundred of Śiveyagēri, purchased (*of them*) and assigned to the god Andhāsura as a *sarva-namasya* holding four *mattar* below the Kaḍaku Tank within the waste-land *pasuge*.

(V. 18.) In Pūli, which is renowned in the world, the whole company of gods is grief-stricken if a morsel (*of sacrificial food*) should enter the flames in fiery glow with crackling sound, without coming to Andhāsura.

(Ll. 40-41.) On the holy day on which occurred **Monday,** the **full-moon** of the bright fortnight of **Śrāvaṇa** in the cyclic **year Chitrabhānu, the seventh of the** (*regnal*) **years of** —hail !—the blest **Kaḷachurya Emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva,**[3] together with an **eclipse** of the **moon,**—

(Ll. 41-44.) **Jñānaśaktidēva,** the Āchārya of the establishment of the god **Andhāsura,** having adored with (*offering of*) money the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the **great Agrahāra** of Pūli, purchased and assigned for the god's baths and oblations seven *mattar* in the

[1] Namely Īśa and the Sun.

[2] *Lābha-gavaḷige* : the word *kavaḷige* means "a quantity embraced ; a pack or bundle of betel or plantain-leaves, etc." (Kittel, s.v.).

[3] See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 474.

waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri; the *aṟu-vaṇa* for it is one *haṇa* on each *mattar*. As regards the bounds of the field, the northern bound is from the field of the god Gōkarṇēśvara, on the south from the field of (the god) of the Ajjavas,[1] on the north-east the *śata* of Kattiyagēri, on the west the *śata* of Raviyaṇi.

(Ll. 44-47.) Hail! The Thousand, headed by the mayor, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations eight *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the *hasuge* of the Lower (?) Field. As regards its bounds, the eastern bound is the Goldsmiths' Field, the southern bound the hill, the western bound the *sauṭi*, the northern bound the *śata* of Ghaisāsagēri.

(Ll. 47-48.) On the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, Monday, the **full-moon** of the bright fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic **year Krōdhi, the second of the** (*regnal*) **years of**—hail!—the **Chāḷukya Emperor Sōmēśvaradēva,**—

(Ll. 48-52.) The Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri and the Thousand (*of Pūli*), together with the Samaya-chakravartti **Kalidēvayya Seṭṭi,** assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations a (?) *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the first grounds of the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri, in exchange for a field of fourteen *mattar* belonging to Mairāvaṇa.[2] Its bounds are: on the east from the *śata* of Raviyaṇagēri; its northern bound the highroad of Būragutti; its eastern bound the *śata* of Kattiyagēri; its southern bound the road of the Eḍava's river.[3] This pious foundation the Thousand shall protect.

(L. 53.) On **Monday** the **eighth** of the bright fortnight of **Jyēshṭha** in the cyclic **year Tāraṇa, the 1146th year of**—hail!—the auspicious **Śaka era,**—

(Ll. 53-56.) Hail! Endowed with all virtues, worshippers of the divinely blest lotus-feet of the god **Trikūṭēśvara,** the weavers' guilds of Pūli, in the presence of the mayor and the Thousand, granted with pouring of water a votive gift (?) to **Vāmaśaktidēva,** the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, for the business of the god: for each household, on every gold-piece . . .

F.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: SAKA 1029.

This is an inscription on the upper part of a black stone found standing in the *maṇḍapa* on the southern side of the entrance into the adytum of the temple of Keṟe-Siddhappa. The lower part of the stone, with the inscription from l. 31 onwards, has been broken away and lost. What remains is 3 ft. 5½ in. high and 1 ft. 8¼ in. wide. It has a rounded top, on which are **sculptures,** *viz.* in the centre a *liṅga*; to the proper right of this, a squatting figure, possibly Śiva or a Yōgi; to the left of the *liṅga,* a cow with calf; over the cow, a scimitar; above these, the sun (to right of *liṅga*) and moon (to left). The inscribed area below this is 2 ft. 2½ in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. broad.—The **character** is good Kanarese of the period, with letters about ½ in. high, which, however, become smaller as the inscription goes on. The cursive *v* occurs in *vyatīpātadalu,* l. 26.—The **language** is Sanskrit in the prelude (ll. 1-3), and for the rest Old Kanarese. The *ḻ* appears only as *ḷ, viz.* in *vogaḷvudō* (l. 14) and *pogaḷvud=* (l. 18).

The **record** opens with two Sanskrit verses, the first of which is the formal *Namas=tuṁga°*, and the second the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (ll. 1-3). It then refers itself to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalladēva,** *i.e.* **Vikramāditya VI** (ll. 4-7), and next in a series of verses extols the **Beḷvala** *nāḍu,* **Pūli,** the Thousand of Pūli, the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, the Śaiva divine **Siddhēśvara,** and his disciple **Sōmēśvara,** both of whom were Āchāryas

[1] The Ajjava family is mentioned above, in inscr. D.

[2] This is the name of a demon, an ally of Rāvaṇa, whose legend is popular in the south. Possibly a sanctuary of his may be meant; but it is doubtful.

[3] On the epithet *eḍava* see above, Vol. XV, p. 81, n. 7.

[illegible] Stone Inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya VI : Saka 1029.



2 4 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

F. W. THOMAS

SCALE ONE-THIRD

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, C[illegible]

of the temple of Kaḷaśēśvara in Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri (ll. 7-24). Descending then into prose, it chronicles a gift of land to this sanctuary by the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, in the midst of which it is broken off.

The **date** of this record is given on ll. 24-26 as: Śaka 1029 (expired), the cyclic year Sarvajit; Pushya śuddha 12, Budhavāra (Wednesday); the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. This is irregular, being another instance of the conflation of two distinct dates. The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 12 corresponded to **Saturday, 28 December, A.D. 1107**; it ended about 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday, *i.e.* about 2.11 A.M. on Sunday. The *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* again occurred about 50 m. after mean sunrise—scil. 6.50 A.M.—on **Wednesday, 25 December.**

The **places** mentioned are **Pūli**, the **Beḷvala** *nāḍu* (l. 9), **Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri** (ll. 16, 28), and **Rudragere** (l. 30). The last cannot be identified.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 2, *Anushṭubh*; v. 3, *Champakamālā*; v. 4, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*; Vv. 5-9, *Kanda*.]

1 (spiral symbol) Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mū-
2 ḷa-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || [1*] Vāg-arthāv=iva saṁpṛiktau vāg-arttha-pratipattayē [|*]
3 jagataḥ pita[r]au vaṁdē Pārvvatī-Paramēśvarau || [2*] Ōṁ namaḥ Śivā[ya ||]
4 (spiral symbol) Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
5 paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Satyāśraya**-kuḷa-tiḷaka **Chāḷuky-ā-**
6 bharaṇaṁ śrīma[t*]-**Tribhuvanamalladēva**-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-
7 r-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire || Śara-
8 nidhi-mēkhaḷ-āvṛita-vasundharey=eṁba viḷāsinī-mukh-āṁburuha-
9 da vōl=virājisuva **Beḷvala**-nālge podaḷda śōbheg=āgaram=enis=irppa
10 **Pūli** tiḷak-ākṛitiyiṁd=esed=irppud=ā puraṁ Sura-puramaṁ K[u]-
11 bēran=Aḷakā-puramaṁ naguguṁ viḷāsadiṁ || [3*] Bhuvana-prastutar[2]=ēka-vākya-
12 r=achaḷar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-vara-prāpta-samasta-saṁpadar=aśēsh-āśā(śā)-sa-
13 mākīrnna(rṇṇa)-varnna(rṇṇa)-viḷāsar=chchaturar=chchatus-same(ma)ya-saṁsēvyar=chchatur-Vvēda-Śā-
14 stra-vichāra-kshamar=eṁdaḍ=ē vogaḷvudō sāsirvvara khyātiyaṁ || [4*]
15 Alli || Viditaṁ(ta)-śrī-Pūlī-pura-vadan-āḷōkana-sudarppaṇar=ttāv=enipa-
16 r=ssad-amaḷa-charitar=guṇa-gaṇa-sadanar=enalu Kaḷasa(śa)vaḷḷigēriya nū-
17 rvvaru || [5*] Alliy=āchāryyaru || Snāna-japa-hōma-niyama-dhyān-ā-
18 nushṭhāna-śīla-tatparanaṁ sad(j)-jñāna-nidhi māna-nidhiy=eṁd=ānaṁdade pogaḷvud=a-
19 vani **Siddhēśvaranaṁ** || [6*] Bauddh-Ārhata-Sāṁkhyāyā[3]-bōd[hh]dhṛigaḷ=eṁd=e[ṁ]-
20 ba birudu saṁdudu jagadoḷ=**Siddhēśvara-paṁḍitarg**=atyuddhata-vād-ibha-siṁhar=e-
21 ne mechchadar=āru || [7*] Avara śishyaru || Agha-dūra-munīśvaranuṁ jaghaṁnyaṁ(nya)-yati-ta-
22 tiyoḷ=eṁdu saman=ēn=abarkku laghu-guṇa-rahitaṁ bhuvanadoḷ=Aghōra-japa-nishṭhit-ātma-Sō-

---

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] The *ta* was omitted by the engraver and then added below the line.

[3] Corrupt: the true reading may perhaps be *sāṁkhy-āyana-* (taking *āyana* as equivalent to *śāstra*) [or rather *Sāṁkhya-Nyāya*—Ed].

23 **mēśvaranaṁ** || [8*] Jaḷanidhi-parīta-vasudhātaḷadoḷ*u* naishṭhika-muni(nī)śvar-ārādhyaṁ śrī-Kaḷa-

24 śēśa-dēva-p[ā*]da-kamaḷa-bhṛiṁga **Sōmēśvara**-bratīśaṁ stutyaṁ[1] || [9*] Svasti [1*] Śrīmach-**Chhaka-varsha**

25 **1029neya Sarvvajit*u*-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 12 Budhavāradaṁ-**

26 d=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti-vyatīpātadalu śrīman-mah-āgrahāraṁ

27 Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷa saṁnidhānadalu

28 śrīmat*u*-Kaḷasa(sa)vaḷḷigēriy=aśēsha-nūrvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷuṁ śrīmat*u*-Kaḷe(ḷa)śē-

29 śvara-dēvara [khaṁ]da-sphuṭita-jīrṇṇ(rṇṇ)-ōddhārakkaṁ nivēdyakkav=alliya tapō-dhanar=āhāra-

30 [dānakkaṁ] . . . . key[y]i Rudrageṛeya mattaru nālku kamma[2]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with v. 1 of inscription D. above.)

(V. 2.) For attainment of words and ideas I adore Pārvatī and Paramēśvara, the parents of the universe, who are united like word and idea.[3]

(L. 3.) Ōm ! Homage to Śiva !

(Ll. 4-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(V. 3.) **Pūli**, which may well be called a mine of brilliant beauty, displays itself in the form of a beauty-spot on the county of **Beḷvala**, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that graceful lady the ocean-girdled Earth. This town by its elegant appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of Alakā.

(V. 4.) As they are known as being praised throughout the world, uniform of speech, unwavering, receiving all good fortune from the boons of the blest god Kēśavāditya, having the splendour of their praises diffused through the whole of space, skilful, worshipped in the four churches,[4] competent for the study of the four Vēdas and books of instruction, what praise can befit the renown of the Thousand ?

(L. 15.) In that (town)—

(V. 5.) The Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri are indeed goodly mirrors to view the face of the famed and blest town of Pūli, being men of good stainless conduct, seats of numerous virtues.

(L. 17.) The Āchāryas there—

(V. 6.) The earth with delight praises **Siddhēśvara**, who is devoted to the practice of bathing, prayer, oblation, minor disciplines, and contemplation, as a treasure of goodly knowledge, a treasure of dignity.

(V. 7.) The title of instructor in Buddhist, Jain, and Sāṅkhya[5] doctrines is applied in the world to **Siddhēśvara-Paṇḍita** : who are there that do not laud him as a lion to those elephants the exceedingly haughty disputants ?

---

[1] The defective metre shews that the text is wrong. The most likely emendation seems to be *-bhṛiṁgaṁ Sōmēśa-brati saṁstutyaṁ*.

[2] Line 30 ends with this word. Towards the end of line 31 the tops of a few letters are visible, but not one letter in the line is complete. The rest of the stone is lost.

[3] This is the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*.

[4] See above, on inscr. B, l 10.

[5] [See f. n. 3 on p. 197.—Ed.]

(L. 21.) His disciple—

(V. 8.) When *(can there be)* even a great saint remote from guilt in the series of recent ascetics, who is his equal ? Can he match[1] **Sōmēśvara**, who is void of vain qualities and whose spirit is devoted to prayer to Aghōra ?

(V. 9.) On the sea-encompassed earth the great ascetic **Sōmēśvara** is adored by devout saints, a bee to the lotus-feet of the blest god Kaḷaśēśa, highly honoured.

(Ll. 24-26.) On **Wednesday**, the **twelfth** of the bright fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic **year Sarvajit, the 1029th** *(year)* of—hail !—the auspicious **Śaka era**, during a *vyatīpāta*[2] in the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*,—

(Ll. 26-30.) In the presence of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, the full Hundred Mahājanas of **Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri** [assigned] for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn *(masonry of the temple)* of the god Kaḷaśēśvara, for oblations, and for the supply of food to the ascetics of the place . . . a field, four *mattar* . . . *kamma* of Rudragere . . . .

G.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI : THE 32ND YEAR.

This is a *vīra-gal*, which was found by Dr. Fleet lying between two stones of the same class, one of them being the inscription A. above, lying to the north of the Bhīmēśvara temple. It was removed by him into the porch of another temple which stands a few yards to the north of the Bhīmēśvara, and for which the villagers had no certain name, though they inclined to call it the Tārakēśvara. The stone is 6 ft. 2 in. high (not reckoning the tenon at its base) ; its breadth is 1 ft. 9 in. at the first line of writing, and 2 ft. 1 in. at the base. The basis in which it originally stood has been lost. It is divided into seven compartments, four containing **sculptures** and the intermediate three the text. The uppermost compartment, which is rounded at the top, has in the centre a *liṅga* in a shrine ; on the proper right of this is Gaṇēśa seated and facing full front, with a worshipper at his right knee. On the proper left of the *liṅga* are three worshippers, and there are three more round the upper part of the compartment. Below this are lines 1-4 of the text. The compartment next below these has in its centre the figures of three seated goddesses, facing full front ; to the proper right is a female dancing, and on the left a seated female playing on a lute. Above these are eight females standing in a row, who hold chowries. Underneath this come lines 5-6 of the text. The compartment immediately below the latter has at its centre a male figure in movement, with his arms on the shoulders of two females, one at each side of him ; in each of the four corners is a group of three figures, also in motion. Below these are lines 7-10 of the text. In the lowest compartment is a figure of a man shooting arrows from a bow ; he faces half front and half to the proper left. Two corpses are lying under his feet. Facing him are two horsemen and three archers, and behind him are two or three archers shooting at the other party ; and behind these again, in the upper proper right corner, are twelve cows running away. The **character** is good Kanarese of the period ; the letters are generally $\frac{1}{2}$—$\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. The **language** is Old Kanarese. The *ḻ* appears as *ḷ* (*aḷidaṁ*, l. 10). Of some lexical interest are the words *Vaḍḍavāra*, l. 2 (cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 147), *taḷāṟa*, l. 3 f., *mēḷad=āḷ*, l. 9, and *anuvara*, l. 9.[3]

---

[1] This translation is based upon the assumption that *abarkku* is the same as *amarkku*. But this is not quite certain, and the word is perhaps corrupt.

[2] A *Yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon is the same.

[3] *Anuvara* is glossed in Gangadhara Madwaleswar Turmari's *Śabdamañjari* (Dharwar, 1890) as *kāḷaga*, "battle," which is probably right. But neither the word itself nor the verb *anu-vṛi* is given in the P. B.; Kittel *in loco* translates it "selecting; making (anything) one's special aim," and he gives the verbal stem *anu-varisu*, ignoring the explanation of the *Śabdamañjari*.

The **record** itself is of a type common on monuments of the kind. It begins by referring itself to the **32nd year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era,** *i.e.* of the reign of **Vikramāditya VI,** and then relates in prose that a certain **Toṛapara Būtayya** carried off cows belonging to **Pūli,** and thereupon **Gaṅgara Bōsi (Bōsiga)** and his messmate and comrade **Peṛuva Malli (Malliga)** made a brave attempt to recover them, in which they perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise.

The Toṛapas are mentioned as enemies of the Hundred-and-four Mahājanas of Rōṇ in an inscription of Rōṇ of Śaka 1102 which is also being published by me in this Journal. It styles the latter *Toṛapa-kuḷāṁtakarum.* Apparently they were a race of bandits.

The **date** of the inscription is given on ll. 1-2 as : the 32nd year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Sarvajit ; Śrāvaṇa bahuḷa 5, Vaḍḍavāra (Saturday). This is regular. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Saturday, 10 August, A.D. 1107,** on which it began about 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise.

The only **place** mentioned is Pūli (ll. 3, 7).

TEXT.[1]

[The metre is *Kanda.*]

1 Ōm[2] [|*] Svasti [|*] Śrīmach-**Chāḷukya-Vikrama-kālada 32neya Sarvvaji-**
2 **t-saṁvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-bahuḷa 5 Vaḍḍavāradaṁdu**
3 **Toṛapara Būtayyaṁ Pūliya** tuṛavaṁ koṇḍaḍe[3] ta-
4 ḷāṛa-nāyakaṁ **Gaṁgara Bōsiyuv**=ātan=oḍan-uṁḍa keḷe-
5 yaṁ **Peṛuva Malliyuṁ** tuṛuvig=aḍḍaṁ baṁdu mēl-āḷuṁ kudureyu-
6 man=iṛidu palaraṁ koṁdu sūryya-maṁḍaḷamaṁ bhōjisidar ||
7 **Toṛapar**=idir=etti **Pūliya** turuvaṁ koḷe kaṁḍu **Bōsiga[ṁ]** pagevaran=ānt=i-
8 ṛidu Divijēṁdra-puradoḷ=meṛedaṁ nija-vikrama-pratāp-ōnnatiy[i*]ṁ || [1*]
9 Oḍan-uṁḍa keḷeyanaṁ saṁgaḍad=āḷaṁ mēḷad=āḷan=anuvarad=eḍeyoḷ biḍa-
10 l=āgad=eṁdu **Bōsigan**=oḍan=aḷidaṁ **Malligaṁ** pratāp-ōnnatiyiṁ || [2*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-2.) On **Saturday,** the 5th of the dark fortnight of **Śrāvaṇa** in the cyclic year **Sarvajit, the 32nd** (*year*) **of**—hail !—the auspicious **Chāḷukya-Vikrama era,—**

(Ll. 3-6.) When **Toṛapara Būtayya** had seized cows belonging to **Pūli,** the chief beadle **Gaṅgara Bōsi** and his messmate **Peṛuva Malli** stepped in the way of the cows, smote the leader and (*his*) horse, slew many, and enjoyed the orb of the sun.[4]

(Verse 1.) When the **Toṛapas,** making an assault, carried off the cows of Pūli, **Bōsiga,** seeing **it,** confronted the foemen, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility.

---

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] The *ōm* is denoted by a somewhat fantastic figure, apparently based upon the *śaṅkha* symbol.

[3] The [illegible] to have first written *koṇḍeḍe,* and then cancelled the first *e.*

[4] This means that they were killed in the battle and their souls were carried up to the Valhalla of fallen heroes in the sun. Cf. the well-known verse *Dvāv=imau purushau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala-bhēdinau* || *parivrāḍ-yōga-yuktaś=cha raṇē śūra-mukhē hataḥ* ||

(V. 2.) Saying "I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle," **Malliga** perished together with **Bōsiga** by reason of the high degree of his nobility.

H.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This is a fragment of a Jain record. It is cut on the upper part of a black stone which was found lying in the courtyard of the Pañchaliṅga temple, and was placed by Dr. Fleet for security in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the sanctuary. The lower part of the slab was lost. The remainder was 2 ft. 7½ in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The topmost compartment, which was rounded, contained **sculptures**, *viz.* in the centre a squatting Jina (Pārśvanātha ?) facing full front, with a canopy of inflated cobras' hoods over his head, in a shrine, and having below him a pedestal with a floral device and on each side of it a lion; to his proper right a cow and calf; to his left a scimitar; above him, to the left, the sun and moon. The inscribed area beneath this is 1 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. 7¼ in. broad.—The **character** is good Kanarese, with letters of about ⅜ in. high.—The **language** is Sanskrit (verses 1-4 and 6) and Old Kanarese (verses 5, 7-17 and prose). As regards the latter, we may note that *ḷ* is not found; it appears as *ḷ* (*pogaḷvinaṁ* l. 4, *podaḷda*, l. 10, *pogaḷut=*, l. 20) and *r* (*nōrppaḍame*, l. 9, *nōrppaḍe*, ll. 10, 11, *negardda*, l. 18). The words *jagadaḷaṁ*, l. 17, *liṁkud=aṁka*, l. 19 (see above, on inscr. B., l. 14), and *kal-vesaṁ* l. 21 may be noticed.

The **record**, after the usual Jain prelude, extols in poetry the Gaṇadhara **Sudharman**, **Bāhubalin**, the famous Jain divine of the **Kaṇḍūru-Gaṇa** of the **Yāpanīya-Saṅgha**, **Śubhachandra** and **Maunidēva**, of the same *Gaṇa*, and **Māghanandin** (ll. 1-5).[1] Then it refers itself in prose to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI)**, whom it lauds in verse (ll. 6-9), thence proceeding to extol in verse **Kuntaḷa**, possibly **Beḷvala**, and **Pūli** with its Thousand Mahājanas (ll. 9-15). It next gives the titles of an otherwise unknown *rāja* named **Piṭṭa**, who styled himself "**Lord of Kōḷāḷa, best of cities**" (ll. 15-17), and adds in verse that he had four sons, **Perma**, **Bijja** or **Bijjala**, **Kīrtti**, and **Gorma**, and a daughter, **Maiḷaladēvi**; Bijjala slew certain kings, and had some relations (a lacuna prevents us from knowing what they were) with king **Jayasiṁha** of the **Gūrjarāshṭra**, possibly the **Paramāra Jayasiṁha** of **Mālwā**, who flourished about 1055 A.D. (ll. 19-20). A mutilated verse speaks of **Rēvakanirmaḍi** as sister of king **Kanhara**, comparing to her **Siriyādēvi** as sister of somebody else (l. 20). We then learn that Bijjala built a Jain sanctuary, which possibly may be the Pañchaliṅga, and apparently that he or somebody else granted to it a place named Pergummi(?). The rest is lost.

The reference to **Rēvakanirmaḍi** and **Kanhara** is interesting. Kanhara is the **Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III**, and Rēvakanirmaḍi was his elder sister; she married the **Gaṅga Satyavākya Būtuga II**, who succeeded between 933 and 940 A.D.[2] This fact, and the titles "Gāṅgēya of the Gaṅgas" and "lord of Kōḷāḷapura," indicate that Piṭṭa was a scion of the Gaṅga family.

The **places** mentioned, besides **Pūli**, are **Kuntaḷa** (l. 9), **Kōḷāḷapura**, *i.e.* Kolhāpur[3] (l. 16), the **Gūrjarāshṭra**, *i.e.* Gujarāt (l. 19), **Beḷvala** (l. 22), **Pergummi** (*ib.*), and **Māṇikya-tīrttha** (l. 24).

---

[1] Bāhubalin is well known. Māghanandin and Śubhachandra may conceivably be the same as the divines so named who are mentioned in *Inscr. Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, Nos. 40-1, 43, 45-9, 59, 64-5, 144, and *I. A.*, Vol. XIV p. 22. A Maunada Bhaṭṭāra is mentioned in *Inscr. Śrav. Beḷgoḷa*, No. 6.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 71; cf. *ib.*, Vol. IV, p. 352, and *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 304. The Gāwarwāḍ inscription previously published by me speaks of Būtuga as *Rēvakanirmmaḍiya vallabhaṁ* (l. 15); so does the Annīgēri record which is almost identical.

[3] [Kōḷāḷapura is only an epigraphic variant of Kuvaḷāḷapura which has been identified with Kōlār, the chief town of the Kōlār district in the east of Mysore. See *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I.—Part II, pp. 297-8.—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows: V. 1, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 6, *Trishṭubh Upajāti*; v. 4 *Āryāgīti* (?); vv. 5, 12, 13, 16, *Kanda*; v. 7, *Mahāsragdharā*; vv. 8, 15, *Champakamālā*; vv 9, 14, *Utpalamālā*; vv. 10, 11, 17, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.]

1 [Śrīmat-parama-gambhī]ra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāmchchhanam [|*] jīyā[t*]=trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ [1*] Śrī-Vīra-nāthasya gaṇ-ēśvarō=bhūt=Sudharmma-nāmā pravidhūta[— — | ⏓ —]

2 [⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑] Yāpanīyē sa[ṅghē] punas=tatra cha chāru-mārggē [2*] Kaṇḍūru-vikhyāta-gaṇē babhūvuḥ purā munīṁdrā bahavō mahā(?) [— | ⏓ —]

3 [⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]d[2]-aika-siṁhō munīśvarō Bāhubalī babhūva [3*] Jayatu Śubhachandradēvaḥ Kaṁḍūr-ggaṇa-puṁḍarīka-vana-mārttaṁḍaś=chaṁḍa-tridaṁḍa . . . .

4 . . . . . [3]pāragō budha-vinutaḥ [4*] Nuta-Yāpanīya-saṁgha-pratīta-Kaṇḍūr ggaṇ-ābdhi-chaṁdramar=eṁd=ī kshiti-vaḷe(ḷa)yaṁ pogaḷvinam=uṁnati-vettar=Mmō(Mmau)ni[dē]-

5 [va-divya-munīṁdra]ru[4] [5*] Śrī-Māghanaṁdi-bratināthām=iḍē Kāmāri[5]-bhīm-ō[ra]ga-Vainatēyaṁ [|*] nam[n]-āvanipāḷaka-viddha-kī[r*]tti[ṁ*] si[ddh]ānta-ta[ttv]-ārṇṇava-pūrṇṇa-cha[ṁdraṁ] [6*]

6 [Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuva]n-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Pri(Pṛi)thvī-vallabhaṁ mahārājādhirāja[ṁ] paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-

7 [dēvara vijaya]-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttam=ire Kshitig=ellaṁ tanna tējaṁ tolagi belage tann=ājñe Chōḷ-ā[vanī]-

8 [— ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ o]ḷu narttisut=ire sale tann=ārppu lōkakke Kalpa-kshitijātaṁ kūḍe paṇt=aṁt=ire Kaḷi-yugadoḷu puṭṭiyuṁ Rāghav-ādi-kshitipāḷ-āṇīkaroḷu pā[⏑ ⏑]

9 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — Vikra]mādityadēva [7*] Jaḷadhi-parīta-bhūtaḷa-vadhū-ṭige kuṁtaḷad=aṁdadiṁ | manaṁ-goḷisuvud=eṁtu nōrppaḍame Kuṁtaḷa-dēśam=ava(da)kke chinna-pūgaḷa terad=aṁte raṁjis[⏑ ⏑ —]

10 [⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —]ṭṭa[6] mauktik-āvaḷiya podaḷda hāraḍa vol=irppudu nōrppaḍe Pūli līleyiṁ [8*] Mattaṁ Poṁ-gaḷasaṁgaḷiṁd=eseva dēva-gṛihaṁgaḷin=oppu-vetta vārāṁganeyarkkaḷ[— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]

---

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] It is doubtful whether this is *d* or *ṭ*.

[3] The *pā* is not quite certain.

[4] This gap is filled from l. 31 of the second Raṭṭa inscription in *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X p.

[5] [May be corrected into Kānādi—Ed.]

[6] The vowel before *ṭṭa* may be either *ā* or *o*.

11 [— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — (?)poda]]da Vēdaṁgaḷe mūrtti-goṁḍud=enip=aṁdadal-oppuva viprariṁde grāmaṁgaḷa chakravarttiy=esed-irddudu nōrppaḍe Pūli lileyiṁ ◎ [9*] Mattam=alliya viprara mahimey=e[nt=eṁdoḍe] [l*]

12 [⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑]pīṭhan=enipa śrī-Krishṇa-dēvaṁ savistaradiṁ tanna sahasram=appa pesaraṁ rūp=āg=iral*u* māḍi s-ākshara-Vēd-ākshara-jīva-maṁtra-chayamaṁ tīv=iṭṭu Pūlī-mahā-pura[— — ⏑ ⏑]

13 [— ⏑ — ⏑ esedar]=ssāsirvvar=iṁt=urvviyoḷ*u* ◎ [10*] Upam-ātītam=enippa peṁpu guṇam=audāryyaṁ chalaṁ sāhasaṁ japa-hōmaṁ niyamaṁ mah-ōnnatika-satyaṁ śaucham=ā[— ⏑ —]

14 [⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑] śāstrad=odaviṁ śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-āmbhōja-vara-prasādar=esedar=ssāsirvvar=iṁt=urvviyoḷ*u* ◎ [11*] Hari kiḷe-neleyiṁ cha(?ba)ḷisida hari-bada-beṭṭiṁ . . . . .

15 . . . . kk=eṁdu nirākaripudu sāsirvvar=uchitade chaḷita-vachanaṁ ◎ [12*] Svasty=anavarata-vinamad-Ama[ra]-rājat-ti(ki)rīṭa-kōṭi-tāṭi(ḍi)ta-Jinē[ṁ]dra-charaṇ-āraviṁda-ma . . . . . .

16 . . . . [chala]d=uttaraṁga ◎ Vīra-vidvishṭa-saṁharaṇa-pratāpa-Kārttikēya ◎ **Gaṁga-Gāṁgēya** ◎ Chapaḷa-vairi-vāhinī-saṁhanana-pratāpa-Laṁkēśvaraṁ ◎ **Kōḷāḷa-p[uravar-ādhīśvaraṁ** ◎]

17 . . . . [eṁt=eṁ]doḍe ◎ Maṁḍaḷika-jagadaḷaṁ mār-kkoṁḍara Javan=artthi-janake kaḷpa-mahi(hī)jaṁ gaṁḍara tīrtthaṁ sitagara gaṁḍaṁ mār-kkōla Bhairavaṁ **Piṭṭa-nṛipaṁ** ◎ [13*] Mattaṁ [— ⏑ ⏑ —]

18 [⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —] puṭṭidar=oppe **Permma-nṛipa** **Bijja-mahīpati** **Kīrtti-bhūpanuṁ** jeṭṭiga **Gormmanuṁ** negardda(ḷda) **Maiḷ[a*]ladēviyum**=aṁte rūpiniṁdh(d)=iṭṭaḷav=āgi [— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]

19 [— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —] ◎ [14*] [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑] liṁkad=aṁkad=ari-bhūbhujaraṁ tave koṁdu **Gūrjja-rāshṭrada** **Jayasiṁhadēva**-dharaṇīśvaranaṁ nija-rājya-lakshmiyoḷ*u* padu[⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —]

20 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —p]o-gaḷut=irppudu **Bijjala-bhūmipāḷanaṁ** ◎ [15*] Mattaṁ ◎ **Rēvaka-nirmmaḍi** **Kaṁnharadēvaṁg**=eṁt=akkan=aṁte bhū-nute **Siriy[ādēvi]** . .

21 . . . . [◎] [16*] [⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑]du dal=tāy-vaney=eṁdu **Bijjala-nṛipaṁ** chauvīsa-Tīrtthark*ka*ḷaṁ mudadiṁ māḍisi kal-vesaṁ samesi-d[— — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —]

22 [⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑] diṁ biṭṭa [⏑ — ⏑] **Beḷvaladoḷ**=iṁt=opp=ippa **Perggummīyam** ◎ [17*] Haraḷāṛubāḍakaṁsi(?) . . . . [1]

[1] Three more lines are more or less visible, but only a very few letters in them can be deciphered. In l. 23 can be read the words *Chāḷukya-chakravartti Permmāḍirāyaṇ ḳayyoḷ*, and in l. 24 *māḍisidu Māṇkya-tīrttha*. The rest of the stone is lost.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1; identical with verse 1 of inscription B. above.)

(V. 2.) There was a Gaṇadhara of the blessed Vīra, named **Sudharman,** who had cast away . . . . . . and again in this **Yāpanīya-Saṅgha,** which is beautiful in its conduct,—

(V. 3.) In the *Gaṇa* known as that of **Kaṇḍūr** there were formerly many great saints . . . . . . there was the great saint **Bāhubalī,** a lion . . .

(V. 4.) Victorious be **Śubhachandradēva,** a sun to the lotus-park of the **Kaṇḍūr-Gaṇa** . . . to the terrible *tridaṇḍa*[1] . . . renowned among sages.

(V. 5.) As the circling earth extols him as a moon to the ocean of the famous **Kaṇḍūr-Gaṇa** in the renowned **Yāpanīya-Saṅgha,** the great and holy saint **Maunidēva** rose to eminence.

(V. 6.) I adore that lord of ascetics the blest **Māghanandin,** a Garuḍa to the dreadful serpent Kāmāri,[2] whose fame is attended by bowing monarchs, and who was a full-moon to the ocean of the principles of doctrine.

(Ll. 6-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas,** king **Tribhuvanamalladēva,** was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(V. 7.) As his splendour shines radiantly over all the earth, his authority dances upon [the heads ?] of **Chōḷa** kings, his power in truth as it were bears fruit equally with the Tree of Desire for the world, and he, being born in the Kali age . . . in the company of Raghu's son and other monarchs . . . king **Vikramāditya.**

(V. 8.) How doth the land of **Kuntaḷa,** even as one looks, fascinate the mind by its semblance of a lock of curls (*on the head*) of that lady the ocean-encompassed Earth ! . . . is resplendent after the manner of golden flowers. **Pūli,** when one looks, is in its graceful aspect like a conspicuous string of . . . threaded pearls.

(L. 10.) Moreover,—

(V. 9.) **Pūli,** when one observes, appears as an emperor of towns in its graceful aspect, with golden pinnacles, with bright temples, with comely public women . . . with Brāhmaṇs so stately that the . . . Vēdas seem to be incarnate in them.

(L. 11.) Moreover, as regards the eminence of the local Brāhmaṇs :—

(V. 10.) The blessed god Kṛishṇa, who is a basis . . . having abundantly caused his thousand names to take bodily form, and richly stowed a multitude of syllables of the Vēdas, together with the Syllable [Ōm], and of vital spells, in the great town of Pūli . . . . . thus the Thousand [are eminent] on earth.[3]

(V. 11.) Dignity transcending comparison, virtue, generosity, spirit, enterprise, prayer and oblation, minor disciplines, high exaltation, truth, purity . . . . . . by possession of teaching-books, the Thousand, having the grace of boons from the lotus-feet of the blest god Kēśavāditya, are thus eminent on earth.

(V. 12 : mostly illegible.)

(Ll. 15-17.) Hail ! As regards the . . . of him who is an [impassioned bee] to the Lord Jina's lotus-feet which are beaten by the crests of the radiant diadems of ceaselessly

[1] The *tridaṇḍa* are the sins of body, speech, and mind.

[2] Usually *Kāmāri* means "the foe of Kāma," *viz.* Śiva; but the context suggests here the meaning "that enemy Kāma." [See f. n. 5 on page 202.—Ed.]

[3] The idea seems to be that the Thousand of Pūli are incarnations of the 1,000 names of Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu.

bowing celestials, who is a lintel of high-spirit, a majestic Kārttikēya in the destruction of valiant foes, a **Gāṅgēya**[1] **of the Gaṅgas**, a majestic Lord of Laṅkā in shattering the armies of unsteady foemen, the **Lord of Kōḷāḷa**, best of cities :—

(V. 13.) A *jagadaḷa* of governors, a Death-god to adversaries, a Tree of Desire to the needy, a way of salvation to warriors, a warrior against the wanton, a Bhairava of counter-arrows, is king **Piṭṭa**.

(L. 17.) Moreover,—

(V. 14.) . . . there were born with distinction king **Perma**, king **Bijja**, king **Kīrtti**, the wrestler **Gorma**, and **Maiḷaladēvi**, thus forming a group in beauty . . .

(V. 15.) As he slew hostile kings of the *liṁkad=aṁka*[2] . . . . . . the monarch **Jayasiṁhadēva** of the **Gūrjara** kingdom in his own royal fortune . . . . . [the world] praises king **Bijjala**.

(L. 20.) Moreover,—

(V. 16.) As **Rēvakanirmaḍi** was the sister of king **Kanhara**, so the world-renowned **Siriyādēvi** . . . . . .

(V. 17.) Saying : " Truly a mother-house . . . . . ", king **Bijjala**, having with joy constructed (*images of*) the twenty-four Tīrthas,[3] prepared a building of stone . . . granted the beautiful **Pergummi** in **Beḷvala**.

I.—ON NAGARASI'S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the south-western column of the four central columns in the outer *maṇḍapa* of the Pañchaliṅga temple. The face of the column is 9½ in. high and 1 ft. 5½ in. wide ; the whole of it is covered by the writing, which runs over the margin to about an inch round it. There are no sculptures. The **character** is good Kanarese with letters of about ⅝ in. high. The **language** is Old Kanarese, mostly verse.

The **purport** of the inscription is to record the construction of the column by the Śaiva divine **Nāgarāśi**, a disciple of **Jñānaśakti**—probably the same Jñānaśakti who was introduced in inscription E. above,—and to laud their merits.

TEXT.[4]

[The metres are : V. 1, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita* ; v. 2, *Kanda*.]

1 Tanag=ī Dakshiṇa-Vāraṇāśi-puru-Pūli(lī)-paurad=Aṁ-
2 dhāsuraṁ janatā-bhāsuran=ānat-āsura-ṇarēṁ-
3 dr-ārādhyan=ārādhyan=oḷpina Kāḷāmukha-
4 darppaṇaṁ nī(ni)ja-guru **śrī-Jñānaśaktīśan**=e-
5 nd=ene vidyā-nidhi **Nāgarāśiyan**=ad=iṁn=ē vaṁ-
6 ṇṇipaṁ baṇṇipaṁ || [1*] Yeḷe-veḷdiṁgaḷa kāṁti-
7 ya baḷagaman=oḷa-koṁḍa nī(ni)ja-ya-
8 śō-ruchiyiṁ bhū-vaḷayakk=anuraktateyaṁ
9 taḷedaṁ **śrī-Nāgarāśiy**=enag=idu chitraṁ || [2*] **Nā-**
10 **garāśidēvaru** māḍisidar=ī kaṁbamaṁ ||

[1] Karṇa or Bhīshma. [Rather the latter for Karṇa was not a Gāṅgēya—Ed.]
[2] See above, on inscr. B., l. 14.
[3] The Tīrthaṁkaras or Jinas.
[4] From the ink-impression.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) As he had (*for deity*) Andhāsura of this Southern Benares, the great town of **Pūli**, for his master the blest lord **Jñānaśakti**, who is resplendent among men, an *ārādhya*[1] adored by bowing monarchs of demons and men, an excellent mirror of Kāḷāmukha (*doctrine*) can a panegyrist now find words to laud the treasure of learning, **Nāgarāśi**?

(V. 2.) By the lustre of his fame, which possesses the mass of loveliness of the young moon, the blest **Nāgarāśi** has gained the affection of the circle of earth: this is singular to me.[2]

(Lines 9-10.) **Nāgarāśidēva** caused this column to be made.

J.—ON MADI-GAUDA'S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the next column to the south of the column which contains inscription I. The inscribed face is 1 ft. 2½ in. high and 1 ft. 5 in. wide. It has no sculptures. The **character** is good Kanarese, with letters about ⅝ in. high. The **language** is Kanarese, the verse being in the older dialect and the prose medieval.

The **object** is to record that the column was presented by **Mādi-Gauḍa**, son of **Bāchi-Seṭṭi** and lay-disciple of the **Nāgarāśi** mentioned in inscription I., and to sing the praises of Mādi and his master.

TEXT.[3]

[The metre is *Champakamālā.*]

1 ✠ Suvidita-bhōga-bhōginige **Bhāgale-nārige** **Bā-**
2 **chi-Seṭṭig**=udbhavisida sūnu dāna-Ravi-sūnu
3 vachō-Mbuja-sūnu sad-guṇa-pravarana
4 **Nāgarāśi**-munirājana si(śi)ksheya sūnu
5 lōkadoḷ=**Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍan**=esevaṁ
6 mahī(hi)-mastaka-vastu-nāyakaṁ ‖ [1*] Guru śara-
7 ṇu ‖ **Kavadhi(di)ya Mādi-Gauḍa** māḍ[i*]si ko-
8 ṭṭan=ī kaṁbhava ‖

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Illustrious in the world, a master of treasure at he head of the earth, is **Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍa**, who is the son born to the lady **Bhāgale**, the enjoyer of famous delights, and to **Bāchi-Seṭṭi**, and who is in bounty a son of the Sun [Karṇa], a Son of the Lotus [Brahman] in speech, a son of the teaching of the king of saints, **Nāgarāśi**, who is eminent in good qualities.

(Lines 6-8.) The Master is our refuge. **Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍa** caused this column to be made and gave it.

K.—RECORD OF MARTTANDA.

This little poem is engraved on the eastern face of the beam over the adytum of the western shrine in the temple of Bhīmēśvara. The beam, which is 2 ft. 3 in. high and 7 ft. 4 in. broad, is adorned with a good piece of **sculpture** representing Durgā dancing on the back of a

[1] The title of a class of Śaiva Brāhmaṇs.

[2] This is the rhetorical figure *vishama*: fame is conceived as white, and *anuraktatā*, literally "redness," means also "affection"; so red is produced from white.

[3] From the ink-impression.

crouching demon, with Sarasvatī on her right, another goddess on her left, and the eight Dikpālas in a row above her; the rest of the stone is filled in with figures of lions and other creatures, and on each side is a large *makara* or sea-monster, as our inscription states. The inscription runs along the bottom of the beam, covering an area 2 in. high and 6 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad. The **character** is Kanarese, of about the same date as Nos. I. and J.; the letters are generally between $\frac{3}{8}$ in. and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The **language** is Old Kanarese verse. The *ḻ* appears in *tīḻchidano* (l. 1), which seems to be an error for *tīrchchidano*, and is replaced by *ḷ* in *pogaḷad=* (l. 2). *Āvoṁ* (l. 2) is archaic.

The **object** of the inscription is to celebrate the beauty of the archway above mentioned, on the beam of which it is engraved. We learn that the archway was constructed at the instance of **Jñānaśakti**, whom we have already encountered in Nos. E. and I. above. The third verse praises the virtues of **Mārttaṇḍa**, who may possibly have been a disciple of this sage; his connection with the work is not clear, but conceivably he may have caused the inscription to be added some time after the construction of the archway.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are: V. 1, *Mahāsragdharā*; v. 2, *Pṛithvī*; v, 3, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita.*]

1 Idan=atyānandadinda[ṁ] samedano Kamaḷa-prōdbhavaṁ Viśvakarmmaṁ mudadiṁ mēṇ=int=idaṁ tīḻch[i]dano[2] makara-yugm-ānvitaṁ tōraṇaṁ gaṭṭidanō mēṇ pratyag-āśā-patiy=idan=ene sarvv-ōrvvi-śōbhā-vibhūty-āspadam=int=ī **Jñānaśakti**-vrati sam[e]yisida[ṁ] . [— ◡ — —]ḷpad=entuṁ || [1*] Anūnatara-Padmasaṁbhava-Bhav-Ā[b]janābh-ārchchegaḷ manōharataraṁgaḷ=āgi [ma]ka-

2 ra-dvayaṁ śōbhey[i*]ṁ manaṁ-goḷise māḍid=ī makara-tōraṇaṁ dhātriyoḷ vinūtataram=iṁt=idaṁ pogaḷad=irppan=āvoṁ gaḍaṁ || [2*] Hara-pād-āṁbuja-shaṭpadaṁ [◡ ◡ ◡ —] vār(d?)-ibha-paṁchānanaṁ durit-ōrvvīdhara-vajran-uj[j*]vaḷa-[◡ — — — ◡]rat[n]ā[karaṁ ◡ ◡ —]ī rati-dūran-ishṭa-janat-ādhāraṁ kaḷā-kōvidaṁ guru-bhak[t]aṁ niyam-ōktan=eṁbudan=enal **Mārttaṇ[ḍ]an**=ēṁ dhanyanō || [3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Has the Lotus-born (Brahman) in exceeding delight fashioned this, or has Viśvakarman with joy executed this, or has the lord of the western region [Varuṇa] constructed this archway adorned with a pair of sea-monsters? Such a site of the magnificence of the whole earth's splendours is that which this ascetic **Jñānaśakti** has caused to be fashioned . . . in every way.

(V. 2.) This archway (*adorned*) with sea-monsters, which has been made so that the very numerous images of the Lotus-born (Brahman), Bhava (Śiva), and (*the god*) of the Navel-lotus (Vishṇu) are most charming and the pair of sea-monsters with their elegance delight the mind, is very famous on earth: so who indeed is there that does not praise it?

(V. 3.) As one may state the fact that he is a bee to Hara's lotus-feet, a lion to the elephants . . . disputants (?), a thunderbolt to the mountains of sin, a jewel-mine of brilliant . . . remote from carnal love, a support to agreeable persons, skilled in arts, devoted to his master, holding speech by rule, how fortunate is **Mārttaṇḍa**!

[1] From the ink-impression.

[2] Apparently meant for *tīrchchidano*.

L.—OF THE REIGN OF BIJJALA: SAKA 1084.

This inscription is engraved on a black stone which was found on the road outside the house known as the Virakta-maṭha, and was placed by Dr. Fleet for security in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Pañchaliṅga temple. The height of the stone is 5 ft. 2 in. and the width 1 ft. 9½ in. The rounded top bears **sculptures**, *viz.* in the centre a standing Vishṇu, facing full front; to his proper right, a kneeling Garuḍa facing full front; to the left of Vishṇu, a cow with calf; over them, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Under this is an inscribed area, 3 ft. 5 in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. wide. The **character** is fairly good Kanarese of the period, well preserved. The average height of the letters is about ½ in. The **language** is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect in the prose, with two opening stanzas and a final verse in Sanskrit. The *upadhmānīya* appears in *Vishṇuḥ=p°*, l. 2. The *ḻ* is not preserved: we find *nnegardu*, l. 11, and on the other hand *ēḻgeyoḷ*, l. 25, *hāḷa*, l. 39, and *biḷguṁ*, l. 47. The treatment of initial *p* fluctuates: we have it changed in the prose to *h* in *hāḷa hasugey=*, l. 39, *hittilalu* l. 43, *harada-*, l. 43, *hannondaṁ*, l. 44, while in other cases it is preserved. On the genitive *°shṭa-śishṭara* (l. 19; the same in inscr. M., l. 25) see my note in *Journ. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1918, p. 105.

The **record** refers itself in ll. 4-6 to the reign of the **Kaḷachurya** king **Tribhuvanamalla-dēva (Bijjala)**, and then proceeds to sing in verse the praises of **Pūli**, the Thousand Mahājanas thereof, and the Hundred of Śiveyagēri forming part of them (ll. 6-12); and it celebrates the excellences of a family in the latter parish, giving the following pedigree (ll. 12-33):—

Māḷapayya, of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.
|
Kāḷimayya, *m.* **Rēviyakka**
|
Dāsirāja, *m.* **Oḷajale** and **Bhāgale**
|
Mahādēva — **Māḷayya**

We then learn that on the given date Dāsirāja restored the decayed temple of **Kēśava (Vishṇu)** of Nāgarakhaṇḍi, reconsecrated it, and bought from the Thousand of Pūli some **land** which he assigned for its maintenance (ll. 33 ff.).

The **date** of this record is given on ll. 33-34 as: Śaka 1084 (expired), the cyclic year Chitrabhānu; Pushya bahula 2, Sōmavāra (Monday); the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*. This is nearly but not quite regular The given *tithi* corresponded to **Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1162**; it began about 13 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, and ended about 12. h. 58 m. after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, with which it was properly connected. The *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* took place about 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, while the *tithi* bahula 2 was still current.

The **places** mentioned are, besides Pūli, **Kāḷāṁjana** (*i.e.* Kālañjara, on which see *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 469), l. 4, the **Koṭṭaja-vāvi**, l. 7 (apparently a pond in Pūli), **Śiveyagēri**, l. 12, **Nāgarakhaṇḍi**, l. 35, **Kokkuḷigēri**, l. 39, and **Kattiyagēri**, l. 40. On the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy of the Banavāsi province see *I. A.*, Vol XIX, p. 144, and above, Vol. V, p. 213 ff.

TEXT.[1]

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 2, 17, *Anushṭubh*; v. 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 10, 11, 14-16, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; vv. 5-9, 12, *Kanda*; v. 13, *Utpalamālā*]

1 [Ja]yaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=Vārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārnna(rṇṇa)vaṁ [|*] dakshiṇ-ōṁ(n)nata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhu-

[1] From the ink-impression.

2 [vanaṁ vap]uḥ (symbol) [1*] Jaḷē Vishṇu[s*] sthaḷē Vishṇur=Vvishṇuḥ=parvvata-mastakē [|*] jvāḷā-māḷā-kuḷē Vishṇus=sarvvaṁ Vishṇu-
3 [ma]yaṁ jagat || [2*]
4 Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabhaṁ **Kāḷāṁjana-puravar-ādhīśvaraṁ** ḍamaruga-tū-
5 ryya-nirgghōshaṇaṁ **Kaḷachuryya-bhujabaḷa-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=utta-
6 [r]-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire || Rām-ārā-ma-vikīrnna(rṇṇa)diṁ nikhiḷa-dēv-ānīka-
7 diṁ Ri(Ṛi)g-Yajus-Sām-Ātharvvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-vidita-vyāpāra-chāturyyariṁ śrīmat-Koṭ-ṭaja-vāviyiṁ ke-
8 regaḷiṁ kāntā-jan-ānīkadiṁd=ē mātō sale Pūli līle-vaḍegu[ṁ] pū-dōṁṭad=oṁd-ōḷiyiṁ || [3*] Inanaṁ tē-
9 jadoḷ=Iṁdranaṁ vibhavadoḷ=Chāṇā(ṇa)kyaṇa(na)ṁ ni(nī)tiyoḷ=Manuvaṁ chāru-charitra-doḷ=jaḷari(dhi)yaṁ gāṁbhīryyado-
10 ḷ dhairyyadoḷ=Kanak-ādrīṁdraman=eyde pōlpar=enip=ī sāsirvvara khyātiyoḷ-mma(ma)nuja[r*]kkaḷ=paḍipāṭi [p]ā-
11 saṭi samaṁ-barpp=aṁnar=ār=ddhātriyoḷ || [4*] Alli || Orvvorvvorvvar[1]=ppāribhāvise sarvvajña[r*]=nnegarda Vē[da-Śā]-
12 straṁgaḷoḷ=eṁd=urvvītaḷam=abhivarnni(rṇṇi)se nūrvvar=śrī-Śiv[e*]yagēriyoḷ=karam=ese-dar || [5*] Avaroḷ || Bhāra-
13 dvāja-kuḷ-āgraṇi chāru-charitraṁ vivēki vāchaspati Kaṁsāri-pada-kamaḷa-bhṛiṁgan=udāraṁ prabhu
14 **Māḷapayya**-perggaḍey=esedaṁ || [6*] Ā vibhuviṁg=udi(da)yisidaṁ Śrī-vanitā-priya-tanūjan=aṁnaṁ rū-
15 piṁ bhū-vaḷaya-prastutyanoḷ=āvaṁ dore **Kāḷimayya**-sachiv-ōttamanoḷ || [7*] Ātana kula-vanit-ō-
16 ttame Sīteg=Arundhatige Ratige peṁpiṁ guṇadiṁ khyātiyin=atiśayam=enipaḷ=nītiya kaṇi **Rēviyakka**-
17 n=ene mechchadar=ār || [8*] Ā daṁpatigaḷg=ogedaṁ Vēdānta-priyan=Ananta-bhaktaṁ pesariṁ śrī-**Dāsirājan**=uṁ(n)-
18 natan=ādaṁ vikhyāta-kīrtti mārttaṁḍa-nibhaṁ || [9*] Charitaṁ san-muni-mūḷa-sūtram=aṟitaṁ Vāg-dēvatā-maṁga-
19 ḷ-ābharaṇaṁ kīrtti dig-aṁganā-kusuma-vallī-dāmav=ārpp=ishṭa-śishṭara bayt=iṭṭa suvarnna(rṇṇa)m=eṁdoḍ=itara-
20 r=ppōlv-aṁnar=ār=ssad-guṇ-ōtkaranaṁ perggaḍe-**Dāsirājanan**=udāra-śrī-sur-ōrvvīja-naṁ || [10*] Sahajaṁ satyav=u-
21 dāram=anvaya-guṇaṁ svābhāvikaṁ sad-guṇa-grahaṇaṁ nīti-nisarggam=ātma-kula-dharmmaṁ chāru-chā-
22 ritram=ishṭa-hit-ārtthaṁ nija-jīvitavyam=aḷa-vaṭṭ=ā maṁtra-śakti-trayaṁ saha-jātaṁ tanag=eṁdaḍ=iṁ piri-
23 yar=ār=śrī-**Dāsirājaṁ** baraṁ || [11*] Ratiy=aṁnaḷu rūpiṁ Bhāratiy=aṁnaḷ=vāg-vilāsadiṁ saushṭha-
24 vadiṁ kshitiy=aṁnaḷ=**Dāsiya** kula-satiy=**Oḷajale**-nāriy=antu nōntarum=oḷarē || [12*] Kshīra-samudra-
25 manthanade puṭṭida Lakshmiya rūpin=ēlgeyoḷ=Gauriyoḷ=oṁdi ninda patı-bhaktiya permmeyoḷ=iṁ-

[1] Read *Orv-orvvar=*.

26 pu-vetta Vāg-nāriya vāg-vilāsa-tatiyoḷ=neṟe pōrve(lve)ge-vaṁdaḷ=e[ṁ*]doḍ=iṁn=ār=eṇe **Dāsirājana** ma-

27 nōrame **Bhāgaleg=ī** dharitriyoḷ || [13*] Tat-sutar || Gṛihadoḷ Lakshmi mah-ōtsavaṁ berasu

28 niṁdaḷ=taṁna tad-vaktradoḷ=mahim-āḷaṁkṛitey=appa Vāg-vanitey=iṟdaḷ[1]=taṁna tat-kīrtti Sētu-Himā-

29 drīṁdradoḷ=eyde tīvidaḷ=enal=sāmānyan=āg-iṟdanē[2] **Mahadēva-prabhu Dāsirāja-tanayaṁ**

30 saujanya-ratnākaraṁ || [14*] Dhruvan=aṁnaṁ dhṛitiyoḷ=Sarōjabhavan=aṁnaṁ vāg-miyoḷ=cheṁna Mādhavan=aṁ-

31 naṁ nija-mūrttiyoḷ=Khacharan=aṁna dānadoḷ=Kuṁbhasaṁbhavan=aṁnaṁ sucharitra-doḷ=jaḷadhiy=aṁ-

32 naṁ gumpinoḷ=bhāvisal=saman=ār[3]=pperggaḍe-**Dāsirāja**-tanayaṁ **Māḷayyanoḷ**=māna-

33 [va]r || [15*] Svasti [|*] Śrīmat*u*-**Śaka-varsha 1084neya Chitrabhānu-saṁvatsarada Pushya-**

34 **bahuḷa 2 Sōmavāradand**=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāntiya divya-tithiyalu śrīmat-pe-

35 rggaḍe **Dāsirājaṁ** Nāgarakhaṇḍiya śrī-Kēśava-dēvālayaṁ jirnnis[4]=iralu jirnn[5]-ōddhāra-

36 maṁ punaḥ-pratishṭhe sahitaṁ māḍisiy=ā dēvara khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrnn(rṇṇ)-ōddhārakkaṁ ni-

37 tya-nivēdya-Chaitra-pavitra-nandā-dīvige pūjāriya jīvita-nimittav=āgi śrīma-

38 n-mah-āgrahāraṁ Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁgaḷa[6] divya-

39 śrī-pāda-padmaṁgaḷaṁ dravya-p[ū]rvvakam=ārādhisi Kokkuḷigēriya hāḷa hasu-

40 gey=oḷage Kattiyagēriyiṁ paḍuvalu Gaḷatige-geṟyiṁ baḍagalu Chikkaṇika-

41 ra⌣ dēvara keyyiṁ mūḍalu mattariṁge paṇav=ondaṟa lekkadiṁd=aṟu-vaṇamaṁ ti(tī)ṟuv=a-

42 nt=āg=ire paḍedu biṭṭa mattar=āṟu | Ā dēvarige Kaḷasa(śa)vaḷḷigēriya baḍagaṇa koppala

43. hittilalu harada-vaneyiṁ mūḍalu bāḍa-vaneyiṁ paḍuvaṇa meyya sthaḷada nivēśana-

44 d=agalav=e[k*]-kayi nīḷa hannondaṁ mattaṁ sāsirvvaraṁ hiraṇya-pūrvvakav=ārādhisi sarvva-nama-

45 śya(sya)v=āg=ire paḍedu biṭṭar [|*] Int=ī maṭhamumaṁ keyyumaṇ=āv=avāntara-vasate-nyāyaṁ-

46 gaḷu puṭṭidaḍaṁ sāsirvvaruṁ sa[d*]dharmmadiṁ pratipāḷipar || Initaṁ niśchayam=āge bhāvi-

47 suvud=ī dharmmakk=e(a)pāyak[k*]e varppaṇ=amōghaṁ sa-kuḷaṁ nigōda-taḷadoḷ=bīḷguṁ mahā-pāta-

48 kaṁ manam-old=int=idan=eyde rakshisuva dēvaṁg=akkum=āyushya-varddhanam=atyūrjjita-

49 lakshmī nirmmaḷa-yaśaṁ bhadraṁ śubhaṁ maṁgaḷaṁ || [16*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta va-

50 sundharāṁ | shashṭir(shṭiṁ)=vva[r*]sha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ [17*]

---

[1] *Irddaḷ* would be more regular. [2] We should expect *irddanē*.

[3] The engraver first wrote *savaṇuṛ*, and then corrected it to *saman=ār*.

[4] Read *jīrṇṇis-*. [5] Read *jīrṇṇ-*.

[6] The *ga* was first omitted by the engraver, and afterwards added, partly on and partly below the line.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)

(V. 2.) Vishṇu is in the waters, Vishṇu is on land, Vishṇu is on the mountain-top, Vishṇu is on the multitude of lines of fire: the whole universe is composed of Vishṇu.

(Lines 4-6.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, lord of **Kāḷaṁjana,** best of cities, attended by the sound of *ḍamaruga* drums and (*other*) musical instruments, the **Kaḷachurya Emperor,** strong of arm, **Tribhuvanamalladēva,** was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasances, with the company of all the gods with men skilled in renowned familiarity with the lore of the Ṛik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvaṇa Vēdas, with the blest Koṭṭaja well, with ponds, not to speak of companies of fair women, (*and*) an unbroken line of flower-gardens, **Pūli** in truth possesses a charming aspect.

(V. 4.) What men on earth are such as to bear comparison with the renown of these Thousand, who in sooth resemble the Sun in brilliance, Indra in majesty, Chāṇakya in policy, Manu in beautiful conduct, the ocean in profundity, the great Golden Mountain in firmness?

(Line 11.) In that (*town*),—

(V. 5.) While the earth lauds them by saying that each of them, if one considers, is omniscient in the illustrious lore of the Vēdas, the Hundred in the blest Śiveyagēri are verily distinguished.

(L. 12.) Among them,—

(V. 6.) A leader of the Bhāradvāja race, beautiful of conduct, discreet, a lord of speech, a bee to the lotus-feet of Kaṁsa's foe [Kṛishṇa], generous, the noble sheriff **Māḷapayya** was eminent.

(V. 7.) To this noble man was born (*a son*) like in form to the dear son of the lady Fortune: who is peer to the great minister **Kāḷimayya,** renowned in the circuit of the earth?

(V. 8.) His excellent high-born wife **Rēviyakka,** a mine of propriety, may be said to surpass Sītā, Arundhati, and Rati in eminence, virtue, (*and*) renown: who does not praise (*her*) in these terms?

(V. 9.) To this couple was born a lover of the Vēdānta, a votary of Ananta, by name the blest **Dāsirāja**; he is exalted, renowned in glory, like the Sun.

(V. 10.) His conduct is a basic rule for worthy saints, his learning a festal ornament for the Goddess of Speech, his fame a festoon of flowering creeping-plants for the ladies of the regions of space, his power (*like*) the gold which agreeable and cultured men have laid in deposit[1]: hence what other men are such as to compare with the sheriff **Dāsirāja,** a crowd of good qualities, a celestial tree of noble fortune?

(V. 11.) Inborn truthfulness, the generous virtues of his lineage, congenital appreciation of good qualities, natural instinct for propriety, the religious practices of his race, beautiful conduct, his own life devoted to the benefit of friends, the congenital attendant triad of powers of counsel being his, who are superior to the blest **Dāsirāja**?

(V. 12.) Do any even observe religious vows like the lady **Oḷajaḷe, Dāsi's** high-born wife, who is like Rati in form, like Bhāratī in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness?

[1] This seems to mean that his power is like the property of Brāhmaṇs, in that it was not liable to be diminished by adverse occupation or limitations (*Nārada-smṛiti* i. 81, *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* ix. 12 and 21), and that it could not be taken from him (*Nārada-s*° xviii. 49); or that it enabled him to acquire boundless worlds, like the gift of property to Brāhmaṇs (*Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* II. x. 26, 1).

(V. 13.) As she fully equalled the high degree of beauty of Lakshmī born from the churning of the Milk Ocean, the greatness of wifely devotion present in Gaurī, (*and*) the series of graces of speech of the charming lady Vāk, who on this earth now are peer to **Dāsirāja's** beloved **Bhāgale**?

(L. 27.) Their sons:—

(V. 14.) Fortune abode with great delight in his house; the lady Vāk adorned with magnificence resided in his mouth; his goodly fame completely filled (*every place*) from Sētu to the great Snowy Mountains: hence was **Dāsirāja's** son lord **Mahadēva**,[1] that gem-mine of nobility, an ordinary man?

(V. 15.) Like Dhruva[2] in firmness, like the Lotus-born (Brahman) in eloquence, like the comely Mādhava in his form, like the Sun in bounty, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in right conduct, like the ocean in profundity, when one considers—what men are equal to the sheriff **Dāsirāja's** son **Māḷayya**?

(Ll. 33-34.) On **Monday, the 2nd** of the dark fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic **year Chitrabhānu, the 1084th** (*year*) of the blessed **Śaka era,** on the holy lunar day of the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*,—

(Ll. 34-42.) As the temple of Kēśava of Nāgarakhaṇḍi was falling into decay, the sheriff **Dāsirāja,** having restored the decayed parts and reconsecrated it, adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pūli and for the restoration of broken, burst, and decayed (*masonry of the temple*) of that god and for the regular oblations, *Chaitra-pavitra* rites,[3] perpetual lamps, and stipend for the officiating priest, purchased and granted six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri, on the west of Kattiyagēri, on the north of the field of Gaḷatige, (*and*) on the east of (*the sanctuary of*) the Chikkaṇikas' god, on which is to be paid an *aṟu-vaṇa* at the rate of one *paṇa* on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 42-46.) Having again adored the Thousand with (*offering of*) gold, they purchased and granted to the same god a dwelling one cubit in width and eleven in length in the *meyya sthaḷa* north of Kaḷaśavaḷḷigēri, east of the traders' house at the backyard of the town-house, as a *sarva-namasya* holding. So the Thousand shall religiously protect this monastery and field in respect of any minor claims to possession that may arise.

(V. 16.) Realise this with conviction: the great sinner who comes to overthrow this pious foundation will inevitably sink to levels of (*degraded*) rebirth, together with his race; so to the king who cheerfully guards it in due wise shall accrue increase of vitality, most brilliant fortune, stainless fame, luck, welfare, happiness.

(V. 17: a common Sanskrit formula.)

M.—OF THE REIGN OF BIJJALA: SAKA 1084.

This inscription is on a black stone built into the northern wall on the inside of the *maṇḍapa* of the Agastyēśvara temple (see above). The slab is 4 ft. 10 in. high and 2 ft. 2 in. wide. The topmost compartment bears the following **sculptures**: in the centre, Vishṇu reclining on a serpent with seven hoods, with Brahman seated above him on the lotus arising from his navel, and to his proper left Lakshmī seated at his feet; below Vishṇu, Garuḍa; to the proper right of Vishṇu a goddess (Earth or Sarasvatī?),[4] seated and facing full front; to his proper right, a cow and calf; over these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below these is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 1 in. high and 2 ft. 1 in. wide. It is in good preservation. The **character** is fair Kanarese of the period, the letters being from ⅜ in. to ½ in. high. The **language** is Old Kanarese, with an introductory and a final verse in Sanskrit. The Kanarese verses are richer in vocabulary

[1] By metrical license for *Mahādēva*.

[2] See *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, I. xi.-xii.

[3] See *I. A.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

[4] [V. 2 of this inscription would indicate that she is the Earth-goddess.—Ed.]

and more skilful in technique than most of the kind. The *ḷ* is not preserved : it appears as *r* in *erttaṁdu* (l. 3), *nega[r*]d=* (l. 4), and *arbhbh=* (l. 16, for *aḷvu*), and as *ḷ* in *pēḷ* (l. 16), *pēḷrad=* (l. 18), *ēḷgeyiṁ* (ll. 20 f.), *kaḷalchuvan* (l. 31), *baḷaldu* (l. 33), *hāḷa* (ll. 40, 44), and *bīḷguṁ* (l. 48). The *p* is changed to *h* in *halgaḷaṁ* (l. 31, verse), *hōheyaṁ* (l. 32, verse 19, for *hūheyaṁ*), *hun* (l. 33, verse 20), *hāḷa hasugey=* (ll. 40, 44 f.) ; elsewhere it is kept, even in prose. As to lexicography, we may notice *dharmmēta* (l. 40)[1] and *śata* (l. 41).

The record, after preliminaries of the usual sort, eulogises Pūli, its Thousand Mahājanas, and the Hundred of Śiveyagēri (ll. 4-13). It then gives in ll. 13-31 the pedigree of the same family which figures in inscription L. above, but with some more details : putting the two together, we have the genealogy :—

Āditya, of Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*
|
Dēvapayya
|
Sōma
|
Māḷapayya
|
Kāḷidāsa I (Kāḷimayya), *m.* **Rēviyakka**
|
Dāsirāja, *m.* **Oḷajale** and **Bhāgale**
|
Mahādēva — **Māḷapayya (Māḷayya)** — **Kāḷidāsa II**

Two vigorous verses then introduce king **Bijjala** (ll. 31-34). Next comes prose referring the record to his reign and giving him full regal titles[2] (ll. 34-37), followed by tho date (ll. 37-38) and details of some lands purchased and granted by **Dāsirāja** for the upkeep of the Nāgara-Bhāvi and some other local establishments and for the expenses of the worship of the Agastyēśvara temple (ll. 38 ff.).

The **date**, given on ll. 37-38, is identical with that of inscription L.

The **places** mentioned are, besides Pūli, **Śiveyagēri** (l. 13), **Kāḷāṁjana** (l. 35 : see above, on inscr. L.), **Nāga-vāvi** (l. 39), **Kattiyagēri** (l. 41), **Nāgarakhaṁḍi** (l. 41 : see on inscr. L.), **Yēraṁḍagēri** (l. 42), **Kokkuḷigēri** (l. 44), and **Jaṁnavegeṟe** (l. 47). The Nāga-vāvi or "Nāgas' Well" is the same as the Nāgara-Bhāvi, on the side of which the Agastyēśvara temple stands (see above). Yēraṁḍagēri (*i.e.* Ēraṁḍa-gēri, the "street of the castor-oil plants") seems to be another of the parishes of Pūli.

TEXT.[3]

[The metres are as follows : Vv. 1, 22, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6, 12, 13, 16-18, *Kanda* ; vv. 10, 19, 20, *Champakamālā*.]

1 Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=Vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārnna(rṇṇa)vaṁ | dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [|| 1*]

[1] This denotes some kind of religious establishment, and may possibly be derived from *dharm-āyata* (=*āyatana*).

[2] See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 475.

[3] From the ink-impression.

2 Kshīr-āṁbhōdhiyoḷ=ipp=Ananta-śayanaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Kaustubh-ādhāraṁ taṁna samakshadoḷ=Kamaḷeyuṁ Bhū-kānte-

3 yuṁ nābhiyoḷ=sār-āṁśaṁ-baḍed=Abjagarb[h]bha-sahitaṁ śrī-Pūlig=erttaṁdu[1] nind-ārādhyaṁ karuṇā-ras-ārdra-hṛidayaṁ ra-

4 kshikke sāsirvvaraṁ || [2*] Ant=enisi nega[ḷ*]d=agrahāra-chūḍāmaṇiya vikhyātiy=eṁt=appud=eṁdaḍe [|*] Samasta-kaḷegaḷge ni-

5 ḷaya-sthānamuṁ viḷāsakk=āvāsamuṁ śṛiṁgārakke janma-bhūmiyuṁ vasanta-samayakk=ikke-dāṇamum=enisidud=aṁ-

6 tum=alladeyuṁ || Rām-ārāma-vikīrnna(rṇṇa)diṁ nikhiḷa-dēv-ānīkadiṁ Ri(Ṛi)g-Yajuḥ-Sām-Ātharvvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-nivaha-prakhyāta-sā-

7 sirvvariṁ Kām-ōddāma-gajaṁgaḷ=ant=ir=eseva[2] vārāṁgan-ānīkadiṁ śrīmat-Pūli nirantaraṁ sogayikuṁ sat-sēvya-saṁpattiyiṁ || [3*]

8 Inanaṁ tējadoḷ=Iṁdranaṁ vibhavadoḷ Chāṇā(ṇa)kyanaṁ nītiyoḷ=Manuvaṁ chāru-chari[tra]doḷ jaḷadhiyaṁ gāṁbhīryyadoḷ

9 dhairyyadoḷ Kanak-ādrīṁdraman=eyde pōlpar=enip=ī sāsirvvara khyātiyoḷ=manujarkkaḷ=paḍipāṭi pāsaṭi samaṁ-barpp=aṁna-

10 r=ār=ddhātriyoḷ || [4*] Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārat-ādi-Manu-chāritraṁgaḷa vyāptiyoḷ=sār-āsāra-vichāra-tarkka-nichaya-pra-

11 [khyā*]ta-śāstraṁgaḷoḷ śūrar=Vvēda-samūhadoḷ=sakaḷa-tat[t*]va-jñāna-saṁpattiyiṁd=ārādhyar=ddhareg=eṁdaḍiṁ piriyar=ār=sāsirvvarind=urvvi-

12 yoḷ || [5*] Avar=oḷage || Kavi-gamaki-vādi-vāgmigaḷa vivēkada deseyan=aṟiyar=āśrita-be(ja)nam=utsavadiṁ bēḍalk=īvar=ssaviḷā[si]-

13 gaḷ=alte Śiveyagēriya nūrvvaru || [6*] Avar=oḷage || Bhāradvāja-kuḷ-āṁbara-dyumaṇi tējaḥ-puṁjadiṁ permmeyiṁ kshīr-āṁbhōnidhi [dh]ai-

14 ryyad=uṁnatikeyiṁdaṁ Maṁdaraṁ śauryyadoḷ śrī-Rāmaṁ paramārttha-niśchayadin=ā Kaṁjāsanaṁ tān=enalk=āruṁ pōlvege barpparē bu-

15 dha-jana-prastutyan=Ādityanoḷ || [7*] Tat-suta || Śrīraṁgaṁg=atibhaktan=oppuv=amaḷ-āchāraṁ yaśō-vallabhaṁ pārāvārame mērey=ā-

16 d=avaṇi(ni)jarkkaḷg=eyde chakrēśvaraṁ sāra-grāhi samasta-dēśadavargaḷg=arbhbh(rbb)[3]=ikk=iraḷu rakshipaṁ dhīr-ōdāttan=enippa Dēvapayanoḷ=pēḷ=ā-

17 r=ssamaṁ-barpparē || [8*] Tat-suta || Dhuradoḷ=baṁd=uṟad=oḍḍi niṁd=ari-baḷa-brātakke kayy=āntu baṁd=ered=artthi-prakarakke vāra-vanit-ānīka-

18 kke gaṁbhīra-sāgaran=ī p[e*]rggaḍe Sōman=ānt=iṟiyal=īyal=sōlisal=pēḷvaḍ=ā Hari-putraṁ Hari-putran=ā Hari-sutaṁ tān=enda-

19 ḍ=ēṁ(ē) vaṇṇipaṁ || [9*] Tat-suta || Vara-vanitā-janaṁgaḷa manaṁ Kusum-āstra-śarakke sad-budh-ōtkara-kara-paṁkajaṁ bahu-suvarṇṇa-chayakk=adhinātha-maṁ-

20 diraṁ sthiratara-rājya-lakshmig=eḍey=ādavu rūpa-viḷāsad=ēḷgeyiṁ nirupa[ma*]-dāna-diṁ pati-hit-ōṁ(na)natiyiṁ prabhu-Māḷapayyaniṁ[4] || [10*] Tat-su-

21 ta || Akaḷaṁkaṁ tanuv=āgi varttisuva Chaṁdraṁ kāntiy=oṁd=ēḷgeyiṁ sakaḷa-vyāpakan=āgi jāḍyatanamaṁ biṭṭ=iṟda[5] Padmāsanaṁ sukavīṁdratva-

---

[1] In classical spelling *eḷ-taṁdu*.

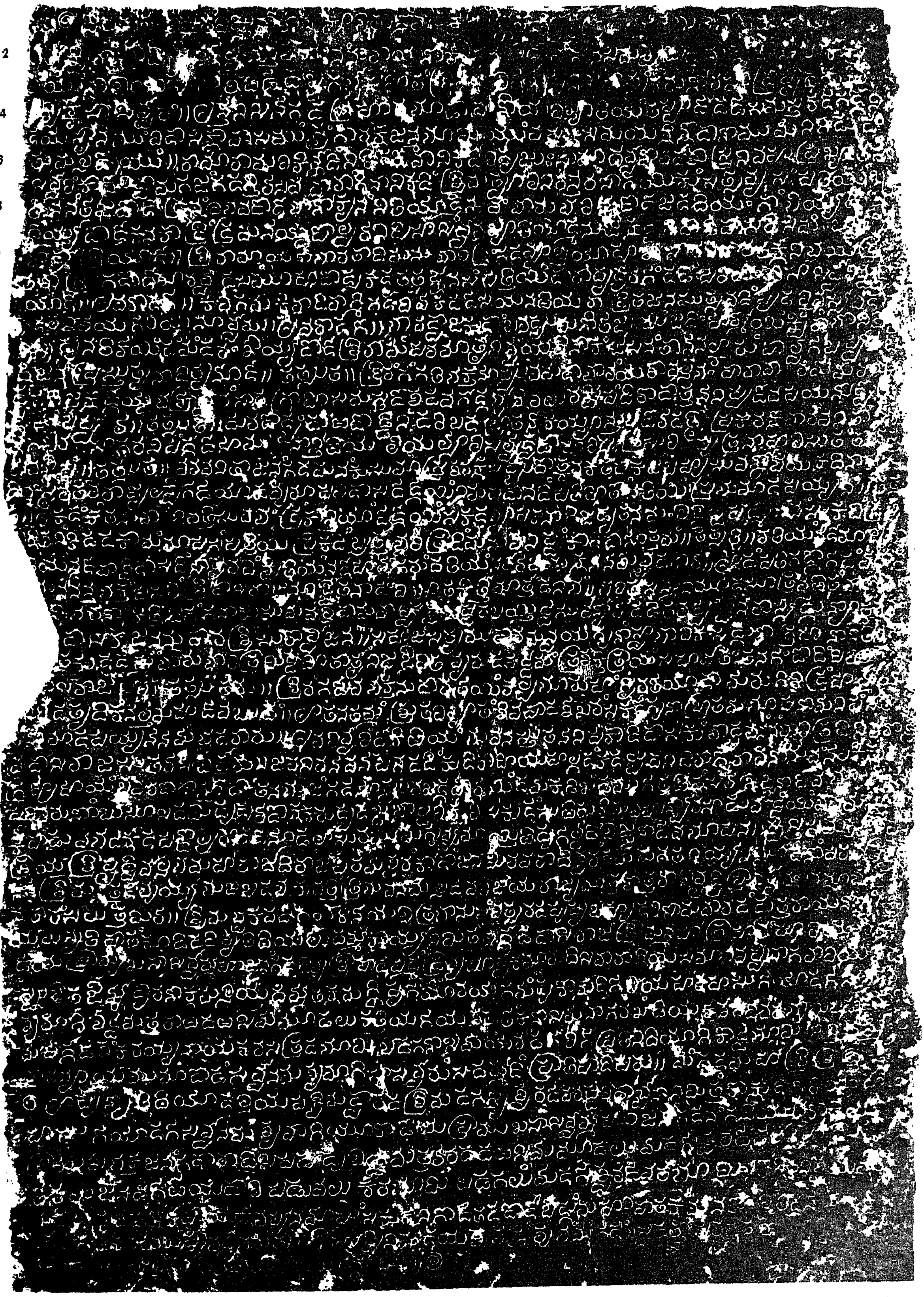
[2] Apparently to be corrected to *esev=ā*.

[3] Apparently for *aḷṟu* (or *arcu*.—Ed.), "harm."

[4] Perhaps a slip for *Māḷapayyana*.

[5] *Irdda* would be more usual.

Huli Stone Inscription of the reign of Bijjala : Saka 1084.



F. W. THOMAS

SCALE ·23

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, COLL.

22 [d]ol=Īśanim kidada Kāmam rūpa-sampatti(tti)yim prakaṭam-betta charitradim Manuv=enippam **Kāḷidās-** ōttamam ‖ [11*] Tat-sati ‖ **Ratiy**=amnal rūpi(pi)m Bhā-

23 [ra]tiy=amnal vāg-vilāsadim saushṭhavadim kshitiy=amnal permmeg=Arumdhatiy=amnal **Rēviyakkan**=ene mechchadar=ār ‖ [12*] Ā dampatigaḷg=ogedam Vēdānta-

24 [pri]yan=Ananta-bhaktam pesarim śrī-**Dāsirājan**=ūrjjitan=ādam vikhyāta-kīrtti mārttamḍa-nibham ‖ [13*] Charitam san-muni-mūla-sūtrav=aritam Vāg-dē[va]tā-

25 [mamga]ḷ-ābharaṇam kīrtti dig-amganā-kusuma-valli-dāmav=ārpp=ishṭa-śishṭara bayt=iṭṭa suvarṇṇav=emdaḍ=itarar=ppōlv=amnar=ār=ssad-guṇ-ōtkaranam

26 [perggaḍe]-**Dāsirājanan**=udāra-śrī-sur-ōrvvījanam ‖ [14*] Sahajam satyam=udāram=anvaya-guṇam svābhāvikam sad-guṇa-grahaṇam nīti-nisa-

27 [rggam=ā]tma-kuḷa-dharmmam chāru-chāritram=ishṭa-hit-ārttham nija-jīvitavyam=aḷavaṭṭ=ā mamtra-śakti-trayam saha-jātam tanag=emdoḍim piriyar=ā-

28 [r=śrī-**D**]**āsirājam**-baram ‖ [15*] Tat-sutaru ‖ Śrīramga-dēva-bhaktan=udārateyim kalpa-bhūruham sthirateyoḷ=ā Mēru-girimdram permmeyo-

29 [ḷ]=ārimd=atyadhikan=alte **Mahadēva-budham** ‖ [16*] Ātana tammam śruta-vikhyātam Śiva-pāda-śēkharam sakaḷa-guṇa-brātame bhūshaṇam=enipam nītiya

30 kaṇi **Māḷapayyan**=ene mechchadar=ār*u* ‖ [17*] Avar=irvvarimde kiriyam bhuvana-stutan=enipa **Kāḷidāsam** Kumbhōdbhavan=amnam chāritradin=ivar=opp[u]-

31 va **Dāsirāja**-sutar=esed=irddar*u* ‖ [18*] Javan=ivan=ēvan=emban=adaṭim Kuḷikāhiya halgaḷam kaḷalchuvan=idir=āge Rāvaṇanuvam nelak=ikkuvan=U-

32 gra-hō(hū)heyam[1] bha(ba)varadoḷ[2]=āntoḍ=ātana bhujamgaḷan=oppuva khaḷga-dhāreyimdame kaḍi-khamḍam=āge ṭarivam sale **Bijjaṇadēva-bhūbhuja** ‖ [19*]

33 Pariv=aruṇ-āmbu sūsida miduḷ=pared=okka karuḷ=baḷaldu jōld=ari-kari-samkuḷam suṛidu kittuva huṇ=beras=āḍuv=aṭṭey=im charam=eseya-

34 lke pāḍuva bhaṭarkkaḷa paṇ-daleyimde nōḍal=āsuramum=agurvvum=āyt=iṛidu geld=eḍe **Bijjaṇadēva-bhūpana** ‖ [20*] Svasti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-ā-

35 śraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaram **Kāḷamjana-puravar-ādhīśvaram** ḍamaruga-tūryya-nirgghōshaṇam para-chakra-bhīsha-

36 ṇam śrīmat-**Kaḷachuryya-bhujabaḷa-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēva**-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdr-ā-

37 rkka-tāram saluttam=ire ‖ Śrīmach-**Chhaka-varsham 1084neya Chitrabhānu-samvatsarada Pushya-bahuḷa 2 Sōmavāradamd**=uttarāyaṇa-samkrā-

38 [nti*]yalu vyatīpātam kūḍida divya-tithiyalu dharmma-kāryya-nimittam perggaḍe **Dāsirājam** śrīman-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-o-

39 ḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgaḷa divya-śrī-pāda-padmamgaḷam[3] dravya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi Vārāṇā(ṇa)śiya[4] samānav=appa Nāga-vāviya khamḍa-

---

[1] [The reading seems to be Haihayam (=Arjuna Kārtavīrya).—Ed.]

[2] The engraver seems to have begun with the intention of making the first letter a *b*, and to have finished it off as *bh*; for, unlike the regular *bh*, it is not open at the base, but on the other hand it has a horizontal tick on the right-hand top corner, like a regular *bh*.

[3] The engraver has omitted *gaḷam*, and then inserted it below the line, marking the corrigendum by a cross above the line.

[4] The *ṇā* has been omitted, and inserted above the line.

40 sphuṭita=jīrnn(rṇṇ)-ōddhāraṇakkam=alliya dharmmētakkaṁ agnishṭagey=āraykegam=emdu Kokkuḷigēriya hāḷa-hasugey=oḷage sarvva-nama-

41 śya(sya)m=āgi biṭṭa mattar=āṟ=adaṟa sīme mūḍalu Kattiyagē[ri*]ya śata | temkaṇa sīme Nāgarakhaṁḍiya Kēśava-dēvara bhūmi [|*] paḍuvaṇa [s]ī-

42 me perggaḍe-Śaṁkarayya-nāyakara satrada bhūmi [|*] baḍagaṇa sīme Yēraṁ-ḍagērige pratinidhiy=āgi koṭṭa bhūmi | Int=ī dharmmama-

43 n=āva nyāyamum=ādoḍaṁ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m=āgi sāsa(si)rvvaruṁ sadharmmadiṁ pratipāḷiparu || Maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī śrī

44 Ā puṇya-tithiyoḷ=alliya paśchima-dvārada śrīmad-Agastyēśvara-dēvar=ashṭavidh-ārchchanā-nimittaṁ Kokkuḷigēriya hāḷa-

45 hasugey=oḷage sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgiy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṁ-gaḷan=aṁgaḍiy-ūr-oḍeya-

46 pramukha-bhakta-janaṁgaḷ=ārādhisi paḍadu biṭṭa mattar=eraḍ=adaṟa sīme mūḍalu Meḷasēśvara-dēvara bhūmi

47 temkalu Jaṁnavegeṟeya dāri paḍuvalu kara-bhūmi [|*] baḍagaluṁ Meḷasēśvara-dēvara bhūmi | Initaṁ niśchayam=āge

48 bhāvisuvud=ī dharmmakk=e(a)pāyakke varppan=amōghaṁ sa-kuḷaṁ nigōda-taḷadoḷ bīḷguṁ mahā-pātakaṁ manam=old=iṁt=idan=eyde rakshisu-

49 va dēvaṁg=akkum=āyushya-varddhanam=atyūrjjita-lakshmi nirmmaḷa-yaśaṁ bhadraṁ śubhaṁ maṁgaḷaṁ || [21*] Sva-dattāṁ para-datta(ttā)ṁ vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁdha-

50 rāṁ [|*] shashṭiṁ-varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ || [22*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)

(V. 2.) May Nārāyaṇa who rests upon Ananta in the Milk Ocean and who wears the *Kaustubha* jewel, worshipful, with heart moist with the liquor of grace, coming to blest Pūli and dwelling (*there*) in company with Kamalā and the lady Earth and the Lotus-born (Brahman) who enjoys his essence in his navel, protect the Thousand!

(Lines 4-6.) If it be asked what is the reputation of that crest-jewel of *agrahāras* which is so illustrious, (*we answer*) : it is called a dwelling-place of all arts, an abode of brilliance, a natal ground of ornament, a home of the season of spring; and moreover :—

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasances, with the company of all the gods, with the Thousand who are renowned in all the lore of the Ṛik, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharvaṇa Vēdas, with the multitude of public damsels who are brilliant like fiery elephants of Kāma, the blessed Pūli is ceaselessly splendid with fortunes subserved by worthy men.

(V. 4 : identical with verse 4 of inscription L. above.)

(V. 5.) As they are men of might in mastery over the blessed *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, and other works and the course of conduct of Manu, (*and*) in famous teaching-books of manifold studies of reality and unreality and of logic, adored by the world for their attainment of knowledge of all the principles in the series of the Vēdas, who now are superior on earth to the Thousand?

(L. 12.) Among them :—

(V. 6.) Knowing not a place of distinction between poets, reciters, controversialists and rhetoricians, giving (*alms*) when clients cheerfully ask, the Hundred of Śiveyagēri are in sooth brilliant.

(L. 13.) Among them :—

(V. 7.) As he may be termed because of the mass of his splendour a Sun in the sky of the Bhāradvāja race, because of his greatness a Milk Ocean, by reason of the high degree of his firmness a Mandara, in heroism a blessed Rāma, in judgment of transcendental lore the Lotus-seated (Brahman) himself, can any compare with **Āditya**, who was renowned among sages ?

(L. 15.) His son :—

(V. 8.) Say, who can equal **Dēvapaya**, who was deeply devoted to Śrīraṅga (Vishṇu), a man of eminent stainless conduct, a darling of fame, verily an emperor to the natives of the ocean-bounded earth, gathering the best *(of all knowledge)*, a protector of the peoples of all lands when harm befell, firm and exalted of soul[1] ?

(L. 17.) His son :—

(V. 9.) Going to battle and ceaselessly resisting the multitude of foemen's hosts—stretching forth his hand to the troops of suppliants that came and begged *(of him)*—a deep ocean to the companies of public damsels—this sheriff **Sōma** was in his own person a Hari's son (Arjuna) in confronting and smiting, a Hari's (Sūrya's) son (Karṇa) in making gifts, a Hari's (Kṛishṇa's) son (Yama[2]) in conquering, when the tale is told: hence how can one sing his praises ?

(L. 19.) His son :—

(V. 10.) The souls of choice damsels became a place for the shafts of the god of the flower-arrows, the lotus-hands of companies of worthy sages a place for abundant quantities of gold, the royal mansion a place for the right firmly established Fortune of the kingdom, through the lord **Māḷapayya**, by reason of the perfection of his grace of form, his incomparable generosity, and the high degree of his services to his sovereign *(respectively)*.[3]

(Ll. 20-21.) His son :—

(V. 11.) The excellent **Kāḷidāsa** was indeed through the unique perfection of his beauty a moon appearing with unspotted form, through his high skill in poetry a Lotus-seated (Brahman) devoid of insentience while pervading the universe [*or*, intimate with all], through his gift of beauty a Kāma who was not destroyed by Īśa,[4] by his eminent conduct a Manu.

(L. 22.) His good wife :—

(V. 12.) **Rēviyakka** was like Rati in form, like Bhāratī in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness, like Arundhatī in greatness: who do not give praise in these terms ?

(V. 13 : almost identical with verse 9 of inscription L. above.)

(Vv. 14-15 : identical with verses 10-11 of inscription L. above.)

(L. 28.) His sons :—

(V. 16.) The sage **Mahadēva** is a votary of the god Śrīraṅga, a Tree of Desire by reason of his generosity, a Mount Mēru in firmness, altogether surpassing all in greatness, truly.

(V. 17.) His younger brother **Māḷapayya** is renowned for scriptural lore, crowned with Śiva's feet, an aggregate of all virtues, a very ornament, a mine of propriety : who do not give praise in these terms ?

(V. 18.) The youngest brother of these twain is the world-renowned **Kāḷidāsa**, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in conduct : these eminent sons of **Dāsirāja** have become distinguished.

---

[1] *Dhīr-ōdātta* is a term for one of the types of hero of drama, and is defined in *Daśarūpaka* ii. 5 as "of great excellence, exceedingly serious, forbearing, not boastful, resolute, with self-assertion suppressed, and firm of purpose" (Haas's translation).

[2] [But Yama is also called Hari. So it would be better to take Kārttikēya or Bhīma as the *upamāna* especially when Hari is an epithet of Śiva and of Vāyu also.—Ed.]

[3] This verse, like the preceding, is an instance of the rhetorical figure *yathāsaṅkhya*.

[4] This is the rhetorical figure *adhik-ābhēda-rūpaka* [according to appaya-Dīkshita. See *Kuval ayānanda* under *Rūpaka*—Ed.]

(V. 19.) The monarch **Bijjaṇadēva** would say "what can this Yama do?"; boldly he would knock out the serpent Kuḷika's teeth; if he confronted him, he would strike to earth even Rāvaṇa; if he were to meet in battle the figure of Ugra,[1] he would lop his arms into fragments with his bright sword-edge.

(V. 20.) When one looks, the place where the monarch **Bijjaṇadēvā** has won victory by blows is demoniac and frightful by reason of the decapitated heads of warriors uttering song while there arise sweet sounds from the headless trunks whose wounded limbs move in concerted action, (*wounded limbs*) from which drink snorting the troops of foemen's elephants whose marrow, over which streams gushing blood, and loosely out-bursting entrails swing about and dangle down.

(Ll. 34-37.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, **lord of Kāḷāñjana** best of cities, attended by the sound of *ḍamaruga* drums and (*other*) musical instruments, terrible to other realms, the **Kaḷachurya Emperor** strong of arm, **Tribhuvanamalladēvā**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 37-38.) On **Monday, the 2nd** of the dark fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic **year Chitrabhānu, the 1084th** (*year*) of the blessed **Śaka era**, at the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, on the holy lunar day with which coincided a *vyatīpāta* ;

(Ll. 38-43.) For the purposes of religion, the sheriff **Dāsirāja**, having adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pūli, granted as a *sarva-namasya* holding for the restoration of broken, burst, and worn-out (*masonry*) of the Nāgas' Well, which is equal to Benares, and for the *dharmēta* of that place, and for the management of the fire-hearth six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri. The bound of this is on the east the *śata* of Kattiyagēri; the southern bound is the land of (*the temple of*) the god Kēśava of Nāgarakhaṇḍi; the western bound is the land of the sheriff Śaṅkarayya-Nāyaka's choultry; the northern bound is the land granted as a substitute to Ēraṇḍagēri. So whatever claims may arise, the Thousand shall religiously preserve this pious foundation. Happiness! Great fortune!

(Ll. 44-47.) On the same holy lunar day, having adored the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, and the votaries, headed by the bazaar-mayor, he purchased (*from them*) and granted for the purposes of the eightfold worship[2] of (*the temple of*) the god Agastyēśvara[3] at the western gate of the town two *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri as a *sarva-namasya* holding. The bound of this is on the east the land of the god Meḷasēśvara, on the south the road of Jannavegeṟe, on the west the black (?) land, on the north the land of the god Meḷasēśvara.

(Vv. 21-22: identical with verses 16-17 of inscription L. above.)

No. 23.—DON BUZURG PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRA: [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1176.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

These **copper-plates** were lent to me for examination and decipherment by the Mahārāja of Majhauli in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces in 1906 when I toured in the Gorakhpur and Saran districts under the orders of the Director-General of Archæology in India, to collect notes on certain places for the use of the late Dr. Fleet. At my suggestion, these plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow where they are now preserved. The plates were unearthed by a Chamār cultivator in a field near the village of **Dōn Buzurg** situated 7½

[1] [See foot-note 1 on p. 215.—Ed.]

[2] Namely by offering of water, scent, flowers, rice-grains (*akshata*), incense, lamps, oblations (*naivēdya*), and betel.

[3] See above, p. 170.

miles to the north of Mairwa Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and made over to the Mahārāja of Majhauli. At my visit to this village, I did not notice any other antiquities of special interest. The village itself is, however, situated on a large ancient mound and the size of bricks unearthed by the villagers averages $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2''$.

The plates are inscribed on one side only and measure $14\frac{3}{4}''$ by $10\frac{7}{8}''$ and $14\frac{3}{8}''$ by $10\frac{3}{8}''$, respectively. The edges of the plates are fashioned into rims the maximum height of which is $\frac{5}{8}''$. Both the plates were originally soldered on a circular **ring** passing through the upper part of Plate II and the lower part of Plate I. Plate I is loose on account of a small piece having broken away from the ring-hole. The **seal** is now attached to Plate II and is of the usual Gāhaḍavāla type. The only **orthographical** peculiarities in the record that deserve special mention are the use of *j* for *y* in *parjantaḥ* (l. 18) and *jathā* (l. 25) and the confusion of *s* and *ś* and of *v* and *b*. *Ā* for *yā* in *vishṭhāāṁ* (l. 30) is an evident mistake or a Prākritism. The form *utakēritaṁ* in l. 36 evidently stands for *utkīrṇṇaṁ* or the causal *utkāritaṁ*. There are many other mistakes of spelling in the inscription and they have all been corrected in the text.

The inscription consists of 36 lines, of which 19 are engraved on Plate I and the remaining 17 on Plate II. The whole of the document is in an excellent state of preservation. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The **language** is metrical Sanskrit in the first eleven and last eleven lines which contain respectively the usual genealogy of the **Gāhaḍavāla** kings of **Kanauj** and the imprecatory and benedictory verses. The remaining fourteen lines as well as part of the last or 36th line are in Sanskrit prose and represent the formal historical portion of the document.

The inscription records that on **Tuesday**[1] **the 8th tithi of the bright half of Jyēshṭha of [V.] S. 1176 (A.D. 1119-20)** after bathing in the Ganges at his camp-residence (*yāna-vāsa*) at the village of **Maṁdaliā**, belonging to **Alaṁvimahāpura**, the Gāhaḍavāla king **Gōvindachandra** granted the village of **Vaḍagrāma**[2] in the **Alāpa** district to a Brāhmaṇa named **Ṭulṭāicha-**[3] **Śarman.** This Brāhmaṇa belonged to the **Vachchha** (Skt. Vatsa)-*gōtra* of **Drōṇāyaṇashaḍa.** The fourth syllable of this latter name is not decipherable, but it is not impossible that it was the name of a town or village or of some *muni* to whom (*a branch of*—Ed.) the Vatsa-*gōtra* owed its origin. If this assumption is correct, we may without hesitation identify this locality with the village at which the plates were found and which is still called **Dōn Buzurg,** or the Holy Dōn. It is interesting to note here a legend which describes a small cultivated area in the neighbourhood of this village as Drōṇa-kā-ghar or Drōṇa-kā-gaṛh, that is the residence or citadel of Drōṇa, the preceptor of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes. It is stated by the villagers that Drōṇa resided at this place and was on one occasion transported to Laṅkā to prescribe medicine for Vibhīshaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa. The story is not worth much, but it shows at least that the local paṇḍits already recognize in the name *Dōn* a corruption of Drōṇa, probably a remnant of the original long name of the place.

At the time of issuing the grant, the king Gōvindachandra was encamped at a village named **Maṁdaliā**, which was situated in **Alaṁvimahāpura.** The latter was probably the name of the district in which the village in question was situated, and it is evident that the village stood somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. I am as yet unable to identify either of these places. The village granted was *sapāṭaka-kōṇā*-**Vaḍagrāma** which I interpret as Vaḍagrāma together with its outlying hamlet and its corners. This village was situated in the district (*pattalā*) of **Alāpa,**

[1] [This requires correction, for the original (l. 19) clearly gives **सोमदिने,** *i.e.* Monday. Reference to the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris,* Vol. III, p. 240, will show that this date is quite regular and rightly corresponds to Monday, the 19th May, 1119 A.D.—Ed.]

[2] Vaḍagrāma appears to have been a common village name. In the Chandrāvatī plate of Chandradēva of [V.] S. 1148 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 302 ff.) we find Chandrāvatī referred to as Vaḍagāvā, a slightly modified form of Vaḍagrāma. [See f. n. 1 on p. 223.—Ed.]

[3] [See f. n. 2 on page 222—Ed.]

which cannot as yet be identified. But there is a village of the name of Bargõ in the Salempur Pargana of the Gorakhpur district which might represent the Vaḍagrâma of our inscription.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-20, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 21, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, 22, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*; v. 12, *Śālinī*.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति ॥

अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः [।*]
संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे [स] श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः ।[। १*]
आसीदसी(शी)तद्युतिवंस(श)जा-

2 त-
क्ष्मापालमाल[ा]सु दिवङ्गतासु ।
[सा]क्षाद्विवस्वानिव भूरिधाम्ना
नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*]
तत्सुतोभून्म[ही]चंद्रश्चंद्रधाम-

3 निभं निजं ।
येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ [३*]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मंडलो
विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधति-

4 मिरः श्रीचंद्रदेयो(वो) नृपः ।
येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मिताशे(शे)षप्रजोपद्रवं
श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं [दो]र्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितं ।[। ४*]
तं(तो)र्थानि

5 क(का)सि(शि)कुसि(शि)कोत्तरकोस(श)लेन्द्र-
स्थानीयक(का)नि परिपालयता[धि]गम्य [।*]
हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसं(शं) ददता द्विजेभ्यः(भ्यो)
येनाङ्किता वसुमती

6 स(श)तस(श)स्तुल(ला)भिः ॥ [५*]
तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितींद्र-
चूडामणिर्व्विजयते निज[गो]त्रचंद्रः ॥[3]
यस्याभिषेककलशोल्लसितैः प-

7 योभिः
प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरित्र्याः ॥ [६*]
यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चल-
न्माद्यत्कुंभिपदक्रमासम-

8 भरभ्रस्य(श्य)न्महीमंडलो(लः) [।*]
चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुगलितस्त्यानासृगुद्भासितः
से(शे)षः पेषवसा(शा)दिव क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनानन[:] ।[। ७*]

[1] From ink-impressions. [2] Expressed by a symbol. [3] Cancel one *daṇḍa*.

9 तस्मादजायत निजायतवा(बा)हुवल्लि-
वं(बं)धावरुद्धनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः ।
सांद्रामृतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवां [यो]
गोविन्दचंन्द्र(द्र) इति

10 चंद्र इवांवुरासे(शे): ॥ [८*]
न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्ष[मां]-
स्त्रिसृषु दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः ।
ककुभि व(ब)भ्रमुरभ्रमुवल्लभ-
प्रतिभट्टा(टा)

11 इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ . [९*]
सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः । स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि[रा]-
जपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममा-

12 हेस्व(श्व)रनिज[भु]जोपार्ज्जितश्रीक(का)[1]न्यकुब्जाधि[पत्यं]श्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
भट्टारकमहा[रा]जाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममा-

13 हेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपर-
ममाहेस्व(श्व)रश्रीम[द्गोवि]न्दचं[द्रदे]वो विज-

14 यी । अलापपत्तलाया(यां) सपाटककोणावडग्राममध्ये पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण ।[2] तथा कवचसमानपाटक एतान् व(ब)हिःकृत्य ग्राम अस्मिन्[3]

15 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमंत्रिपुरोहितप्रती-
हारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षपटलिक-

16 भिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधि[का]रिपुरुषान् समा-
ज्ञापयति वो(बो)धयत्यादिस(श)ति च

17 यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थ[ल]: सलो[हल]वणाकरः
सगर्त्तो[ष]रः समधूकचूतवनवाटिकाविट-

18 पतृणयूतिगोचरपर्ज(र्य)न्तः ससीमापर्यन्तश्चतुराघाटविस्(शु)द्धः ष[ट्]सत्यधिकस(श)-
तैक(का)दस(श)संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठे म(मा)सि सु(शु)क्लपक्षे अष्ठ(ष्ट)-

19 म्यां [भौ]मदिने[4] अलंविमहापुरीये मंदलिआग्रामा-

Second Plate.

20 [5]मावासे अङ्कतः संवत् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ शुदि ८ भौमे[6] मंदलिआयानवासे
श्रीमद्गंगायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा मंत्रदेवमुनिमनुज-

---

1 [The correction is unnecessary ; for both the forms *Kā°* as well as *Ka°* are used.—Ed.]

2 Cancel the *daṇḍa*.

3 Read ग्रामेऽस्मिन्.

4 [The original reads सोमदिने which is correct, see f. n. 1 p. 219 above.—Ed.]

5 Cancel the syllable मा.

6 [The original reads भौमे, *au* for *ō* is evidently a clerical mistake.—Ed.]

21 भूतपितृगणांस्तर्प्पयित्वा तिनि(मि)रपटलप[ा*]टनपटुमहसमुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौ-
षधिपतिस(श)कलशे[खे]खरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवग(न)-

22 त्र[ा*]तुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भिवृद्धये अस्माभिः द्रोणाय-

23 णषडीयवच्छ(त्स)गोत्राय भार्गवच्यववा(न)अर्म(और्व)जामद्द(द)ग्न्यआप्नवानप(पं)-
चप्रवराय छ[ां*]दोगसा(शा)खिने ।[1] भट्टश्रीनरसिंहप्रपौत्रा-

24 य भट्टश्रीजान्तापौत्राय श्रीपून्नपुत्राय भट्टश्री[2]टुल्टाद्दचश्व(श)र्म्मणे गोकर्ण-
कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वमाच(चं)द्रार्कं याव-

25 च्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा ज(य)थादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकर-
प्रभृति[स][3]सर्व्वा(र्व्वा)दायान् दास्यथ ॥ छ ॥ स्वस्तिकर-

26 श्लोकः(काः)[4] ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ
पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ [१०*] सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं [च]त्रं[5]
वराश्वा

27 वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेभा(म)त्र पुरंदर ॥ [११*] सर्वानेभा(ता)
न्भाविनः ।[1] प(पा)र्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचत(ते) रामभ[द्रः] । सामा-

28 न्योयं धर्म्मस(से)तुर्नृपाणां काले क(का)ल(ले) पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१२*]
ब(ब)(हु)भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमि-

29 स्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१३*] स(सु)वर्न(र्ण)मक(कं) गामेकं(कां)
भूमेरप्य(प्ये)कमंगुलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूत्स(तसं)प्लवं ॥ [१४*]
तडा[गा]नां सहस्रेण अश्व-

30 मेधस(श)तेन च गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥ [१५*]
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । स विष्ठाआं(यां) कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभिः

31 सह मज्जति ।[। १६*] षष्टिं वर्षस(स)हस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भू[मि]दः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नर[कं(के)] वसेत् ।[। १७*] वारिहीने-
ष्वरन्ये(ण्ये)षु सु(शु)ष्ककोट[र]-

32 वासिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पो(र्पा)[1]श्च जायन्ते देवब्रह्मस्व(स्व)हारिणः ॥ [१८*]
न विषं विषमित्याहुव्र(र्ब्र)ह्मस्वं(स्वं) विषमुच्यते [।*] विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वं पुत्रपौ[त्र]-

---

[1] [Cancel the *daṇḍa*.—Ed.]

[2] [The syllable read as ट्ला possibly stands for ट्हा.—Ed.]

[3] Cancel the syllable in brackets.

[4] [The reading seems to be भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः. In the Kamauli plates, above, Vol. IV, p. 101, text l. 28 f. these verses are rightly called पुण्यश्लोकाः.—Ed.]

[5] [Read छत्र.—Ed.]

33 कं ॥ [१८*] फलकृष्टं(ष्टां) मही(हीं) दद्य[ा*]त्सवी(वो)जां सस्यसा(शा)लिनीं । यावत्पुण्यकृता लोक(का)स्तावत्स्वग्गे(र्ग्गे) महीयते ॥ [२०*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा

34 नर(रे)न्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिना(मा)नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२१*] वाताभ्रविभ्र-

35 ममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरा(रो) विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजल-वि(बिं)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः स-

36 खा परमहो परलोकयाने ।[। २२*] लिखितं करणिकठक्कुरश्रीसह-देवेन । [श्री]शू(सू)त्रधारछालेकेन उतकेरित(उत्कीर्ण्णं) ॥ ※

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 11 to 25.) That victorious and illustrious king, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara **Gōvindachandradēva**,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. **Madanapāladēva**, who (in his turn) meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. **Chandradēva**, who acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja by (the strength of his) own arms, orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in this village, (namely), in the midst of **Vaḍagrā ma**,[1] in the district (*pattalā*) of **Alāpa**, together with its outlying hamlets and corners, after excluding (the portions) already given to gods and Brāhmaṇas, also portions meant for fortifications[2] as well as the kings, queens, crown-princes, ministers, preceptors, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner :—

"Be it known to you, that I have, on **Tuesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight in the month of Jyēshṭha, in the year** (*comprising*) **eleven hundred increased by seventy-six,** while staying at the village of **Maṁdaliā** belonging to **Alaṁvimahāpura**, in figures **Saṁvat 1176, Jyēshṭha śu. di. 8, Tuesday,**[3] after bathing in the prescribed manner in the holy **Ganges** at (my) **camp**, at **Maṁdaliā**; after propitiating the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the groups of deceased ancestors; adoring the Sun whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the Moon-crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds and after offering to (the god of) Fire an oblation rich in milk-rice for the increase of merit and fame of my mother and father and myself, bestowed by a charter by (pouring) water from the palm of my hand, sanctified by the *gōkarṇa* and *kuśa*-grass for (as long as) the Moon and the Sun endure, the above-mentioned village, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, with pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, and trees, grass and pasture-lands, up to its proper limits clearly defined by the four boundaries, upon the learned and illustrious **Tulṭāicha-śarman**, the son of the illustrious **Pūnta**, the grand.

[1] The name of the village seems to be Kōṇāvaḍa.—Ed.]

[2] I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of कवचसमानपाटक. Literally it would mean "portions resembling a coat of mail." The rendering in my translation is a mere conjecture. [The word *pāṭaka* would suggest that what is read as कवचसमान gives the name of some hamlet.—Ed.]

[3] [See f. n. 3 on p. 221, above.—Ed.]

son of the learned and illustrious **Jāntā** and the great-grandson of the learned and illustrious **Narasiṁha** of the **Chhāndōga** school, whose five *pravaras* are, namely, **Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurva, Jāmadagnya** and **Āpnavāna,** and who belongs to the **Vatsa-*gōtra*** of **Drōṇāyaṇashaḍa.** Bearing this in mind, you should give (the donee) the *bhāga-bhōga-kara*, the *pravaṇi-kara* and all the other sources of income that are due.

[Ll. 26 to 36 contain thirteen imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 36.) Written by the *Karaṇika*,[1] the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* **Sahadēva.** Engraved by the illustrious *sūtradhāra*, **Hālēka.**

No. 24.—CHHATARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDACHANDRA-DEVA OF KANAUJ : [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1177.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

The **copper-plates** on which this inscription is engraved are two in number. They were forwarded to the Director-General of Archæology in India by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore with the following information about the circumstances that led to their discovery : "The plates were discovered on or about the 5th July, 1920, by one Chhatiyan Chamār when digging the foundations for a hut. Local rumour has it that he found with it jewellery and gold ornaments, but of this I have no corroboration. No one has claimed the plates or any knowledge of their antecedents. The site was the village of **Chhatarpur** near Sheorājpur, a small town, lying on the Grand Trunk Road, 21 miles north-west of Cawnpore. Sheorājpur was formerly a place of some importance : the seat of the **Rājas** of Chandēl family. Chhatarpur itself contains a very old temple of **Khērēshwar**[2] Mahādeo which is regarded with the greatest veneration." The plates were in a much corroded state when they reached the office of the Director-General of Archæology in India, who had them thoroughly cleaned and sent to me for publication in this Journal.

Both the plates on which this inscription is engraved are rectangular in shape, each measuring 1′-3½″ by 10″. Their edges are turned upwards, thus forming a rim, ½″ high, on all sides. The plates are held together by a stout circular **ring** of copper which passes through two holes cut in the bottom of plate I, and the top of plate II, respectively. To the ring is attached, as is frequently the case with such plates, a heavy **seal** of the king bearing the inscription *Śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvaḥ* with a figure of **Garuḍa** above it and a **conch** below it. The plates, the ring and the seal are in a perfect state of preservation, except one corner of plate II and another of plate I, which are slightly damaged; but we find no loss of the inscription on this account. The epigraph, which consists of thirty-two lines, is engraved on the inner side of each of the two plates, the number of lines on each plate being sixteen. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of **orthography,** we observe the same peculiarities as in other inscriptions of this king. The letter *ba* is everywhere written as *va* and the palatal *ś* as the dental sibilant, though occasionally it has its own proper sign, especially in

---

[1] This word means a scribe, *i.e.* 'one who has to do with documents' (*karaṇa*). Mr. Y. R. Gupte has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that certain families among the Chāndrasēniya Kāyastha Prabhus (a class of writers in the Deccan) to this day bear the surname of Karṇika (Sanskrit *karaṇika*). The Prabhus referred to are supposed to have migrated from the district of Oudh in the United Provinces.

[2] The correct name would appear to be Kshīrēśvara.

ligatures. A few other mistakes of spelling may also be noticed. In line 18, we meet with *sōrddhādhaś-* for *sōrdhvādhaś*.[1] In the same line we also find *ushṇa* wrongly spelt as *uśna*, while in line 21, the *rēpha* is omitted from the name Bārhaspatya.[2] The *Sandhi* is frequently disregarded.

The first ten lines and a half are in verse and contain, as in other copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty, the genealogy of the king beginning from **Chandradēva,** while the nine lines at the end (ll. 24-32) are taken up by seven benedictory and imprecatory verses quoted from the *Mahābhārata*. The rest of the inscription, *i.e.*, from the middle of line 11 to line 24, and the latter portion of line 32, is devoted to the formal subject matter of the epigraph. The object of the document is to record the fact that king **Gōvindachandradēva,** son of the illustrious **Madanapāladēva,** son of the illustrious **Chandradēva,** after bathing with the water of the Ganges at **Vārāṇasi** on the occasion of the **full[3] moon of Kārtika in the [Vikrama]-Saṁvat year 1177,** after having duly propitiated the sacred[4] texts, divinities, etc., and adored the Sun, Mahādēva and Vāsudēva, gave away, by this charter, the village of **Sāsaimaua** in the **Kōṭi** district, clearly defined by its four boundaries, together with what is above and below it, to the Brāhman, the illustrious **Sāhulaśarman,** the son of the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* Lāhula, and the grandson of Avasthī-Śrī-Mālhē, whose *pravaras* are Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, and who belongs to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. The king further commands the residents of the aforesaid village to continue regularly to pay all the taxes to the donee. The document was written by the *Karaṇika Ṭhakkura* **Śrīdhara.**

The name of the village, whose grant is recorded in this inscription, was Sāsaimaua. The locality, where the two copper-plates were unearthed, was, as mentioned above, the village of Chhatarpur near Sheorājpur in Cawnpore district. If Chhatarpur is really the place where the donee of the grant actually resided, then the village of Sāsaimaua must have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood. I have referred to a large scale map of the Cawnpore district, but have failed to discern any village of this precise name. I have, however, received a copy of a letter from the District Magistrate to the address of the Director-General of Archæology in India, which states that there is a village of the name of **Sisamau,** which now forms part of the Cawnpore City. This village answers very nearly to the ancient village Sāsaimaua. The District Magistrate is unable to throw any light on the ancient district of Kōṭi.

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

[Lines 1 to the middle of 11 are the same as in the Dōn Buzurg plates of Gōvindachandra of [Vikrama]-Saṁvat 1176; above, p. 218.]

11 . . . . सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-

12 राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर(।)निजभुजोपार्ज्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानु- ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

---

[1] [This remark is not justifiable for the word is written with or without *v*; cf. *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word; "सवकारो निर्व्वकारस."—Ed.]

[2] [I think it is there.—Ed.]

[3] [Not mentioned in the inscription which simply says कार्त्तिकपर्व्वणि. It may be any of the five *parvans*.—Ed.]

[4] [It would be better to take *mantra-dēva* together, meaning 'gods invoked by, etc.'—Ed.]

[5] From the ink-impression.

13 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वरपरम-

14 माहेश्वरश्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयो । कोटिपत्तलायां खासैमौश्रग्रामे
निवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगा(ग)तानपि-

15 च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिष-
ग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरग-

16 पत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषांश्चाज्ञापयति वो(बो)धयत्यादिशति च विदित-
मस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखि-

Second Plate.

17 त(ग्रामः) सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सपर्ण्णाकरः सग(र्त्तो)षरः
समधूकचूतव[नवाटिका]वि-

18 ड(ट)पतृणयूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तः सोर्द्ध(र्ध्वा)धश्चतुराघाटविसु(शु)द्धः स्वसीमापर्य्यन्तः
सम्वत् ११७७ अवेह[1] वाराणस्यां कार्त्तिकपर्व्वणि

19 गंगोदकेन स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटल-
पाटनपटुमहसमुग्र(ष्ण)रोचिषमुपस्था-

20 यौषधिपतिशकलसे(शे)खरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय
प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रो-

21 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोकर्ण्णकुस(श)लतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(बा)र्हस्पत्यभार-

22 द्वाजत्रिप्रवराय अवस्थीश्रीमाल्हेपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीलाहुलपुत्राय श्रीसाहुलशर्म्मणे
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय आचन्द्रार्कं यावच्छासनी-

23 कृत्य प्रदतो(त्तो) मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरकू[ट]प्रवणिकरप्रभृतिसर्व्वा-
दायात्(न्) तुरुष्कदंडादायं आज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्य-

24 थेति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः । . . . .

[Here follow seven benedictory and imprecatory verses.]

32 . . . . करणिकठक्कुरश्रीश्रीधरेण [लिखितं] [॥*]

No. 25.—VEMALURPADU PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

For ink-impressions of these **copper-plates** I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who acquired the plates for the Madras Museum in 1910[2] from a Muhammadan resident of

[1] [The plate gives *adyēha*.—Ed.]

[2] [See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 10, para. 10, and p. 15, App. A, No. 4.—Ed.]

Vēmalūrpāḍu, a village close to the Phirangipuram Railway Station in the Guntur District. He describes them as follows :—

" Five plates with raised rims. The first and the last have writing on their inner sides only. The plates measure 9½″ by 4½″. They are held together by a circular copper **ring** which measures 5⅜″ in diameter and 2″ in thickness. The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of a **seal** whose base is fashioned into a lotus of eight petals. The seal, which is circular, measures 3⅜″ in diameter and bears, within a countersunk surface, the figure of a running **boar** facing the proper left, with a *chaurī* in front of it. Below the boar is the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āṁ]k[u]śa* in old Telugu characters, and below it a lotus flower of eight petals spread out, with the sun and an *aṅkuśa* to the right, and the crescent of the moon to the left. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were received from the Collector of Guntur. The plates and seal together weigh 410 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of good preservation, with the exception of portions of plate iv, *b*. The **alphabet** is Telugu, and the **language** is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 19½ Sanskrit verses. The description of the boundaries of two fields in lines 59-63 is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu.[1] The writer seems to have possessed a very superficial knowledge of the former language. As the notes on the text will show, he has committed an inordinate number of mistakes and omissions in copying the historical introduction from the records of his office. I shall not waste space and time by lengthy remarks on the orthography of this document. The *upadhmānīya* is represented by the Telugu symbol *ṟ* in line 8, and by *p* at the beginning of line 67. The Sanskrit word *rāshṭra* is spelt *raḻtra* and *rāḻtra* in line 48.

The inscription on the plates records a grant of land by the **Eastern Chālukya** king **Ammarāja II**, and opens with a historical account of his ancestors which is nearly identical with the one given in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant. As I have already discussed this genealogical portion elsewhere,[2] I need note here only the corrupt verse 1 (line 11), according to which it remains doubtful whether the reign of Vijayāditya II, surnamed Narēndramṛigarāja, was believed to have lasted either 48 or only 40 years.[3]

Verses 9-15 seem to have been composed by a Brāhmaṇa named **Bhaṭṭaguṇḍa** (l. 73) and do not reflect much credit on this panegyrist as a grammarian and poet. Verse 9 states that Amma II was the son of **Bhīma (II)**, the grandson (in reality, the great-grandson) of **Bhīma (I)**, and the great-grandson (in reality, the grandson of the grandson) of **Vikramāṅka**. The same verse alludes to the attack made by **Vallabha**, *i.e.* the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II,[4] on Bhīma I. It implies that Bhīma I bore the surname **Ṛitasiddhi**,[5] and that Vikramāṅka (*i.e.* Vikramāditya I) had received the dignity of heir-apparent, but did not ascend the throne.[6] Verse 13 informs us that Amma II was **eight years** old when he was anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent, and that he was **twelve years** old at the time of his coronation. From other grants the exact date of the last is known to have been Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, in the twelfth year of his age.[7]

The regnal year of Amma II in which the grant recorded in the Vēmalūrpāḍu plates was made, is not specified in them. On the day of a **winter-solstice** (*uttarāyaṇa*, l. 56), the

[1] Mr. Krishna Sastri has very kindly deciphered from the original copper-plate, and rendered into English, a few Telugu words of this passage which I had been unable to read and explain.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 48 f.

[3] *Cf.* Fleet's remarks in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 102, and above, Vol. IX, p. 84f.

[5] See below, p. 233, note 15.

[6] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 103.

[7] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 271 ; above, Vol. IX, p. 55 f., and p. 134 f.

king gave an *agrahāra* (ll. 45 and 57) or *mānya* (l. 71) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Musiya** (ll. 39 and 51) or Musiyanaśarman (l. 56), whose father seems to have enjoyed the complimentary title of *Mahārāja* (l. 39 ff.), whose grandfather's name was **Guṇḍamayya** (l. 41 f.), and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* (ll. 42 and 56). The king did this at the request of **Durgarāja,** the great-grandson of **Pā[ṇḍa]rāṅga** (l. 43 f.). Durgarāja seems to have been the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay-ādhyaksha*, l. 53) or feudatory chief of the province[1] of **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 48) and to have communicated the king's decision to the inhabitants of this district and to the donee himself, who is addressed in the second person (*tvam*) in lines 39 and 51. Durgarāja may be meant also by 'the famous chief of the camp' who was the executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant (l. 72). From the king's own words, which are quoted in line 44 f., we may conclude that the donee, Musiya, was Durgarāja's minister (*mantrin*). Both Durgarāja and his great-grandfather, the general Pāṇḍarāṅga, are well known from other inscriptions.[2]

The **object** of the grant were two fields which had been cut off from the two villages of **Aṇmaṇaṅguru** (ll. 52 and 59) and **Aṇḍeki** (l. 54) in the district of **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 48). This district must have corresponded to portions of the Ongole Tāluk of the Nellore District. For, it included the village of Chendalūr in this tāluk[3] and the two villages of Dharmapuram and Kalvakuru in the Addanki Division of the Ongole Tāluk.[4] Aṇḍeki (l. 54) is perhaps an old form of the name of Addanki itself. In the absence of local maps I am unable to trace the four villages which formed the boundaries of the subjoined grant (ll. 57-59). The two villages of **Kāraṁchēḍu** (l. 55) and **Vaṅgipaṟu** (l. 73) where the recipient and the composer of the grant resided, respectively, are mentioned in a grant of Narēndramṛigarāja in the slightly different forms of Kārañchēḍu and Vaṅgipaṟṟu.[5] On sheet 3 of the Madras Presidency Map published by the Madras Survey in 1892, I find 'Karanchédu,' 10 miles west by south of Bāpaṭla; and Vaṅgipaṟṟu may be the same as Vaṅgipuram in the Bāpaṭla Tāluk,[6] which borders on the Addanki Division. On the same map I notice 'Nútulapád,' about 15 miles west of Bāpaṭla. This is perhaps identical with the village of Nutulapaṟu in Karma-rāshṭra.[7]

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 [9] स्वस्ति [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्र[ा*]णां[10] हारी-

2 तिपुत्रणा[11] कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितान[ां][12]

3 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुद्ध्यतानां[13] भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासाधित-[14]

4 वरवराहलांचनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलाना[15] अश्वमे-

5 ध[ा*]वभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां[16] (।) चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरणो[17] (।) सत्या-

---

[1] See below, p. 234, note 4. [2] See above, Vol. IX, p. 49 f.

[3] Above, Vol, VIII, pp. 234 and 238.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 50. In Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, plate 34, D, b, Addanki is entered on the left bank of the Gundlakamma river.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418. [6] Mr. R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 85.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX ,p. 105.

[8] From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

[9] A flower is engraved at the beginning of this line.

[10] Read °मानव्य°. [11] Read °पुत्राणां. [12] Read मातृग°.

[13] Read °नुद्ध्यातानां. [14] Read °सादित°. [15] Read °लांछने°, °शीकृता°, °नामश्व°.

[16] Read °त्रीकृत°, [17] Read °लंकरिष्णोः.

6 अयवल्लभेन्द्रस्या:[1] (।) भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनाष्टादश[2] वर्ष[ा*]णि (॥) वेंगीम-

7 ण्डल[म*]प[ा*]लयत् । तद[ात्म*]जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतत्[3] । तदनुजेन्द्र-
राजनन्दनो

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्म्मंगियुवरा[ज]×पंचविंशति । न्तत्पुत्रा[4]
जयसिंहस्त्रयो-

9 दश । तदवरज[:*] कोक्किलिष्षण्म[ा*]सान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
वर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाट्य सप्तत्रिंशत[म्][5]

10 वर्ष्ष[ा*]णि[6] [।*] तत्पुत्रो[7] विजयादित्यभट्ट[ा*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धन-
ष्षत्त्रिंशतम्[8] । नरेन्द्र-

11 मृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपाराक्रम:[9] । विजयादित्यभूप[ा*]ल:[10] स[11] चत्वारिंश-
दब्द्यष्टक[12] ॥ [१*]

12 तत्पुत्र: कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोध्यर्द्धवर्षं[13] । तत्पुत्रा:[14] पराचाक्ररामापरानाम-

13 धेय: । हत्वा भूरिभीदंबराद्रनृपतिं[15] मगिम्महासंगरे[16] गंगानाश्रीतगंग-[17]

14 कुटशिखरान्निर्ज्जित्य सङ्का[ह*]लाधीशं संरिलसुप्रवल्लभयुतं यो भाययित्वा[18] च-

15 तुश्चत्वारिंशत: । मब्दकांश्च[19] विजयात्या[20] ररक्ष क्षितिं । [२*] तदनुजस्य
लब्धयौवराज्य[स्य]

16 विक्रमादित्यास्य[21] सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं[22] । तस्याग्रजो विजयादित्य:
षण्मास[ान् ।*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 तदग्रसूनुरम्मराजस्सप्तवर्ष[ा*]णि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बाल[23] च[ा*]लुक्यभीम[पि]-

18 तृव्ययुद्धमल्लस्य नन्दनस्तान्नृपे[24] मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्ग्गैरधिकबल-[25]

---

[1] Read °न्द्रस्य.

[2] Read °वर्द्धनोष्टा°.

[3] Read °शतम्.

[4] Read तत्सूनुर्म्मंगि°, °विंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो.

[5] Read °त्रिंशतं.

[6] Read वर्षाणि.

[7] The initial त is entered below the line.

[8] Read °ष्षट्त्रिंशतम्.

[9] Read °पराक्रम:.

[10] The syllable ल is entered below the line.

[11] This स is entered below the line.

[12] Pāda 4 of this verse is corrupt ; *cf.* another corrupt version of it above, Vol. IX, p. 51, text line 13. °दब्द्यष्टक seems to have been engraved on an erasure and may be meant for either °दष्टकं or °दब्दकान्.

[13] Read °वर्द्धनो°.

[14] Read तत्पुत्र: परचक्ररामापरनाम°.

[15] Read °भीडंब°.

[16] Read मंगि°.

[17] Read °नाश्रितगंगकूट°.

[18] Read कंपिल°.

[19] Read °रिंशतमब्द°.

[20] Read °यादित्यो.

[21] Read °दित्यस्य.

[22] Read कलीम°.

[23] Read बालं.

[24] Read °नृपो.

[25] Read °वर्ग्गैर°.

19 युतैर्मत्तमातंगसैण्यईत्वा[1] तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे स[ा*]न्नमत्युग्रतेजा: [।*]

20 एकाब्दं[2] सम्यगभोनिधिवलयवृतामन्वरत्तद्धरित्रिं[3] (।) श्रीमान्चालुक्यभीमच्चि-[4]

21 तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूप: । [२*] पश्चादहमहमिकया विक्रम[ा]-

22 दित्यास्तमने[5] कंचसें[6] इव प्रजावधानपरा[7] दायादराजपुत्रा राज्याभि-

23 लाषिणो युद्धमल्लराजम[ा*]र्त्तण्डलकण्ठिकावीजयादित्यप्रभृतयो[8] विग्रा-

24 हिभूतास्तासन्[9] [।*] विग्रहेणैव पाच[10] वर्ष[ा*]णि ग[तानि ।*][11] तत: । योवधिद्राजमार्त्तण्डन्ते-[12]

25 षा येन रणे क्रतौ [।*] कण्ठिकाविजयादित्य[यु*]द्धमल्लौ[13] विदेशगौ[14] । [४*] अस्ये[15] मान्य[म]-

Third Plate; First Side.

26 हीभृतोपि बहवो दुष्टप्रवृत्ताद्धता:[16] (।) देशोपद्रवकारिण: प्रकटिता: कालाल-

27 य[17] प्रापिता: [।*] दोर्दण्डेरितमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकानाम्ना[18] त-

28 त्परभृत्पैश्च[19] शिरसो मालेव सन्धार्य्यते ॥ [५*] नादग्ध्वा[20] विनिर्वत्तिते[21] रिपुकुलं कोपा-

29 ग्निरा मूलत: शुभ्रं यस्य यशो न लोकमखिलं[22] सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [।*] द्रव्य[ं]-

30 भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जन-

31 ससस्ये[23] न नो वर्षति [॥ ६*] स चालुक्यांभिमनसा[24] (।) विजयादित्य-नन्दन[: ।*] द्वादश[ा]-

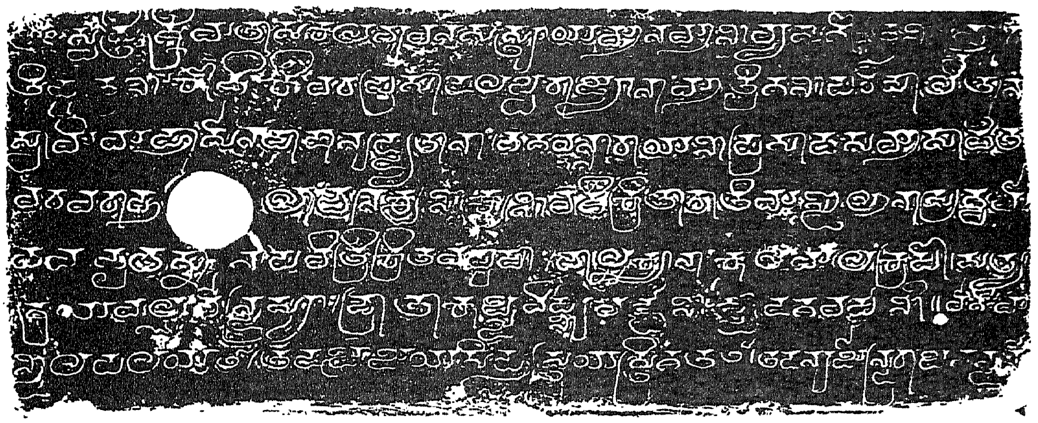
32 ध्यासमास्तम्यक्[25] राजभीमो धरातलं । [७*] तस्य महेश्वरमूर्त्तेरमासामा-[26]

---

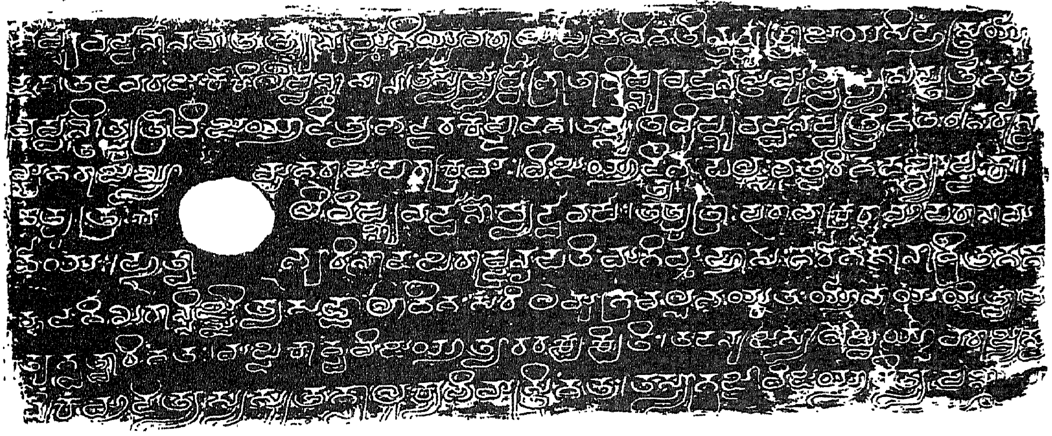
[1] Read °गसैनैर्हत्वा.
[2] Read एकाब्दं.
[3] Read सम्यगंभो°, °द्धरित्रीं.
[4] Read श्रीमांश्चालु°.
[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 52, text line 23, this was needlessly corrected into °समयवे.
[6] Read राक्षसा.
[7] Read प्रजाबाधन°.
[8] Cancel the syllable ल after राजमार्त्तण्ड. Read °काविज°.
[9] Read विग्रहीभूता आसन्.
[10] Read पंच.
[11] The letters enclosed in brackets are supplied from the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.
[12] Read योवधीद्रा°, °न्तेषां.
[13] Read °मल्लौ.
[14] Read विदेशगौ.
[15] The Maliyapūṇḍi grant reads अन्ये.
[16] Read °हृत्तोद्धता.
[17] Read य.
[18] Read perhaps °नकस्याज्ञा.
[19] Read °रभृद्भि°.
[20] Read नादग्ध्वा.
[21] Read °वर्त्तते.
[22] Read °खिलं.
[23] Read जनतासस्ये.
[24] Read चालुक्यभीम°.
[25] Unless अध्यात् is intended for an imperfect of अध्यास it might be corrected into अध्यात्, the imperfect of आस्. Read °त्सम्यक्°.
[26] Read °रमासमा°.

"Vemalurpaḍu Plates of Ammaraja II".

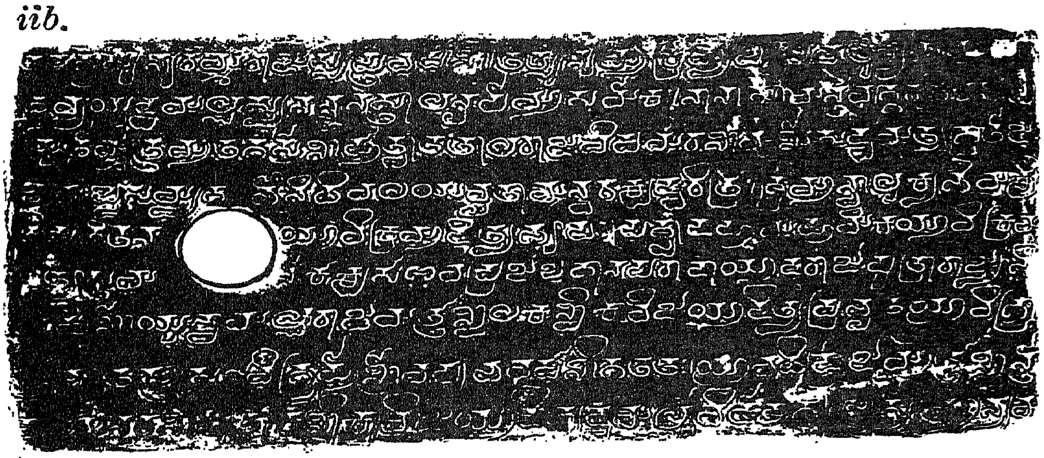
i.



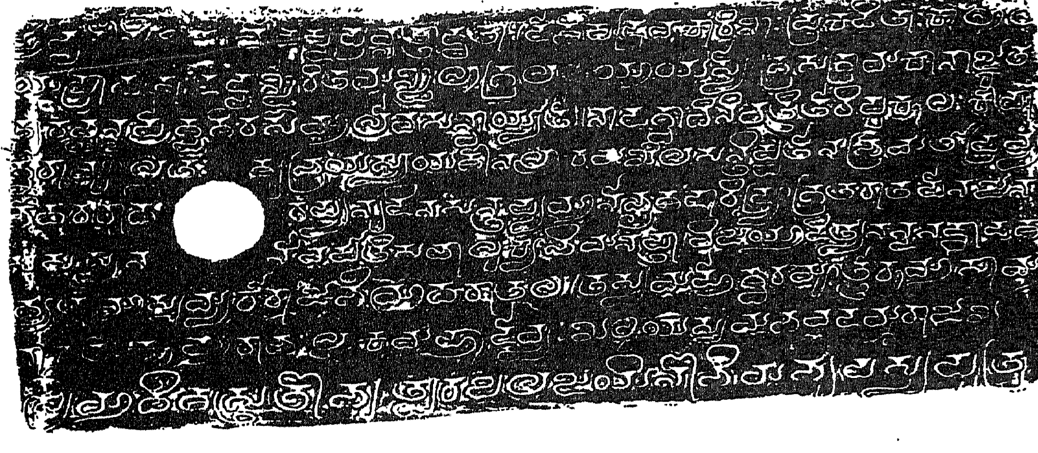
iia.



iib.



iiia.



SURVEY OF INDIA.

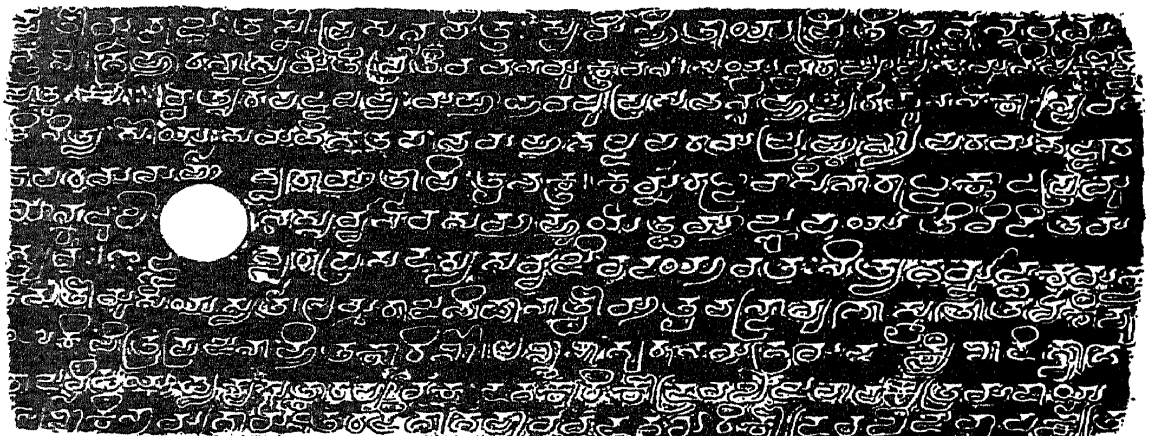
iiib.

36 38 40 42



iva.

44 46 48 50 52 54



ivb.

56 58 60 62 64



v.

66 68 70 72 74



33 नाकृतेः कुमाराभः [।*] लोकमहादेव्य[ा*]ः खलु यस्समभवदम्मराजाख्[1] [॥ ८*]

34 अमाधीशस्ततोभुत्परबलजयिनो[2] भिमभूपस्य[3] पुत्र-

Third Plate; Second Side.

35 म्छ्वान्ते वल्लभेन प्रह्लतमपि पुनः पट्टम[ा*]द[ा*]य धर्त्त्यर्न्या-[4]

36 य[ा]य[ा]तत्र्त्तसिद्धेर्व्विनयपरभ्रहत्भीमराजस्य[5] पौत्रो यव्व-[6]

37 श्रीराज्यकण्ठाभरणविलसतो विक्रमांकस्य नप्त[ा*] ॥ [९*] परस्वसन्त्य-

38 क्तमनोविशुद्धः पराप्रियान्मुक्तवचोविशुद्धः [।*] परोपकरि[7]

39 द्विजसत्तमस्त्वमिति त्रिशुद्धो मुसियाभिधानः [॥ १०*] श्रीमन्मह[ा*]-

40 र[ा*]जपदोत्तमस्य शिष्टेष्टबन्दुप्रियदर्शनस्य[8] [।*] देवाद्यृण[ा*]-

41 नि प्रतिमुंचतोलं पुत्रोभ्भवत्तत्कुलनन्दनस्य [॥ ११*] गुण्डमय्याभिधा-

42 नस्य षट्कर्म्मकारिणस्सदा [।*] पौत्रो भारद्वाजस्य[9] गोत्रेणामितते[ज]-

43 स[ः ॥ १२*] स्वामिनातुलयोष्टतस्य[10] पारांगस्य[11] नप्त्[ा*] दुग्गराजेन[12] विद्वा-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

44 पितोम्म[र]ाजः[13] तस्मो प्रसन्नचित्तः स्व[ा*]मिह्निताय प्रीतीपुर्व्वन्तव[14] म-

45 न्त्रिणेग्रहारन्दास्य[ा*]मीति प्रतिवचनमुत्ताव[ा*]न् ॥ स यव्वराज्याष्टसमेभि-[15]
षिक्तो द्वि-

46 षत्क[सं]व्वत्सरपट्टबद्धः [।*] महाहवेषु प्रसभन्निहत्य रिपुननेकान्विबभ[ा]-[16]

47 ति नित्यं [॥ १३*] सोयं समधिगतपंचमह[ा*]शब्दपरमब्रह्मण्यपरमभट्टार-

48 कपरमम[ा*]हेश्वरो मातापितृभक्त[ः*] (॥) कर्म्मरठ्ठवासिनो[17] राठ्ठकूटप्रमु-[18]

49 खान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्व[ा*]नेव समाहुयेत्थमाज्ञापयति[19] [॥*] विदितम-

50 स्तु वः । इष्टेश्वरप्रस[ा*]दस्य[20] सर्व्वजिवदयावतः[21] [।*] नित्यधर्म्मादृथक[ा*]मस्य[22]

---

[1] Read °जाख्यः.

[2] Read अम्माधीशस्ततोभूत्प°.

[3] Read भीम°.

[4] Read धर्त्तुः । न्या-.

[5] Read °रवृहद्भीम°.

[6] Read यौव-. The metre seems to have induced the author to use the impossible form यौवश्रीराज्य instead of श्रीयौवराज्य.

[7] Read °पकारी.

[8] Read perhaps शिष्टेष्टबन्धु°.

[9] The metre of Pāda 3 is faulty.

[10] Read perhaps °योद्धृतस्य.

[11] Read पाण्डरंगस्य and *cf.* above, Vol. V, p. 125, text line 35.

[12] Read दुर्ग्गरा°.

[13] Read °राजस्तस्मै.

[14] Read प्रीतिपूर्व्वं°.

[15] Read यौवराज्येष्ट°.

[16] Read रिपून°.

[17] Read °राष्ट्र°.

[18] Read राष्ट्र°.

[19] Read समाहूये°.

[20] Read perhaps इष्टेश्व°.

[21] Read सर्व्वजीव°.

[22] Read धर्म्मार्थं°.

51 किमतो[1] सुसियस्य ते ।[।१४*] अम्मराजाभिधानाथ्यो[2] मातृचन्द्रावुभो[3] स्मृतो [।*] तवेकोभू-[4]

52 य किं चित्रं प्रजानां हितकारिणो ॥ [१५*] अण्मण्णंगुरुन[ा*]मग्र[ा*]मे दक्षिणदिग्भागे

53 राजविषयाध्यक्षसत्कारपूर्व्वकं द्रयकारिकोद्रववीजावापक्षेत्रमादाय[5]

54 अण्डेकिनामग्रामे उत्तरदिग्भागे पूर्व्ववद्द्रयखारिकोद्रववीजावापक्षेत्र-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

55 माद[ा*]य येतस्मिन्ग्रामे[6] अभ्यन्तरीकृत्य कारंचेडुस्तव्यय[7] श्रौविकुलाय

56 भारद्वाजगोत्राय सुसियनशर्म्मणे सर्व्वपरिह[ा*]रीकृत्य उत्तरायननिमि[त्ते][8]

57 तुमियवेण्वियपूण्डिनामग्र[ा*]मादिकद्दयमग्रह[ा*]र[9] प्र[ा*]दात् ॥ अस्याव-

58 धय: पुर्व्वत:[10] मेदल्कोण्ड दक्षिणत: गद्दिपुण्डी[11] पश्चिमत: ऌकोण्डन[ा*]-मग्र[ा*][म:]

59 उतरन:[12] अ[ण्मण्णं]गुरुनामग्र[ा*]म: । क्षेत्रसिमानि[13] पुर्व्वत: मु[य्य]लिकुट्टुन

60 ग्रामी[14] अ[ा]ग्नेयत:[15] गुण्ट दक्षिनत:[16] गुण्टेटिय[17] कण्ठिति [वे]वुल[18] गोनु [ना]-

61 रितित[19] वेंच दक्षिनसुन पण्वुलु पश्चिमत: एटिय कण्ठिति च[टलु]

62 व[ा*]यव्यत: [कुण्ट] उत्तरंउरत:[20] चलिगुण्ट इशनत:[21] मुय्यलिकुट्टुन वेल्ल-[22]

63 ऌायु ॥ अस्योपरि न केनचित्बाधा[23] कर्त्तव्या [।*] य: करोति स पंचमहापात-

64 कोर्युक्तो[24] भवति [।*] [य:] प[ा*]लयति स पुण्यो भवति ॥ तथ[ा*] चोक्तं रामभद्र[ण][25] [।*]

65 स[ा*]म[ा*]न्योयन्धर्म्म[से]तु[र्नृ]पा[णां[26] क]लकाल पालनीयो भवत्भि:[27] [।*] सर्व्वा-

---

[1] Read perhaps श्रीमती.
[2] Read °नाथौ.
[3] Read °वुभौ स्मृतौ.
[4] Read तावे°.
[5] Read द्वयखारि°.
[6] Read एत°.
[7] Read °चेडुवास्तव्याय.
[8] Read °यणनि°.
[9] A doubtful symbol is entered below the वि °वेण्विय°.
[10] Read पूर्व्वत:.
[11] Read °पुण्डि.
[12] Read उत्तरत:.
[13] Read °सीमानि पूर्व्वत:.
[14] Read ग्रमी.
[15] Read आग्नेयत:.
[16] Read दक्षिणत:.
[17] Read °टिय.
[18] Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects this into वेमुल.
[19] Read नैर्ऋतत:.
[20] Read उत्तरत:.
[21] Read ऐशानत:.
[22] I owe the reading of this word to Mr. Krishna Sastri.
[23] Read °चिद्बाधा.
[24] Read °पातकैर्युक्तो.
[25] Read °भद्रेण.
[26] Read नृपाणां काले काले.
[27] Read भवद्भि:.

Fifth Plate.

66 नेताम्भ[ा*]विना:[1] पार्त्थिवेन्द्र[ा]न्भूयोभु[यो[2] या]चते रामभद्र: ॥ [१६*] मद्वंशज[ा]-
67 प्पराम[ही्प]तिवंशजाश्च[3] पापादपेतमन[सो] भुवि [भा]विभूपा: [।*] ये
68 प[ा*]लयन्ति मम धार्म्मिमिमं[4] समस्तन्तेष[ा*]मयं विरचितोंजलिरेष मु-[5]
69 र्ध्नि ॥ [१७*] वहुभिर्व्वसुध[ा*] दत्ता वहुभिश्चानुपलता[6] [।*] यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
70 स्यतस्य तदा फलं [॥ १८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तावां[7] यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टि-
71 वर्षसहस्रनि[8] विष्टायां जायते क्रिमि: । [१९*] मान्यं विंशतिखारीको-
72 द्रववीजावापक्षेत्रं [।*] आज्ञप्तिरस्य धर्म्मस्य कटकेशो यशोनिधि: ॥ [२०*]
73 वंगिपऌवस्तव्यंनात्रेयगोत्रेण[9] भट्टगुण्डेन विरचितं काव्य[म् ।*]
74 तस्मै भागदयन्दत्तं ॥ घनवट्टवो[रो]जेन लिखित:[10] ॥ सिवमस्तु[11] ॥[12]

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 33, the text is identical with that of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, lines 3-34, as translated above, Vol. IX, p. 55.]

(Verse 8.) **Ammarāja (II)** who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvī**, just as Kumāra to Mahēśvara by Umā ;[13]

(V. 9.) From her (*viz.* Lōkamahādēvī) was born the lord **Amma (II)**, the son of prince **Bhīma (II)** who vanquished the armies of enemies ; the grandson of the modest great king **Bhīma (I)**[14] who seized and wore again at the top (?) of (his) parasol the diadem although it had been struck at by **Vallabha,** (and) who duly attained success by righteousness ;[15] the great-grandson[16] of **Vikramāṅka**[17] who was resplendent with the neck-ornament of the glorious dignity of heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*).

(V. 10.) 'Thou whose name is **Musiya,** the best of the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas), (art) pure in three (respects). For, (thou art) pure in thoughts which are removed from the property of others, pure in words which are devoid of unkindness to others, (and pure in deeds, being) a benefactor of others.'

---

[1] Read °म्भाविना:.
[2] Read °भूयो.
[3] Read °जा:परम°.
[4] Read धर्म्म°.
[5] Read मूर्ध्नि.
[6] Read °नुपालिता.
[7] Read °दत्तां वा.
[8] Read °सहस्राणि विष्ठायां.
[9] Read °वास्तव्येना°.
[10] Read लिखितं.
[11] Read शिव°.
[12] A flower is engraved at the end of this line.
[13] This verse is identical with verse 9 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.
[14] By mistake the panegyrist has omitted one generation (Vijayāditya IV). For, Amma II was not the grandson, but the great-grandson, of Bhīma I.
[15] Or, 'who duly attained (the surname) Ṛitasiddhi.'
[16] For this meaning of *naptā* see above, Vol. IV, p. 329, note 2, and Vol. IX, p. 319, note 1.
[17] In reality Amma II was not the great-grandson, but the grandson of the grandson of Vikramāditya I. *Cf.* note 14, above.

(V. 11 f.) He (*viz.* Musiya) was the son of him who was the best of (those bearing) the glorious title of *Mahārāja*, whose sight pleased wise men, friends, and relatives, who fully discharged the debts to the gods, etc.,[1] (and) who graced a noble family ; (and he was) the grandson of him whose name was **Guṇḍamayya**, who always fulfilled the six duties (of a Brāhmaṇa),[2] who was a Bhāradvāja by *gōtra*, (and) whose dignity was boundless.

(Ll. 43-45.) Having been requested by (Musiya's) lord **Durgarāja**, the great-grandson[3] of **Pā[ṇḍa]rāṅga** whose fighting-power had been unequalled,—**Ammarāja (II)**, whose heart was pleased with this devoted servant (*viz.* Musiya), replied :—' I shall gladly grant an *agrahāra* to your minister.'

(V. 13.) This (king), who had been anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent at (the age of) **eight years** (and) crowned at (the age of) **twice six years**, is always resplendent, having forcibly slain many enemies in great battles.

(Ll. 47-49.) He who has attained the five great sounds,[4] who is deeply attached to Brāhmaṇas, the supreme lord, the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara, who is devoted to (his) mother and father, having assembled all the ryots, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting (the province of) **Karma-rāshṭra**, commands (them) as follows :—

(Ll. 49-57.) ' Be it known to you (that), having greeted the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay-ādhyaksha*), having cut off a field requiring as seed ten *khāris*[5] of *kōdrava*[6] on the southern side of the village named **Aṇmaṇaṅguru**, having cut off likewise a field requiring as seed ten *khāris* of *kōdrava* on the northern side of the village named **Aṇḍeki**, having joined (these two fields) to this village, he has given,[7] at the occasion of the **winter-solstice** (*uttarāyaṇa*), the two villages named **Tumiyaveṇiyapūṇḍi**,[8] etc., (as) an *agrahāra*, having provided (them) with all immunities, to **Musiyanaśarman** who resided at **Kāraṁchēḍ[u]**,[9] belonged to the family of Krōvi (and) to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.'

(V. 14.)[10] 'To thee, the glorious **Musiya** who desires the favour of (his) lord,[11] who shows compassion to all beings, (and) who is always eager for virtue and politics, (he has made this grant).'[12]

(V. 15.) The meanings of the two words *amma*[13] and *rājan* are declared to be ' mother ' and ' moon ' (respectively). Is it wonderful (that) these two are beneficial to the subjects (of a king) if they have become united (in the name *Ammarāja*) ?

---

[1] See *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, VI, 3, 10, 5 :—जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्वा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः.

[2] These six duties are enumerated by Manu (I, 88 ; X, 75) and in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, I, 10, 18, 2 :—ब्रह्म वै स्वं महिमानं ब्राह्मणेष्वदधादध्ययनाध्यापनयजनयाजनदानप्रतिग्रहसंयुक्तं वेदानां गुप्त्यै.

[3] The pedigree of Pāṇḍar[ā]ṅga in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (above, Vol. IX, p. 56) shows that *naptā* has to be taken, here too, in the sense of ' a great-grandson.' *Cf.* above, p. 233, note 16.

[4] This title, which is restricted to feudatory chiefs, suggests that Durgarāja, and not his sovereign Amma II, is meant here. *Cf.* Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. XII, p. 255 and note 2.

[5] See above, Vol. XIII, p. 121, note 1.

[6] See above, Vol. V, p. 121, note 14.

[7] The subject of this sentence is probably king Amma II.

[8] Is this the new name that was bestowed on the two fields ? Perhaps the first field had originally borne the name of Tumiyapūṇḍi, and the second one that of Veṇiyapūṇḍi.

[9] This village is mentioned three times, and its name is spelled Kārañchēdu (with dental *d*) in every case, in a grant of Narēndramṛigarāja ; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418.

[10] This verse and the next one are inserted after the words ' be it known to you ' in line 50.

[11] *i.e.* of Durgarāja whose minister he was ; see line 44 f.

[12] Supply *prādāt* from line 57.

[13] This is one of the Drāviḍian words meaning ' mother.'

(Ll. 57-59.) The boundaries of this (*agrahāra* are) :—To the east **Mēdalkoṇḍa** ; to the south **Gaṭṭipūṇḍi**; to the west the village named **Lēṁkoṇḍa** ; to the north the village named **Aṇmaṇaṅguru**.

(Ll. 59-63.) The limits of the fields (are) :—To the east a *śamī*[1] (tree) at the meeting-point of three boundaries ;[2] to the south-east a pond (*guṇṭa*) ; to the south a *gōnu* (tree) with margosa trees on the bank of the **Guṇṭēṟu** (river) ; to the south-west the salt marshes[3] on the southern side of a lake ; to the west . . . . . on the bank of the river ; to the north-west a pond ; to the north the Chaliguṇṭa (pond) ; to the north-east a white stone at the meeting-point of three boundaries.

(L. 63 f.) Nobody should cause obstruction to him (*viz.* the donee). He who does (it) will be guilty of the five great sins. He who protects (the gift) will gain merit. And **Rāmabhadra** has spoken thus :

[Ll. 65-71 contain four of the customary verses (16-19).]

(L. 71 f.) The grant (*mānya*) is a field requiring as seed twenty *khāris* of *kōdrava*.[4]

(V. 20.)[5] The executor (*ājñapti*) of this charity (was) the famous chief of the camp.[6]

(L. 73 f.) The poetry was made by **Bhaṭṭaguṇḍa** who resided at **Vaṅgipaṟu**[7] (and) belonged to the Ātrēya-*gōtra*. To him two shares (of the grant) were given. Written by Ghana-**vaṭṭa-Bī[rō]ja**.[8] Let there be prosperity !

No. 26.—SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I : SAKA-SAMVAT 793.

By Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

The **copper-plates**, which are being edited here for the first time,[9] were originally lying with my brother, the late Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Elphinstone College, Bombay. They were originally discovered, so I was told by him, at **Sanjān** in the Ṭhāṇā District, Bombay Presidency, and were forwarded to him for decipherment by a Parsi friend of his, whose name I do not know.

At my suggestion, however, Professor S. R. Bhandarkar published a note on two verses from this grant to show the contemporaneity of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa, the Kanauj sovereign Chakrāyudha, and the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla.[10] These plates constitute the **first genuine record** of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Amōghavarsha**, hereupto known. It is true that many inscriptions of his time have come to light, but none of them seems to have directly emanated from him. The best known of these is the Konnūr stone inscription of Śaka 782 which, however, is not an original record of the

---

[1] Prosopis spicigera.

[2] For *muyyalikuṭṭu* see above, Vol. IV, p. 96, note 4.

[3] [The word *paruvulu* has been taken to be the plural of *para*=a salt marsh.—H. K. S.]

[4] Here the two fields specified in lines 52-55 are added up.

[5] This is only a half-verse.

[6] The word *yaśōnidhi* is perhaps a general epithet, and not a proper name. The *kaṭakēśa* probably was Durgarāja himself. *Cf.* above, Vol. IX, p. 50.

[7] A village named Vaṅgipaṟru is mentioned four times in a grant of Narēndramṛigarāja ; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418.

[8] *i.e.*, Vīrōpādhyāya of Ghanavaṭṭa. For *ōja* see above, Vol. VIII, p. 140, note 8, and Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary, s.v. *ōju*.

[9] Here I wish to thank my pupils Messrs. Rakhohari Chatterjee and Chintaharan Chakravarti, to whom a good deal of credit is due for this work.

[10] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 116 and ff.

ruler but professes to be a mere copy of a copper-plate charter of his, prepared about the middle of the 12th century A.D.

The plates are three in number, each about 18⅓" long and 10⅝" broad. The edges of them all are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims for the protection of writing. The record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates are strung together by a stout elliptical **ring** of about 4⅜" and 3⅞" in diameter and of about ⅞" in thickness, passing through holes on one side of each plate. The ring was intact when the plates were examined. The ends of the ring are soldered into a roughly square **seal,** which measures 1⅞" in height and breadth, and bears, in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa, on a lotus seat facing full front, with his prominent beak-nose and holding a snake in each hand. Two discs are seen above the ears of Garuḍa, but it is difficult to say what they represent. On Garuḍa's proper right, there is a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, and lower down an indistinct *chaurī* and a lamp. On his left, near the top is some goddess, standing in front of an animal (perhaps a lion) and holding a ladle in her right hand; below her is a *chaurī,* and, near the bottom, a *Svastika.*[1] Beneath the central figure are in relief the letters: *Śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēvasya.*

The engraving is clear and on the whole well-executed, but the record is full of inaccuracies due chiefly to the incorrect draft written by the scribe on the plates. The **characters** agree fully with those of other Rāshṭrakūṭa records of the period. The **language** is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting the introductory " Ōṁ Svasti," the inscription is in verse down to line 57 (Third Plate). As regards **metrology** attention may be drawn to verses 23 and 39. The metre of these is Mattēbhavikrīḍita, which is not found in classical literature.[2] It is not noticed in the *Sūtras* of Piṅgala, *Vṛittaratnākara* or *Chhandōmañjarī*, but is described in the *Chhandōmañjarī-pariśishṭa* as *sa-bha-rān-mau ya-la-gās=trayōdaśa-yatir=Mattēbhavikrīḍitam.* As regards **orthography** I might say that (1) *v* is almost invariably written for *b*; (2) a consonant is invariably doubled after *r*, in the case of *y, n, t, m, dh, n, p, k*, and also *v* when not followed by *y* (cf. *nirvyapēkshaṁ* in l. 7), but not always in the case of *g* and *j* (cf. *Karahaḍa-vinirggata* in l. 60 and *yaśōrjjana* in l. 20, but *vishaya-vinirgata* in l. 61 and *'r-ōrjita* in l. 8); (3) *Visarga* when followed by *ś, sh* or *s* is, as a rule, changed to that letter; (4) *gh* for *h* is found in one instance only (cf. *Ayōdhyasiṁghāsana* in l. 8, Pl. I); (5) final *n* is sometimes replaced by *ṁ* (cf. *sva-bhṛityāṁ jhaṭiti* in l. 13, and *tāṁ bhūbhṛito* in l. 15) and *m* by *ṅ* (in *gāḍhaṅ-gajai°*, l. 21, very rare); (6) *upadhmānīya* is frequently though not invariably used (cf. *bhēdaḥ=paśūnām=iva*, l. 40, but not in *turagaiḥ pītañ=cha*, l. 21); (7) the vowel *ṛi* and the syllable *ri* are sometimes interchanged (thus in *kīrttis=trilōkyān*, l. 33, and *triṇ-āgra-lagna*, l. 71); (8) *t* is, as a rule, doubled when followed by *r*; and lastly (9) in prose portions *Visarga* is retained in some instances where it should be replaced by *o* (cf. *paśchimataḥ Nanda-grāmaḥ* in l. 65, Pl. III), and in some places where it should be elided (cf. *Dakshiṇataḥ Uppala°*, etc., in l. 65).

The first thing that strikes one about the **contents** of this grant is that some of its verses are identical with those in the Konnūr Inscription of Amōghavarsha published by the late Prof. Kielhorn.[3] Thus verses 2-15 of the latter are identical with stanzas 2-3, 6, 8, 10-12, 27, 29, 36, 45, and 50-53 of the former with slight variations in some cases. With reference to the Konnūr Inscription, Prof. Kielhorn expresses the opinion about the middle

[1] The figures on the seal are on the whole similar to those of the Cambay plates. (Above, Vol. VII, pp. 26-7.)

[2] [For the use of this metre in Kanarese inscriptions as well as literature see, for instance, above, p. 197, v. 4, p. 205, v. 1, p. 207, v. 3, *etc.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 172, v. 1, or *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 384, Inscription No. 76, of Nāgamaṁgala Taluq and Ādipampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, quoted in *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharitē*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27, or Nāgavarman's *Kāvyāvalōkanam*, p. 10, v. 59, or Āṇḍayya's *Kabbigara Kāvaṁ* (Karṇāṭaka Kāvyamañjarī Series No. 2), p. 5, v. 19.—Ed.]

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 29 and ff.

of his paper that "the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I." The same view he sets forth more clearly at the end of that paper. "Stating distinctly what I have indicated above," says he, "I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document." The present plates, however, enable us to decide how far Kielhorn's opinion is correct. A comparison of lines 1-14 of the Konnūr Inscription with the genealogical portion of these plates leaves no doubt as to the lines 1-59 of the former being copied on stone from a genuine charter of Amōghavarsha I, as the concluding part of it informs us. But what about the glaring blunders in the genealogy which Kielhorn has detected in the Konnūr Inscription? How did they arise? In the first place, in our plates also the father of Gōvinda I is called Ṛichchhakarāja, as the same verse occurs in both the records. Ṛichchhakarāja may be a new name not known from previous Rāshṭrakūṭa grants, but that does not mean that it is a fabrication. And, as a matter of fact, it may be another name of Indrarāja who is mentioned as the father of Gōvinda I in the fragmentary Ellorā Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription.[1] Again, Kielhorn says that the Konnūr Inscription makes Prabhūtavarsha (-Gōvinda II) a son of his younger brother Dhārāvarsha, and consequently Prabhūtavarsha (-Gōvinda III) not a nephew but a son of the former. This discrepancy, flagrant though it appears, can be easily explained away by the mention of the fact that *Dhārāvarsha-sutas* of the inscription is a misreading of the transcribers for the correct wording *Dhārāvarshas=tatas*, such as that supplied by our grant. Then, again, Kielhorn tells us that in the Konnūr epigraph Karkarāja I is called Karkara, an apparently later form of the name. Here, also, the transcribers must have read *Karkkara-prabhuḥ* wrongly in place of *Karkkarāṭ prabhuḥ* as appears in our grant. And it can scarcely be disputed that Karkkarāṭ is precisely the same word as Karkkarāja. This name occurs in v. 4 of the Konnūr record, which, however, begins with *Iṁdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna dhāriṇī* instead of *dhanus-samutsārita-bhūbhṛitā mahī* as in our plates. This discrepancy alone is of a serious character as it makes Indra not a son but father of Karkkarāja. It is, however, possible to get over this difficulty by taking *Iṁdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. In this connection we have to bear in mind the fact that of all the verses common to the Konnūr Inscription and our charter, this is the only stanza where one whole line is entirely different. Was it deliberately composed and inserted or is it an example of sheer carelessness? If the introductory portion of the former is compared to that of the latter, it will be seen that the former, as it were of set purpose, wants to bring the genealogical account into the narrowest possible compass. This is quite clear from the fact that verses 12 and 27 of our charter, which are the same as verses 8 and 9 of the Konnūr Inscription, are connected with each other in the latter record by the two words: *tasya sutah.* It is not impossible that the transcribers are responsible for this abridgement as their main object must be to give in full only those details that relate to the grant proper and curtail them rigorously in all other respects. And it is not inconceivable that in their zeal to epitomize the genealogy they may have coined the line *Iṁdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna dhāriṇī,* which if we take it to be a *bahuvrīhi* compound, can be made to yield the sense that Indra was the son of Karkkarāja, and can thus make one verse serve the purpose of two.

The charter is one of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** prince **Amōghavarsha** described in ll. 57-58 as the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Pṛithvīvallabha* the prosperous Vallabhanarēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,*

[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

the prosperous **Jagattuṅgadēva.** It records that in the **Śaka year 793** when Amōghavarsha was staying at **Mānyakhēṭa,** his capital, he granted to four Brāhmans the village of **Jharivallikā** from the Twenty-four-village Group adjacent to Saṁjāna for the purpose of maintaining the *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, agnihōtra* and *atithitarpaṇa* sacrifices. The donees are all Brāhmans of the Bahvṛicha-*śākhā.* Two of them, namely, (1) Narasiṁha-Dīkshita, son of Gōla-Shaḍaṅgavid and grandson of Sāvikūvāra, and (2) Rakshāditya-Kramavid, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa, were of the Bharadvāja-*gōtra.* The third, Trivikrama-Shaḍaṅgavid, son of Vishṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaḍi-Gahiyasahāsa, belonged to the Vaḍḍamukha-*gōtra;* and the fourth and last, Kēśava-Gahiyasahāsa, son of Gōvāditya-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, was of the Vatsa-*gōtra.* They all hailed from the same district, namely, Karahaḍa. They were probably the Karhāḍā Brāhmans.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall now see what historical information can be gleaned from the introductory metrical portion, which sets forth the genealogy. After the introductory *Ōṁ,* it opens with the well-known invocatory verse with which most of the Rāshṭrakūṭa records begin. The next verse is in praise of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, by whom is here to be understood not only the god Nārāyaṇa, the originator of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, but also Amōghavarsha, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, the donor of the grant, who bore that epithet. In verse 3 we are told that in the line of the **Yadus** there was a king **Gōvinda,** son of **Prichchhakarāja.** This Gōvinda is, of course, Gōvinda I of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhēṭa. He was succeeded by **Karkka,** on whom nothing but conventional praise is bestowed in vv. 4-6. Verse 7 says that after him came **Indrarāja,** who married the daughter of a Chālukya king at Khēṭaka by the Rākshasa form of marriage. This clearly shows that the Rāshṭrakūṭas, in the time of Indrarāja, came first into hostile contact with the Chālukyas not of the Dekkan but of Gujarāt, for the seat of this Chālukya power is mentioned as Khēṭaka, the same as Kairā in North Gujarāt. These Chālukyas must, therefore, be the Gujarāt branch of the main dynasty ruling at Bādāmi. In this connection is worth noting the Āntrōli-Chhārōlī (in Surat) copper-plate grant of Kakka, dated Śaka 679=A.D. 757.[1] This record mentions—(1) a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince named Karkka, (2) his son, Dhruva, (3) his son, Gōvinda, and (4) his son, Karkka II, with whose name are coupled the titles *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka.* One feels exceedingly tempted to say that the third and fourth of these princes are identical with their namesakes who preceded Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. One is, however, confronted with the difficulty that whereas under this supposition we have the date Śaka 679 for Karkka, we have Śaka 675 for his grandson, Dantidurga, supplied by his Sāmangaḍh charter. This difficulty, however, is not insuperable, because there are reasons to doubt the genuineness of this last record. That the portion of it relating to the details of the village granted has been tampered with was pointed out long ago by Dr. Fleet when he edited the inscription.[2] And the authenticity of the record as a whole has recently been called in question by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on palæographic grounds.[3] Thus the date furnished by the Sāmangaḍh grant is not above doubt, and the identification just pointed out may hold good. We may thus take it that before the time of Dantidurga his predecessors were occupying South Gujarāt.

Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by **Dantidurga,** of whom the next verse says that when in **Ujjain** the various Kshatriyas performed the ceremony, namely, the Great Gift of Hiraṇyagarbha, he made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (*pratihāra*). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed himself or took a

[1] F. Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India,* No. 54.

[2] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 110.

[3] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5, and p. 122.

prominent part in this Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription at Ellorā.[1] This inscription gives **Mahārāja-Sarva** as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a *mahā-dāna* worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony. Secondly, verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a **Gurjara** dynasty called **Pratīhāra.** There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratīhāra dynasty, that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahōdaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahōdaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhōja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhilmāl or Bhinmāl in South Rājputānā.[2] Our grant, however, enables us now to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Jaina *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasēna. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr. Fleet's translation,[3] which makes Vatsarāja king of Avantī. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty, and the Jaina *Harivaṁśa* may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratīhāras were established at Ujjain and not Bhilmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. Dantidurga was succeeded by **Śubhatuṅga Vallabha** (v. 10), that is, **Kṛishṇa I**, who is represented to have seized the Chālukya sovereignty. He was followed by **Prabhūtavarsha**, that is, **Gōvinda II**, and the latter by **Dhārāvarsha**, that is, **Dhruva** (v. 12). Verse 13 contains no historical information, but the verse following says that Dhruva snatched away the royal parasols of the king of **Gauḍa** as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This Gauḍa king, who would be a contemporary of Dhruva, is either Dharmapāla or his father Gōpāla, of the **Pāla** dynasty. From the inscriptions of this family, however, Gōpāla does not seem to have been in any way a powerful prince; and we must, therefore, suppose that Dharmapāla was the Gauḍa prince defeated by Dhruva. But the curious thing about this victory is that he was defeated not in his own country but outside. Does this not show that the Gauḍa prince had gone outside his dominions, perhaps, to help the king of Kanauj? This agrees with the fact, mentioned in the Baroda plates, that Dhruva seized the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna and thus added the emblems of the two rivers to his imperial insignia.[4] This territory certainly coincides with the Kanauj kingdom, and what appears to have happened is that when, after defeating Vatsarāja, Dhruva was pressing his victories northwards, the Gauḍa king must have made common cause with the Kanauj sovereign, but that, when the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter, he began to pursue the former and encountered him before he was able to reach his dominions. Verse 15 says that Dhruva's fame, which had already spread as far as the extremities of the earth, now extended to the heavens, implying that he died. The next verse furnishes **Nirupama** as an epithet of Dhruva, and tells us that, as soon as his son Gōvinda III was crowned king, he re-instated some of the feudatories in their own principalities, and, apparently against the wishes of his councillors, in particular, released the **Gaṅga** prince, who, as we know from the records, was imprisoned by his father. This move

[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 88.

[2] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 57; Smith's *Early His. Ind.*, p. 378.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6. Verse 9 of this charter of Amōghavarsha was communicated to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for being utilised in his paper entitled the *Gurjara-Pratīhāras* published in the *Jour. Dept. Letters* (Cal. Univ.), Vol. X (p. 25 and ff.).

[4] Dr. Majumdar was the first to show that this verse of the Baroda Plates (*Ind Ant.*, Vol. XII, p 159) was to be taken as referring to Dhruva, and not to Gōvinda III as had been done by Dr. Fleet (*Jour. Dept. Letters*, Vol. X, p. 35, n. 2).

was apparently dictated by the disaffection among the vassal kings who had transferred their allegiance from him to another overlord (v. 17). This is evidently a reference to his contending, immediately after his accession, against a confederacy of twelve kings led by Stambha, who can be no other than his elder brother Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva.[1] This opposition, however, he quickly put down. But the Gaṅga, whom he had released, refused to pay the fine imposed on him and had to be put in fetters again (v. 18).

Verses 19-20 contain nothing but conventional praise of Gōvinda III, but the second of these supplies for him a new epithet **Tribhuvanadhavala**, not known from previous records. From v. 21 begins the description of his expedition of conquest in the north. He appears first to have encountered and defeated **Nāgabhaṭa** and **Chandragupta**. Who the second of these princes was it is not difficult to say. The only prince of that name who can be a contemporary of Gōvinda III is Chandragupta of the Kōśala country ruling at Śrīpura or Sirpur in the Central Provinces.[2] The name of the family to which he belonged was Pāṇḍava, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the paramount dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries. As regards Nāgabhaṭa, the other prince vanquished by Gōvinda III, there can be no question that he pertained to the Imperial Pratīhāra family and was the son of Vatsarāja, king of Avantī, referred to above. His victorious march in the north, as verse 23 tells us, continued till his horses drank and elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. And it was here that two more princes, **Dharma** and **Chakrāyudha**, seem to have offered him their submission. This verse winds up by saying that he thus resembled the Himālayas in *kīrti* or fame, and, therefore, came to be known as **Kīrtinārāyaṇa**, which, we know, was another epithet of Gōvinda III. Of the two kings who submitted to him as he approached the Himālayas, Dharma has been recognised to be Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, and Chakrāyudha to be the prince of the same name who obtained the sovereignty of Kanauj through Dharmapāla.[3]

From the Himālayas Gōvinda III returned to the Narmadā ; and, turning to the east, he went along the bank of the river, conquering the **Mālava, Kōśala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Ḍāhala** and **Ōḍraka** countries (v. 24), and in this connection we are informed of another title that he bore, namely, **Vikrama**. Making his enemies submissive, he followed the other part of the river and established himself in a capital at the foot of the Vindhyas (v. 25). From verse 26 it appears that he was then in the kingdom of a small ruler, called *Mahārāja* **Śarva**, and in the same verse we are further told that while he was encamped there, a son was born to him who was known as *Mahārāja* Śarvan and about whom, verses 27-8 tell us that the astrologers predicted a happy and brilliant future. Evidently there is a pun here on the terms *Mahārāja* and *Śarvan*. In one case they are taken as two separate words referring to a *Mahārāja* called Śarvan, no doubt, the Chief in whose principality Gōvinda III was temporarily settled on the banks of the Narmadā and at the foot of the Vindhyas ; and, in the other case, the two terms are to be taken together so as to make *Mahārāja Śarvan* as the royal title by which we know Amōghavarsha, son of Gōvinda III, was known.[4] What verse 26 intends us to understand is that as Gōvinda III was turning to the west of the Narmadā and was temporarily established in the petty kingdom of his feudatory Śarvan, Amōghavarsha was born. Similar information is contained in two other copper-plate grants of this king which tell us that after receiving the submission of the Mālava king, he marched to the Vindhyas, where a prince named Mārāśarva conciliated him with his choicest heirlooms, and that he spent the rainy season at a place called **Śrībhavana**.[5] Mārāśarva

[1] Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* (Bomb. Gazet., Vol. I, pt. II), p. 395. Above, Vol. VI, p. 195.
[2] Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 617. Above, Vol. XI, p. 185 and ff.
[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 118-9.
[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 174.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

is evidently the same as Mahārāja Śarvan, and **Śrībhavana** must be the capital of the principality of this ruler where Gōvinda III was encamped for the rainy season and where his son Amōghavarsha was born.

Verse 29 makes mention of the two titles which were borne by Gōvinda III, namely, **Prabhūtavarsha** and **Jagattuṅga**; and the two verses following inform us that from this encampment in the Vindhyas he afterwards set out to attack and humble the Draviḍa kings. Who these Draviḍa kings were is made clear in verse 32, and it appears that in this expedition to the south he vanquished the Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chaulika (Chōḷa) and Pallava. With these are also coupled in the same verse the rulers of Kaliṅga and Magadha and the Gurjara to show that he was rightfully styled Vikrama. Then we are told that, presumably in this excursion, he chained and put to death certain Gaṅga princes who had become disaffected (v. 33). They apparently do not include the Gaṅga ruler referred to in verse 18 above, and probably belonged to more than one Gaṅga family. Which these were exactly it is difficult to say. One of these was certainly the Western Gaṅga dynasty ruling over the Gaṅgavāḍi province, and the other is probably what is called the Gaṅga-Pallava family.[1] The second half of verse 33 informs us that he made his camp-ground free of dust through the lords of *maṇḍalas* by compensating them if they were friendly and by subjecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise, such as the Vēṅgi ruler was. This fact is also mentioned in the Rādhanpur charter of that king. Where this camp is to be located is not certain, [2]but it seems to be Hēlāpura of the next verse,—a place from where he is represented to have enforced the obedience of the king of Laṅkā (Ceylon) and his minister. As a result of this obedience he seems to have received two statues apparently of Rāvaṇa,[3] its most ancient and traditional ruler, which he, however, transferred to Kāñchī, and put up as two columns of fame before the temple of Śiva. Where can this Hēlāpura be located? According to the Rādhanpur grant[4] he was then encamped either on or near the Tuṅgabhadrā. Can this Hēlāpura be thus Vēlāpura or Bēlūr[5] in the Hassan District of the Mysore State?

Verses 35-36 speak of the death of Gōvinda III and the accession of his son, Amōghavarsha, to sovereignty. The subsequent four verses inform us that just when Amōghavarsha came to the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and even relatives became disaffected and raised the standard of revolt. But it was through the help of one **Ārya Pātālamalla** that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (v. 41). Nothing is known about this Pātālamalla from other records. One Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription,[6] no doubt, speaks of one Pātālamalla, elder brother of Vajjaladēva, a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra IV. But this Pātālamalla would be a little too posterior to Amōghavarsha I in time. Then follow five verses, which are purely laudatory. And from verse 47 it appears that to ward off some public calamity the king who is here called **Vīra-Nārāyaṇa** cut off his left finger and dedicated it to the goddess, Mahālakshmī. What this public calamity was it is impossible to tell, but Mahālakshmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur, which is described in one unpublished inscription as the *ādya-pīṭha*, or original seat of that goddess.[7] The same goddess,

[1] Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 60.

[2] Fleet takes it to be Mānyakhēṭa which about this time became the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, pp. 396 and 402-3). But this has no foundation. The Karhad, Deoli and Kardā grants, again, say that the city of Mānyakhēṭa was constructed (not merely completed), not by Gōvinda III, but by his son and successor, Amōghavarsha I. See above, Vol. IV, p. 287; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 193; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 268.

[3] [Or perhaps of the king who reigned at the time and some other potentate connected with him. See Amir Khusro's *Chronicle* quoted in Mr. K. V. S. Iyer's *Historic Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 300.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 250.

[5] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 491.

[6] Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 136.

[7] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 540, note.

again, was the family deity of at least one branch of the Śilāhāra race. It is possible that Amōghavarsha made a gift of his finger as *bali* to Mahālakshmī of Kolhāpur to avert some calamity which threatened his kingdom. Verse 48 compares him to a Gupta king in point of generosity and decides in favour of the former. The Gupta prince was no doubt traditionally handed down as a donor, but he had stigmatized his career by killing his own brother, seizing the latter's kingdom and queen, and wresting heavy sums from her. Amōghavarsha, on the other hand, panted neither for kingdom nor for self, and freely gave them away several times. The latter point reminds us of the *Praśnōttararatnamālikā*, the Digambara Jaina copies of which inform us that the work was composed by Amōghavarsha "after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him."[1] And it is quite possible that the figure of a royal ascetic found in a natural cavern[2] at Bādāmī may represent this Amōghavarsha. But this was nothing more than a surmise, as the other copies of the work omitted all mention of the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign. But our plates now clearly show that Amōghavarsha abdicated his throne, not once but more than once, before Śaka 793 (=A.D. 871), the date of the charter, when, however, he was carrying on his kingly duties. This shows that a king could in ancient times temporarily resign his sovereignty and enjoy the life of a hermit or ascetic. But who was the Gupta prince who was noted for his liberality up till the 9th century and who sinks into insignificance by comparison with Amōghavarsha? The *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla who is ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century[3] and the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu who has been placed in the same century but at its close, for the first time speak of a king called Vikramāditya renowned for his generosity. And it has been suspected that this Vikramāditya is either Chandragupta II or Skandagupta, both of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.[4] Of the former, there is no record to lead us even to surmise that he ousted his brother and usurped the throne. In the case of Skandagupta, however, the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription says that when his father (Kumāragupta I) died, the sovereignty of the family was tottering but that he put down his enemies and thereafter went to see his mother just as Kṛishṇa did Dēvakī. The reference to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī indicates that this was a family feud and that his enemies in the present case were his kinsmen.[5] We also further know that Skandagupta had a brother named Ghaṭōtkachagupta who was in charge of the Eraṇ district when Kumāragupta I was alive.[6] A seal of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was also found in Basārh (ancient Vaiśāli), which was the seat of the Yuvarāja during the Gupta rule. It appears probable that there was a fratricidal war between Ghaṭōtkachagupta and Skandagupta in which the former was killed and the throne seized by the latter. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to hold that Skandagupta-Vikramāditya was the Gupta king alluded to in our charter for comparison to Amōghavarsha.

The village granted, as we have seen, is **Jharivallikā** which is said to be situated in the Twenty-four-village Group of **Saṁjāna**. The boundaries of the village are specified as follows :—To the east is the river **Kalluvī**, which falls into the sea ; to the south, the village of **Uppalahatthaka** ; to the west, **Nandagrāma** ; and to the north, the village of **Dhannavallikā**. All these localities can be identified and are to be found in the northern part of the Thānā District of the Bombay Presidency. Saṁjāna is, of course, Sañjān, the original refuge

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early His. Dek.* (*Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 201).

[2] *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., Ind., West Circle*, for 1909-10, p. 42.

[3] [This ascription is problematical for the age of Hāla or of the *Saptaśatī* is still an open question. See Sir George Grierson's note on Prakrit in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XI ed.), Vol. XXII, p. 253, Dr. Sten Konow's *Essay on Rājaśēkhara* in his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 193, Mr. A. C. Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 73, and Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 74. So the proposed identification of the Vikramāditya of this anthology would require further demonstration.—Ed.]

[4] *Bhandarkar Com. Vol.*, p. 189.

[5] [His Bhitarī Inscription would show that they were rather the Savage Huns.—Ed.]

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 114-5. [In this connection we should not lose sight of the fact pointed out by Mr. Garde (*loc. cit.*) that the word expressing relationship of Ghaṭōtkachagupta with Kumāragupta I is now not forthcoming in the document referred to.—Ed.]

of the Parsis and the place from where these plates come. Jharivallikā is Zaroli; Kalluvī is the Kālū, also called Dārotā, which, no doubt, flows gradually westwards from this place till it falls into the sea. Uppalahatthaka is Uplāt; Nandagrāma, Nandagaon; and Dhannavallikā, Dhānolī. All these places are traceable in Bombay Survey Sheets, Nos. 133E and 134.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [॥*] स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं[3] ॥[१*] अनन्तभोगस्थितिरत्र पातु वः प्रतापशीलप्रभवोदयाचलः [।*]

2 [4]शुराष्ट्रकूटोच्छ्रितवंशपूर्व्वजः स वीरनारायण एव यो विभुः[5] ।[।२*] तदीयवीर्य्यायतयादवान्वये क्रमेण वार्द्धाविव रत्नसंचयः [।*] वभूव[6] गोविन्दमहीप्रतिर्भुवः[7]

3 प्रसाधनो[8] पृच्छकराजनः[9] ॥[३*] वभार[10] यः कौस्तुभरत्नविस्फुरद्गभस्तिविस्तीर्ण्णसुवक्षस्थलं ततः [।*] प्रभातभानुप्रभवप्रभाततं हिरण्मयं मेरुरिवाभितस्तटं ॥[४*] मनांसि

4 यत्रासमयानि[11] सन्ततं वचांसि यत्कीर्त्तिविकीर्त्तनान्यपि । शिरांसि यत्पादनतानि वैरिणां यशांसि यत्तेजसि नेशुरन्यतः ॥[५*] धनुस्समुत्सारितभूभृता मही प्रसारिता

5 येन पृथुप्रभाविना । महौजसा वैरितमो निराकृतं प्रतापशीलेन स कर्क्कराट् प्रभुः ॥[६*] इन्द्रराजस्ततोग्टह्णात्[12] यश्चालुक्यनृपात्मजां [।*] राक्षसेन विवाहेन रणे खे-

6 टकमण्डपे[13] ॥[७*] ततोभवद्दन्तिघटाभिमर्द्दनो हिमाचलादास्थितसेतुसीमतः [।]* खलीकृतोदृत्तमहीपमण्डलः कुलाग्रणीर्यो भुवि दन्तिदुर्ग्गराट्[14] ॥[८*] हिरण्य-

7 गर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयन्यां[15] यदासितं [।*] प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्ज्जरेशादिराजकम्[16] ॥[९*] स्वयंवरीभूतरणांगणे ततस्स निर्व्यपेक्षं शुभतुंगवल्लभः [।*] चकर्ष चालुक्यकुलश्री-

---

[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[4] Read सुराष्ट्र°.

[5] Metre of this and of the following four verses: Vaṁśasthavila.

[6] Read बभूव.

[7] Read °महीपतिर्भुवः.

[8] Read प्रसाधनः.

[9] Read °राजनन्दनः.

[10] Read बभार.

[11] Read यत्रास°.

[12] Read °ग्टह्णाद्यश्चा°.

[13] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[14] Metre: Vaṁśasthavila.

[15] Read °यिन्यां.

[16] Metre: Anushṭubh.

8 यं[1] [2]वलाद्विलोलपालिध्वजमालभारिणां[3] ॥[१०*] [4]अयोध्यसिंघासनचामरोर्जित-
स्मितातपत्रोप्रतिपत्तराज्यभाक् [।*] अकालवर्षो हतभूपराजको वभूव[5] राज-[6]

9 रिषिरग्रेषपुण्यकृत् ॥[११*] ततः प्रभूतवर्षोभूद्धारावर्षस्ततश्शरैर्द्धारावर्षायितं[7]
येन संग्रामभुवि भूभुजा[8] ॥[१२*] युद्धेषु यस्य करवालनिकृत्तशत्रुमूर्द्धाङ्क-
वीक्षणरुचिरासवपान-

10 मत:[9] । आकण्ठपूर्णजठरः परितृप्तस्त्युद्गारयन्निव स काहलधीरनादः[10] ॥[१३*]
गङ्गायमुनयोर्म्मध्ये राज्ञो गौडस्य नश्यतः [।*] लक्ष्मीलीलारविन्दानि श्वेत-
च्छत्राणि यो हरेत्[11] ॥[१४*]

11 व्याप्ता विश्वम्भरान्तं शशिकरधवला यस्य कीर्त्ति[12] समन्तात् प्रेंखच्छंकालि-
मुक्ताफलशतशफरानेकफेनोर्म्मिरुपैः[13] । पारावारान्यतीरोत्तरणमविरलं कुर्व्वतीव
प्रयाता स्व-

12 रर्ग[14] गोर्व्वाणहारद्विरदसुरसरि[15]द्दीत्तराङ्गच्छलेन[16] ॥[१५*] प्राप्तो राज्याभिषेक
निरुपमतनयो य[17] स्वसामन्तवर्ग्गात्स्वेषां[18] स्वेषां पदेषु प्रकटमनुनयै[19]
स्थापयिष्यानश-

13 षाम्[20] । पित्रा यूय[21] समाना इति गिरमरणीन्मन्त्रिवर्ग[22] स्त्रिवर्गोद्युक्ताः
कृत्येषु दक्षः क्षितिमवति यदोन्मोचयव्बद्धगंगं[23] ॥[१६*] दुष्टांस्तावत्स्वभृत्यां[24]
झटिति विघ-

14 टिता[25] स्थापितान्येशपाशां[26] युद्धे युद्धा स वध्वा[27] विषमतरमहोत्तानिवोग्रान्स-
मग्रां[28] [।*] मुक्ता सार्द्रान्तरात्मा विकृतिपरिणतौ वाडवाग्निं समुद्रः
क्षोभो नाभूद्विपक्षान-

15 पि पुनरिव तां[29] भूभृतो यो वभार[30] ॥[१७*] उपगतविकृतिः सततगंगो
यदुदितदण्डपलायनोनुवन्धाघ्यपगतपदशृंखलः[31] खलो यस्सनिगलवन्धगलः[32]

---

[1] Read °श्रियं.
[2] Read वला° ; and °भारिणीं.
[3] Metre of this and of the following verse : Vaṁśasthavila.
[4] Read °सिंहासन°.
[5] Read बभूव.
[6] Read राजर्षि°.
[7] Read °शरैः । धारा°.
[8] Metre : Anushṭubh.
[9] Read °पानमत्तः. [The original reads मत्तः—Ed.]
[10] Metre : Vasantatilaka.
[11] Read °हरत् ; Metre : Anushṭubh.
[12] Read कीर्त्तिः.
[13] Read °च्छंखालि° and °रूपैः.
[14] Read स्वर्गं.
[15] Read °सरिद्भास°.
[16] Metre of this and of the following two verses : Sragdharā.
[17] Read यः.
[18] Read °वर्गांस्स्वेषां.
[19] Read °नयैः.
[20] Read स्थापयिष्यन्नशेषान्.
[21] Read इयं.
[22] Read °वर्गो.
[23] Read °न्बन्ध°.
[24] Read °स्वभृत्यान्.
[25] Read विघटितान्.
[26] Read °पाशान्.
[27] Read बध्वा°.
[28] The letter र is engraved below the line. Read °न्समग्रान्.
[29] Read तान्.
[30] Read बभार.
[31] Read °बन्धात् [।] व्यपगत°. [The original correctly reads °द्यपगत°.—Ed.]
[32] Read °बन्ध°.

16 कृतस्य येन[1] ॥[१८*] श्रीमान्धाता विधातु[2] प्रतिनिधिरपरो [3]राष्ट्रकूटान्वयश्री-
सारान्सारामरम्यप्रविततनगरग्रामरामाभिरामासुर्व्वीसुर्व्वीश्वराणां[4] मकु-

17 टमकरिकाश्लिष्टपादारविन्दः पारावारोत्थवारिस्फुटरवरशनां पातुमुर्व्वीमुद्यतो[5] यः[6] ॥
[१९*] नवजलधरवीरध्वानगम्भीरभेरीरवबधिरितविश्वाशान्तरा-[7]

18 लो रिपुणां[8] [।*] पटुरवपटढक्काकाहलोत्तालतूर्य्यस्त्रिभुवनधवलस्योद्योगकालस्य
कालः[9] ॥[२०*] भूभृन्मूर्ध्नि[10] सुनीतपादविश्वरः[11] पुण्योदयस्तेजसा क्रान्ताशे-

19 षदिगन्तरᳵप्रतिपदं प्राप्तप्रतापोन्नतिः [।*] भूयो [12]योप्यनुरक्तमण्डलयुत(:)ᳵ-
पद्माकरानन्दितो मार्त्तण्ड[13] स्वयमुत्तरायणगत[14]स्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः[15] ॥[२१*] स
नाग-

20 भटचन्द्र[16]गुप्तनृपयोर्य्यशौर्य्ये[17] रणेस्वहार्य्यमपहार्य्य[18]धैर्य्यं विकलानथोन्मोलयत्[19] [।*]
यशोर्ज्जनपरो नृपान्स्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव(।) पुनᳵपुनरतिष्टि-[20]

21 पत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि[21] ।[२२*] हिमवत्पर्व्वतनिञ्झरान्बु[22] तुरगैः वीतश्च[23]
गङ्गजे-[24]

Second Plate; First Side.

22 र्ध्वनितं मज्जनतूर्य्यकैर्द्विगुणितं भूयोपि तत्कन्दरे [।*] स्वयमेवोपनतौ च
यस्य महतस्तौ धर्म्मचक्रायुधौ (।) हिमवान्कोर्त्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्त-

23 त्कीर्त्तिनारायणः[25] ॥[२३*] तत[26] प्रतिनिवृत्य [27]तत्प्रकृतभृत्यकर्म्मत्वयः[28] प्रताप-
मिव नर्म्मदातटमनुप्रयातᳵपुनः [।*] सकोशलकलिंगवेंगिडहलौड्रक[ा]-[29]

24 न्मालवां[30] विलभ्य निजसेवकै[31] [32]स्वयमवूभुजद्विक्रमः[33] ॥[२४*] प्रत्यावृत्तः प्राति-
राज्यं विधेयं कृत्वा रेवामुत्तरं[34] विन्ध्यपादे [।*] कुर्व्वन्धर्म्मान्कोर्त्तनैः
पुण्य[वृ]न्दैरध्यष्टात्तान्सो-[35]

---

[1] Metre: Pushpitāgrā.
[2] Read विधातुः.
[3] Read °सारां सारा°.
[4] Read °भिरामाम्। उर्व्वी°.
[5] Read पातुमव्र्यु°.
[6] Metre: Sragdharā.
[7] Read °बधिरित°.
[8] Read रिपूणां.
[9] Metre: Mālinī.
[10] Read °न्मूर्ध्नि.
[11] Read विसरः.
[12] Read °प्यनुरक्त°.
[13] Read मार्त्तण्डः.
[14] Read °मुत्तरा°.
[15] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[16] Read °चन्द्र°. [The original has चन्द्र°.—Ed.]
[17] Read यंशौर्य्ये.
[18] Read रणेष्वहार्य्य°.
[19] Read धैर्य्यंविकलानथोन्मूलयत्.
[20] Read °रतिष्ठि°. [The original reads °ष्ठि° correctly.—Ed.]
[21] Metre: Prithvī.
[22] Read °निर्झराम्बु.
[23] Read पीतश्च.
[24] Read गाङ्गं जलं°.
[25] Metre: Mattēbhavikrīḍita.
[26] Read ततः.
[27] Read °प्रकृति°.
[28] Read °त्वरं.
[29] Read °वंग°. [The Āndhra kingdom of Vēgi (or Vēṁgi) might be meant here. See V. 33 below.—Ed.]
[30] Read °न्मालवान्.
[31] Read °सेवकैः.
[32] Read °मबूभुजद्धि°.
[33] Metre: Prithvī.
[34] Read °मुत्तरां.
[35] Read °रध्यष्ठात्तां स्तो°.

25 चितां [1]राजधानी[2] ॥[२५*] मण्डलेशमहाराजसर्व्वस्व[3] यदभूद्भुवः । [4]महाराज-सर्व्वस्वामी भावी तस्य सुतोजनि[5] ॥[२६*] यज्जन्मकाले दैवज्ञैरादिष्ट(ष्टं) विषज्ञो भुवं [।*] भोक्तेति क्षि-

26 [6]मवत्सतुपर्यान्तास्तुधिमेखलां [॥२७*] योक्तारोमोघवर्षेण [7]बद्धा ये च युधि द्विषः [।*] मुक्ता ये विक्रतास्तेषां भस्मतश्शृंखलोद्भृतिः ॥[२८*] ततः-प्रभूतवर्षस्मन्त्नसंपूरणम-

27 नोरथः [।*] जगतुंगस्स[8] मेरुर्व्वा भूभृतामुपरि स्थितः ॥[२९*] उद[ति]ष्ठद-वष्टम्भं भंक्तुं द्रविलभूभृतां [।*] स जागरणचिन्ताश्रमग्नणभ्रान्तचेतसां ॥ [३०*] प्रस्थानेन हि के-

28 वलं प्रचलति स्वच्छादिताच्छादिता धात्री विक्रमसाधनैस्सकलुषं विद्वेषिणां द्वेषिणां [।*] लक्ष्मीरप्युरसो लतेव पवनप्रायासिता यासिता धूलिर्न्नैव दिशो-

29 गमद्रिपुयशस्सन्तानकं तानकं[9] [॥३१*] यस्यस्वोरुलपाणद्यचौलिकन्टपस्संपल्लवं पल्लवं प्रक्वानिं गमयन्कलिंगमगधप्रायासको यासकः [।*] गर्ज्जद्गुर्ज्जरमौलो-[10]

30 शौर्यविलयो [11]लंकारयमुद्योगस्तदनिन्द्यशासनमतस्सद्विक्रमो विक्रमः ॥[३२*] निकृतिविकृतगंगाश्शृंखलोबद्धनिष्ठा[12] कृतिमयुरनुकूला [13]मण्डलेशा स्वभृ-

31 त्या [।*] [14]विरजसमहितेनुर्यस्य वाह्यालिभूमिं [15]परिहृति विष्टा वेंगिनाथा-दयोपि[16] ॥[३३*] राजामात्यवराविव स्वहितकार्य्यालस्यनष्टौ हठाद्दण्डेनैव नि-

32 यम्य मूकबधिरावानीय[17] हेलापुरे [।*] [18]लंकातच्छिल तत्प्रभुप्रतिकृती का(ञ्ची)-[द्वा]सुपेतौ[19] ततः कीर्त्तिस्तम्भनिभौ[20] शिवायतनके येनेह [21]संस्थापितौ[22] ॥[३४*]या-

33 स्या[23] कीर्त्तिस्त्रिलोक्यान्निजभुवनभरं[24] भर्त्तुमासीत्समर्थः पुत्रश्चास्मामकेस्सफलमिति कृतं ज्जन्म[25] धर्म्मैरनेकैः [।*] किं कर्त्तु[26] श्रेयमस्मिन्निति[27] विम-

---

[1] Read राजधानीं.
[2] Metre: Śālinī.
[3] Read मण्डलेशो महाराजः शर्व्वः स्वो.
[4] Read महाराजशर्व्वः.
[5] Metre of this and of the following four verses: Anushṭubh.
[6] Read °रसेतुपर्यन्तामुधि°.
[7] Read बद्धा ये च.
[8] Read जगत्तुंग°.
[9] Metre of this and of the following verse: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[10] Read °मौलि°.
[11] Read लंकारयत्कारयन्नुद्योगे°.
[12] Read °श्शृंखलाबद्ध°.
[13] Read मण्डलेशाः स्वभृत्या.
[14] Read °महितेनु°.
[15] Read परिहृतिमनु.
[16] Metre: Mālinī.
[17] Read °बधिरा°
[18] Read लंकातः किल.
[19] Read °मुपेते.
[20] Read °निभे.
[21] Read संस्थापिते.
[22] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[23] Read स्याद्या.
[24] Read °स्त्रिलोकीं निज°.
[25] Read जन्म.
[26] Read कर्त्तुं.
[27] Read श्रेय°.

34 लयशᳶपुण्यशोपानमार्ग्गं[1] स्वर्ग्गप्रोत्तुंगसौध[2] प्रति रदनुपमः[3] कीर्त्तिम्बे(मे)वानु-
याप्त:(तः)[4] ॥[३५*] वन्धूनां[5] वन्धुराणा[6]मुचितनिजकुले पूर्व्वजानां प्रजानां[7] जाता-
35 नां वल्लभानां भुवनभरितसत्कीर्त्तिमूर्त्तिस्थितां[8] [।*] त्रातुं कीर्त्तिं[9] सलोकां
कलिकलुषमथो हंतुमंतो रिपूणां श्रीमान्सि[10]हासनस्थो [11]वुधनुतचरितोमोघव-
36 र्षं प्रशस्ति[12] ॥[३६*] त्रातु[13] नम्रान्विजेतुं रणशिरसि [14]परान्प्रार्थकेभ्यᳶ प्र(ा)दातुं
निर्व्वोढुं रूढिसत्यं धरणिपरिवृढो नेदृशोन्यः[15] [।*] इत्थं प्रोत्थाय सार्थं
पृथुरवपद-
37 ढक्कादिमन्द्रप्रघोषो [16]यसोन्द्रस्येव नित्यं ध्वनति कलिमलध्वन्सिनो[17] मन्दिराग्रे ॥
[३७*] दृष्ट्वा तन्नवराज्यमूर्ज्जि[त]वृहद्धर्म्मप्रभावं[18] नृपं भूय[19] षोडशराज्य-
38 वत्कृतयुगᳶप्रारम्भ[20] इत्याकुलः [।*] नश्यन्नन्तरनुप्रविश्य विषमो मायाम-
योसौ कलिः [21]सामन्तान्सचिवन्स्ववान्धवजनानन्योभयत्स्वीकृताम्[22] ॥[३८*]
39 शठमत्तं[23] प्रविधाय [24]त्कूटशपथैरोशस्वतंत्रा[25] स्वयं विनिहत्योचितयुक्तकारिपुरुषा-
न्सर्व्वं स्वयंग्राहिणः [।*] परयोषिदुहिता[26] स्वसेति न पु-
40 नर्म्मेदᳶपशूनामिव प्रभुरेवं कलिकालमित्यवसितं[27] [28]सदृत्तमुद्वृत्तः[29] ॥[३९*]
विततमहिमधाम्नि व्योम्नि संहृत्य धाम्नामितवति महतीन्दोर्म्मण्ड-
41 लं ताराकाश[30] [।*] उदयमहिमभाजो भ्राजितास्मप्रतापे विरतवति विजिह्मा-
स्वोर्ज्जितास्तावदेव(:)[31] ॥[४०*] [32]गुरुवुधमनुयातस्मार्यपातालमक्षा-[33]
42 दुदयगिरिमहिम्नो रट्टमार्त्तण्डदेवः । पुनरुदयमुपेत्योद्वृत्ततेजस्विचक्रं[34] प्रतिहत-
मथ कृत्वा लोकमेक[35] पुनाति ॥[४१*] राजात्मा मन एव तस्य
43 सचिवस्सामन्तचक्रं पुनस्तनीत्येन्द्रियवर्ग्ग[36] एष विधिवद्दागादयस्सेवकाः [।*]
देहस्थानमधिष्ठित[37] स्वविषयं भोक्तु[38] स्वतन्त्रः त्वमस्त-

---

[1] Read °सोपान°.

[2] Read सौधं.

[3] Read यद°.

[4] Metre of this and of the following two verses : Sragdharā.

[5] Read वन्धूनां.

[6] Read वन्धुराणा°.

[7] [The original reads °जानाम्प्रजानां.—Ed.]

[8] Read °मूर्त्तिंस्थितानाम्.

[9] Read कीर्त्तिं.

[10] Read °न्सिंहा°.

[11] Read बुध°.

[12] Read °वर्षं प्रशास्ति.

[13] Read त्रातुं.

[14] Read °न्प्रार्थकेभ्य°.

[15] Supply समर्थः.

[16] Read यद्ये°.

[17] Read ध्वंसिनो.

[18] Read °बृह°

[19] Read भूयः.

[20] Read °युगप्रारम्भ°.

[21] Read °न्सचिवान्स्ववान्धव° and °स्वीकृतान्.

[22] Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[23] Read °मत्तं.

[24] Read कूट°.

[25] Read °स्वतंत्राः.

[26] Read °षिद्दुहि°.

[27] Read °काल इत्य°.

[28] Read °मुद्वृत्तः.

[29] Metre : Mattēbhavikrīḍita.

[30] Read तारकाश.

[31] Metre of this and of the following verse : Mālinī.

[32] Read °बुध°.

[33] Read °क्षोर्यं°.

[34] Read °त्योहत°.

[35] Read °मेकः.

[36] Read °स्तन्नीत्येन्द्रिय°.

[37] Read °ष्ठितः.

[38] Read भोक्तुं.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

44 अम्भोक्तरि[1] सन्निपातविवशे सर्व्वेपि नश्यन्ति ते[2] ॥[४२*] दोषानौषधवद्य-
मानानिलवत्पृथ्व्वेन्धेनाग्निवत्[3] ध्वान्तं भानुवदात्मपूर्व्वज-

45 समाम्नायागतान्द्रोहकान्[4] [।*] संतापान्विनिहत्य[5] यः कलिमलं धाव्यादि-
सम्प्रान्ततः (।) कोर्त्त्या चन्द्रिक एव[6] चन्द्रधवलच्छत्रश्रिया

46 भ्राजितः ॥[४३*] [7]यत्खड्गाभिहतोत्तरोरिव फलं मुक्ताफलं मण्डलात् (।) यातं[8]
शूकरयूथवन्नहनतस्तन्मन्दिरं हास्तिकं । यत्कोपोग्र-

47 दवाग्निदग्धतनवः प्राप्ता विभूतिं परे[9] (।) तत्पादोपनतप्रसादतनवः प्राप्तो[10]
विभूतिम्परं[11] ॥[४४*] यस्याज्ञां परचक्रि[12] स्रजमिवाजस्रं शि-

48 रोभिर्व्वहन्त्यादिग्दन्तिघटावलीमुखपटः कीर्त्तिप्रतानस्ततः[13] । (।) यत्रस्थ[14] स्वकर-
प्रतापमहिमा कस्यापि दूरस्थितः (।) तेजक्रान्तसमस्तभूभृद्दि-[15]

49 न एवासौ न कस्योपरि ॥[४५*] यद्द्वारे[16] परमण्डलाधिपतयो दौवारिकै-
र्व्वारिकैरास्थानावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य वहिरप्यध्यासिता[17] यासिता । गाणिक्यं
वरत्नमौ-[18]

50 क्तिकचितं तद्वास्तिकं हास्तिकं (।) नादास्याम[19] यदीति[20] यत्र निजकं
पश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति च ॥[४६*] सर्प्पं पातुमसौ[21] ददौ[22] निजतनुं जीमूत-
केतोस्सुतः (।) श्येनायाथ शिविः[23] क-

51 पोतपरिरक्षार्थं दधीचोर्त्थिने । तेष्येकैकमतर्प्पयन्किल महालक्ष्म्यै स्वावामांगुलिं[24]
लोकोपद्रवशान्तये स्म दिशति श्रीवीरनारायणः ॥[४७*] हत्वा भ्रातर-

52 मेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्ततो लक्षं कोटिमलेखयन्किल[25] कलौ दाता
स गुप्तान्वयः [।*] येनात्याजि तनु[26] स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाह्यार्थकैः[27] का
कथा (।) ह्री-

53 स्तस्योन्नतिराष्ट्रकूटतिलको[28] दातेति कीर्त्यावपि[29] ॥[४८*] [30]स्वभुजभुजगनिस्त्रिंशो-
ग्रदंष्ट्राग्रदष्टप्रवल(वल)रिपुसमूहेमोघवर्षे महीशे[31] ।(।) न दध-

---

1 Read °म्भिन्नीक्तरि.

2 Metre of this and of the following six verses : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

3 Read °च्छुक्नेष्व°. [Note the shape of त् here and in lines 46, 56, 73 and 74 below.—Ed.]

4 Read °न्द्रोहकान्.

5 Read संतापान्विनि°.

6 Read चन्द्रिकयेव.

7 Read यद्दण्डाभिहतात्तरो°.

8 Read °न्यायातं.

9 Read परे.

10 Read प्राप्ता. [The original correctly reads प्राप्ता.—Ed.]

11 Read °म्परे.

12 Read °चक्रिणः.

13 Read °स्थितः.

14 Read यत्रस्थः.

15 Read तेजःक्रान्त°.

16 Read यद्द्वारे.

17 Read बहि°.

18 Read वरत्न°.

19 Read नादास्यामो ; but this spoils the metre.

20 Read यदेति.

21 Read °मसौ. [The original has °सौ.—Ed.]

22 Read ददौ.

23 Read शिबिः.

24 Read स्वंवामां°.

25 Read °लेखयत्किल.

26 Read तनुः.

27 Read °ह्याशा°.

28 Read ह्रीस्तस्योन्नति and कूट.

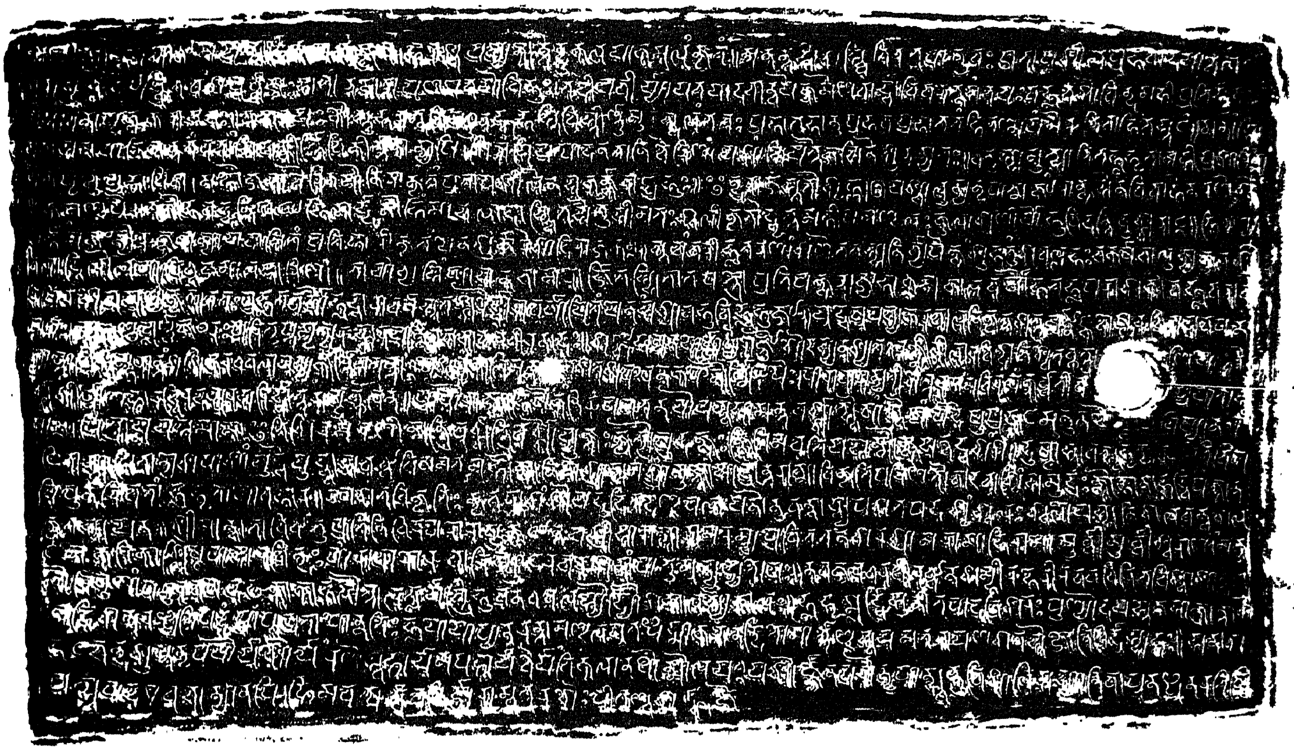
29 Read कीर्त्यामपि.

30 Read °भुजगनि° and °प्रबल°.

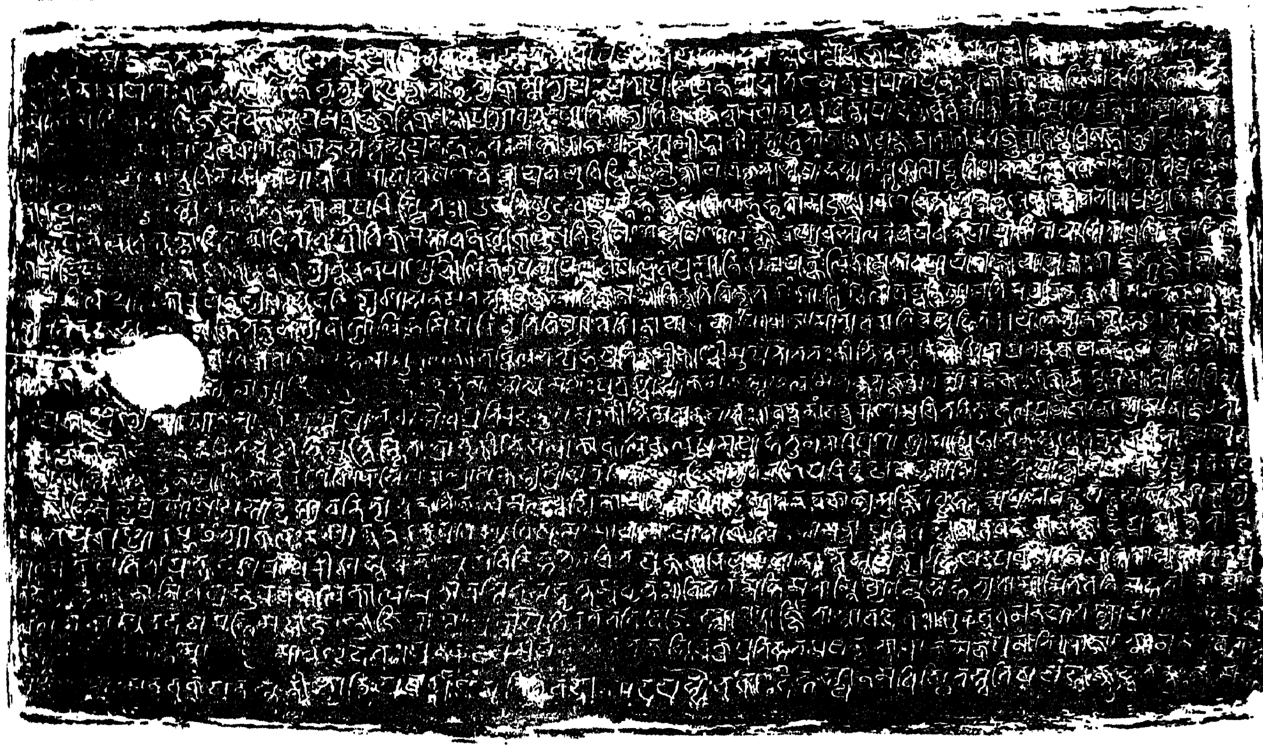
31 Read महीशे.

Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I : Saka-Samvat 793.

i.

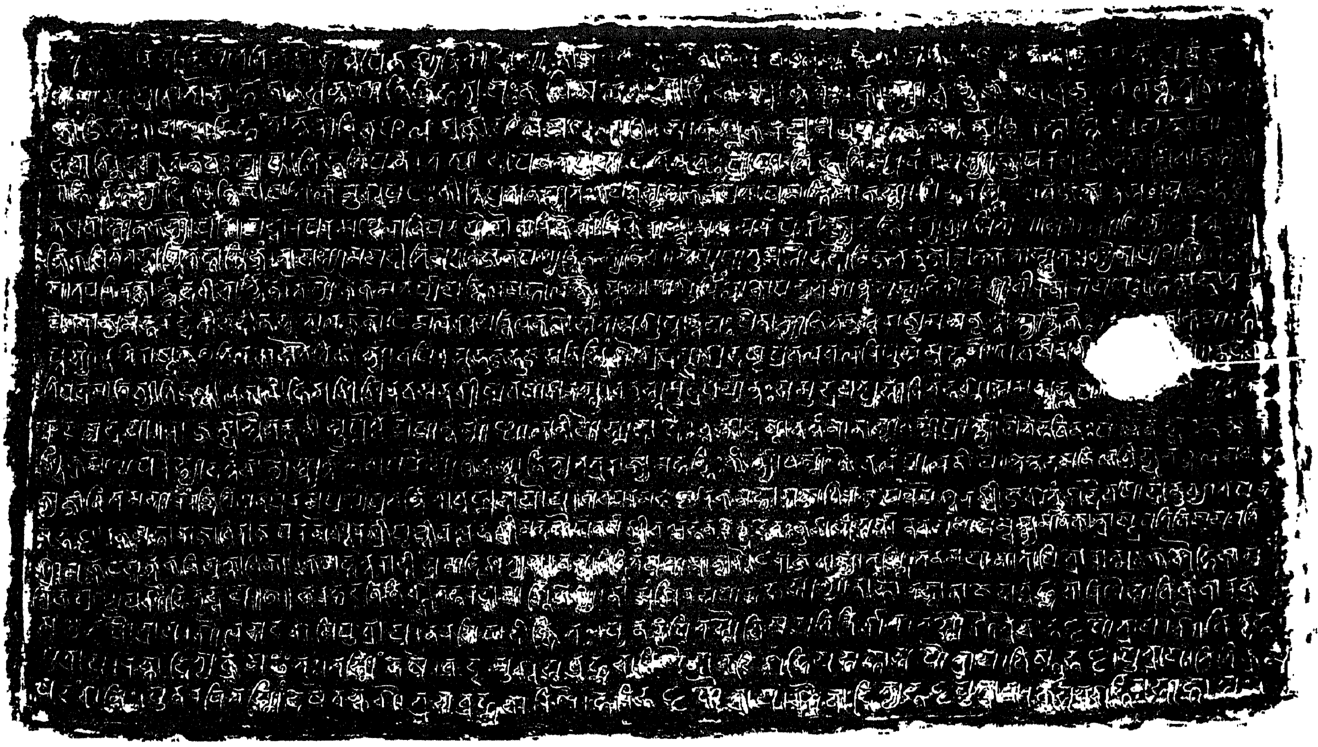


ii a.



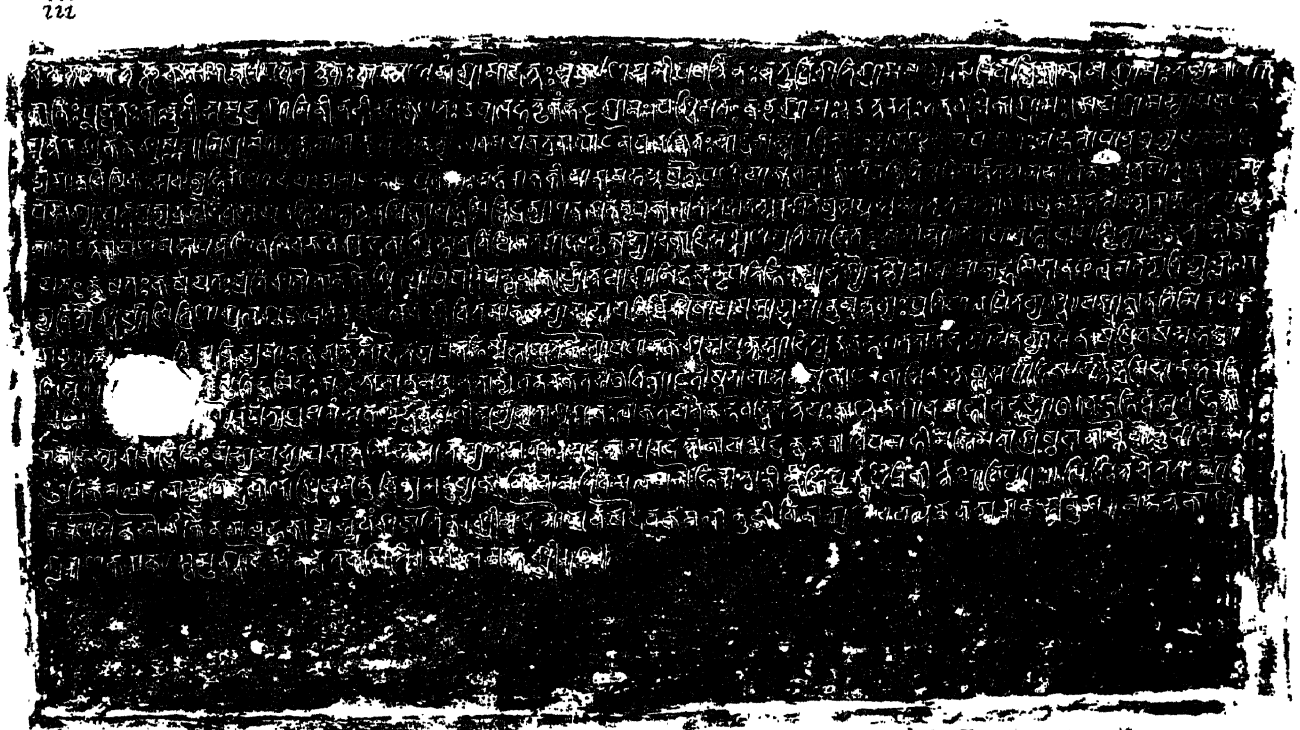
ii b.

44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62



iii

64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78



SEAL OF THE SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.



54 ति पद्मीतिव्याधिदुष्कालकाले[1] (।) हिमशिशिरवसन्तग्रीष्मवर्षाशरत्सु[2] । [।४८*] चतुस्समुद्रपर्यान्त:[3] समुद्र[4] यत्प्रसाधितं [।*] भग्ना समस्तभूपालमुद्रा ग-

55 रुडमुद्रया[5] ॥ [५०*] राजन्द्रास्ते[6] वन्दनीस्तु[7] पूर्व्वं [8]येषान्धर्म्मो [9]पालानीयोस्मदादे:[10] [।*] ध्वस्ता दृष्टा वर्त्तमानास्वधर्म्मं[11] प्रार्त्थ्यो ये ते भविन:[12] [13]पार्थिवेन्द्रा:[14] [॥५१*] भुक्त[15] कै-

56 श्चिचक्रमेणापरेभ्यो[16] दत्तं चान्यैस्त्यक्तमेवापरैर्य्यत् [।*] [17]कस्थानित्ये तत्र राज्य[18] महद्भि: कीर्त्यां[19] धर्म्म: केवलं पालनीयं[20] ॥[५२*] तेनेदमनिलवि-द्युचञ्चलमवलो-[21]

57 क्य जीवितमसारं ।(।) क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो [22]व्रह्मदायोयं[23] ॥[५३*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपर-[24]

58 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेव: कु-शली सर्व्वानिव यथासम्वन्ध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-[25]

59 ग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं[26] समादिशत्यस्तु (॥) वस्संविदितं यथा मान्यखेटराजधान्यातस्थितेन[27] मया मातापित्रोरात्मन(क)श्चैहिकामु-

60 ष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ ॥ करहडविनिर्ग्गतभरद्वामाग्निवेश्यानां आंगिरस-पाहस्पत्यानां[28] भारद्वानाजेसव्रह्मचारिणे[29] साविकूवारक्र-

61 महतपौत्राय[30] । गोलसडगमिपुत्राय[31] । नरसिवदीक्षित:[32] । पुनरपि [33]तस्मे विषयविनिर्गता[34] । तस्मै[35] गोत्रे च भट्टपौत्राय । गोविन्दभट्ट-

62 पुत्राय । रच्छादित्यक्रमहत:[36] । तस्मिं देशे[37] । वहुमुखसव्रह्मचारिणे[38] दावडि-गड्डियसहासपौत्राय । विष्णुभट्ट(।)पुत्राय । [39]तिविक्रम-

---

1 Read °काला°.
2 Metre : Mālinī.
3 Read पर्य्यन्त°.
4 Read समुद्रं.
5 Metre : Anushṭubh.
6 Read राजेन्द्रा°.
7 Read वन्दनीया°.
8 Read शेषां धर्म्म°.
9 Read पालनी°.
10 Read °दाद्यै:.
11 Read °स्वधर्म्म°.
12 Read भावि°.
13 Read °पार्थि°.
14 Metre of this and of the following verse : Śālinī.
15 Read भुक्तं.
16 Read °श्चिद्भि°.
17 Read कास्था°.
18 Read राज्ये.
19 Read कीर्त्यै.
20 Read °नीय:.
21 Read °विद्युच्चञ्चल°.
22 Read व्रह्म°.
23 Metre : Āryā.
24 Read °जगत्तुंग°.
25 Read °सम्बध्य°.
26 Read महत्तरादीन्.
27 Read मान्यखस्थितेन.
28 Read भरद्वाजाग्निवेश्यांगिरसवार्हस्पत्यान°.
29 Read °द्वाजगोत्रसव्रह्म°.
30 Read °क्रमवित्°.
31 Read °षडंगवित्°.
32 Read नरसिंहदीक्षिताय.
33 Read °तद्विषय°.
34 Read °विनिर्गताय.
35 Read तस्मिन्.
36 Read °क्रमविदे.
37 Read तस्मिन्देशे.
38 Read °व्रह्म°.
39 Read त्रि°.

63 षडंगमि:[1] । पुनरपि तस्मिं देषे[2] वच्छगोत्रसव्रह्मचारिणे[3] । हरिभट्टपौत्राय । गोवादित्यभट्टपुत्राय । केसवगच्छियसाहास:[4] ।

Third Plate.

64 चतुका:नां[5] वह्वृचसखानां[6] । एवं चतुक: व्राह्मणानां[7] ग्रामो दत्त: संजाण-समीपवर्त्तिन: चतुर्विंशतिग्राममध्ये[8] । कृविवल्लिकानामग्राम: तस्य चाघाट-
65 नानि:[9] पूर्व्वत: कल्लुवी समुद्रगामिनी नदी । [10]दच्चिणत: उप्पलहत्यकं[11] भट्टग्राम: । पश्चिमत: नन्दग्राम: । उत्तरत: धम्मवल्लिकाग्राम: । अयं ग्रामस्य संज्ञाने
66 पत्तने शुंकंन शुणयामिग्रामं सवृत्तमालाकुलं भोक्तव्यं[12] । एवमयं चतुराघाट-नोपलच्चित: सोद्रंगस्सपरिकर: सदण्डदसपराध:[13] सभूतापात्तप्रत्यय:[14] सोतप-
67 द्यमानविष्टिक: सधान्यहिरण्यादेय: अचाटभटप्रवेश्य: सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्त-प्रच्चेपणीया[15] आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवच्चितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालिन:[16] पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-क्रमो-
68 पभोग्य: [17]पूर्व्वप्रत्यव्रह्मदेवदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धराय[18] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन[19] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नवतृतयत्यधिकेषु[20] नन्दनसंवत्सरा-न्तर्गतपुष्य-
69 मास उत्तरायणमहापर्व्वणि [21]वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रतिथिशं(सं)तर्प्पणार्थं[22] अद्योदकादिसर्गेण प्रतिपादित: अतोस्योचितया व्रह्मदायस्थित्या[23] भुंजतो भोज-
70 यत: कृषत: कर्षयत: प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चिच्चल्पापि[24] परिपन्थना कार्य्या तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोला-
71 न्यनित्यैश्वर्य्याणि त्रिणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचंचल[25] च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्वि-शेषोयमस्मद्दायानुमन्तव्य:[26] प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च ॥ यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपट-

---

[1] Read °गमिरे.

[2] Read तस्मिन्देशे.

[3] Read वत्स° and °व्रह्म°.

[4] Read केशव° and °साहासाय°.

[5] Read °ष्कानां.

[6] Read वह्वृचशा°.

[7] Read एवंचतुष्कस्यव्रा°.

[8] Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

[9] Read °नानि.

[10] From here the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been strictly observed.

[11] Read °हत्यकी.

[12] The sense of this line is not clear.

[13] Read °दशापराध:.

[14] Read °पातप्रत्याय:°. [The original reads संभूतोपात्त°.—Ed.]

[15] Read °णीय:.

[16] Read °कालीन:.

[17] Read °प्रदत्तव्रह्म°.

[18] Read °भ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या.

[19] Read °न्यायेन.

[20] Read नवत्युत्तरत्र्यधिकेषु [or rather त्रिनवत्य° or त्रयोनवत्य°.—Ed.].

[21] Read वलि° and °होत्रातिथि.

[22] Read णार्थ°.

[23] Read °व्रह्म.

[24] Read कैश्चिदल्पापि.

[25] Read तृणाग्र° and °बिन्दु°.

[26] Read स्मद्दायो°.

72 साहतमतिराच्छिद्यमानकं[1] चानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च[2] सयुक्त[3] स्यादित्युक्त[4] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्ठि[5] वर्षसहस्रा-
73 णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] विन्ध्याटवोष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णसर्प्पा हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति
74 येत्[6] ॥[५५*] अग्नेरपत्य[7] प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काञ्चनं[8] गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[५६*] वहुभिर्व्वसुधा[9] भुक्ता
75 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[५७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।*] महीं महिमतां[10] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं[11] ॥[५८*]
76 इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां[12] श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनै[13] र्हि [14]पुरुष×परिकीर्त्तयो विप्याः[15] ॥[५९*] लिखितं चैत[16] धर्म्माधि-
77 करणसेनभोगिकेन[17] वालभकायस्थवंशजातेन । श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवकमलानुजीविना[18] गुणधवलेन वत्सराजसूनुना ॥ महत्तको
78 गोगूराणक[19] राजासमुखादेशेन[20] दूतकमिति[21] ॥ मंगल महश्री[22] ॥ ◎ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). May He (Vishṇu) whose navel-lotus was adopted by Brahman as his abode, and Hara, too, whose head is adorned by the beautiful digit of the moon, protect you!

(V. 2). May that Vīra-Nārāyaṇa himself protect you here, who is all-pervading, who rests on the hood of (the serpent) Ananta, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and who is the progenitor of the lofty line of the good **Rāshṭrakūṭas**. May that **Vīra-Nārāyaṇa** (Amōghavarsha) himself protect you here, who is powerful, who lives in endless enjoyments, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and the ancestor of whose lofty line was the good Rāshṭrakūṭa.

(V. 3). In the line of Yadus, long extending through his prowess, in course of time, came to be, like a heap of jewels in the sea, prince **Gōvinda**, ornament of the earth, and son of **Pṛichchhakarāja**.

---

[1] Read °मतिराच्छिद्यमानां वाच्छिद्य.
[2] Read °पातकैश्च°.
[3] Read °संयुक्तः.
[4] Read स्यादिति । उक्तं.
[5] Read षष्टिं.
[6] Read ति.
[7] Read रपत्यं.
[8] Read काञ्चनं.
[9] Read बहु°.
[10] Read महीमतां.
[11] Read °श्रेयो°.
[12] Read °दलाम्बुबिन्दु°.
[13] Read °रात्मनीनैर्°.
[14] Read पुरुषैर्×पर°. [Note the cross-mark above ष. The letter र्‍ is engraved below the line.—Ed.]
[15] Read विलोप्याः.
[16] Read चैतद्.
[17] Read धर्माधिकरणिक.
[18] Read °देवकमला°.
[19] Read °राणकौ.
[20] Read °राजस°.
[21] Read दूतक इति
[22] Read मङ्गलं महाश्रीः.

(Vs. 4-6). Then came lord **Karkarāṭ**, who bore an expansive chest with the rays of the Kaustubha jewel throbbing like Mēru which bears golden slope spread all over with lustre emitting from the morning sun; full of fear for whom were constantly the minds of the enemies, proclaimers of whose fame were (their) words, bent at whose feet were (their) heads, and lost in whose lustre was (their) glory; by whom possessing the power of Pṛithu the *mahī* (the dominions, the earth) was widened, the *bhūbhṛits* (the kings, the mountains) were pushed back by the bow, and by whom of great *ōjas* (might, splendour) and of *pratāpa* (valour, scorching heat) was dispelled the darkness, namely, the enemies.

(V. 7). Then (came) **Indrarāja**, who in the (marriage) hall, namely, **Khēṭaka**, seized in battle the daughter of the **Chalukya** king by the *rākshasa* (form of) marriage.

(V. 8). Then flourished on the earth king **Dantidurga**, the chief of his family, who smote hosts of elephants and humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himālayas down to the limit of the Sētu.

(V. 9). By whom kings such as the **Gurjara** lord and others were made door-keepers when in **Ujjayinī** the (Great Gift called) Hiraṇya-garbha was completed by the Kshatriyas.[1]

(V. 10). Then in the battle field which proved a (place) of choice marriage, **Śubhatuṅga-Vallabha** listlessly and forcibly wrested away the Fortune of the Chālukya family, bearing the garland, namely, the waving *Pālidhvajas*.[2]

(V. 11). Though elevated by means of incontestable throne and *chowries*, possessed of a white umbrella and enjoying a kingdom without any rival, **Akālavarsha,** who destroyed kings and chieftains, was a royal sage, a doer of unending holy acts.

(V. 12). Then **Prabhūtavarsha** became (king), and thereafter **Dhārāvarsha**, by which king was rained down, as it were, a shower with arrows on the battle field.

(V. 13). That (low) deep sound of whose drum is, as it were, the satiated Death belching out, (who is) intoxicated with potations of tasteful liquor, namely, the slightly warm blood from the enemies' heads cut off by his sword in battles and (who is) (now) with stomach filled to the throat.

(V. 14). Who seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of the Lakshmī (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the **Gauḍa** king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna.

(V. 15). Whose fame, white as the rays of the moon, having pervaded to the end of the earth on all sides, (and) having as it were uninterruptedly crossed to the other shore of the ocean in the shape of numbers of moving conches, hundreds of pearls, *śaphara* fish, and waves with manifold foam, reached heaven under the semblance of the necklaces and elephants of the gods, the heavenly river, and the *dhārtarāshṭra* (swan).

(V. 16). The son of **Nirupama**, devoted to *tri-varga* and diligent in duties, as soon as he was crowned, being desirous of openly re-instating all classes of his feudatories, with courtesies, in their respective positions, and intent upon releasing the imprisoned **Gaṅga** addressed the words: "Ye are (unto me) like (my) father," to the assemblage of councillors, while they were protecting the earth.

(V. 17). Quickly fighting in battle and capturing all his wicked vassals like great bulls, extremely uncontrollable and fierce, that had snapped (his noose) but had those of other lords cast over them, and releasing them when their spirit of defection ended, he, with his heart softened, harboured them as the ocean does the submarine fire. It was no perturbation to him. He again supported the kings (*bhūbhṛits*) that were his enemies (*vipakshas*) just as the ocean does the mountains (*bhūbhṛits*) deprived of their wings (*vipakshas*).

[1] For a description of the *Mahādāna* called *Hiraṇya-garbha*, see the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa, Uttara-parvan*, chap. 176.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 104.

(V. 18). By whom when the ungrateful Gaṅga was disaffected in consequence of fleeing away from the fine ordered by him, that villain, who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had (now) fetters put round his neck.

(V. 19). Who was the illustrious Māndhātṛi, another viceroy of the Creator, in as much as he with his lotus-like feet touched by the *makara*-shaped crowns of the lords of the earth, exerted himself to protect the earth, which had as the essence of (her) royalty the line of the **Rāshṭrakūṭas**, which was charming in consequence of beautiful women, and towns and villages that were delightful, extensive and possessed of gardens, and which had for (her) girdle the ocean resounding clearly with (its) expansive waters.

(V. 20). Who, deafening the intervals between all the quarters with the noise of the deep-sounding drums, the sound of which was as loud as that of a new cloud, and with (his) *ḍhakkās*, *kāhalas*, and the loud *tūryas* sounding shrill, is death to the busy time of the enemies of **Tribhuvana-dhavala.**

(V. 21). Who, moreover, being an unbearable store of lustre, was the Sun himself gone into the *Uttar-āyaṇa* (the north; the northern part of the elliptic), bringing his *pāda* (feet; rays) to stretch on the *mūrdhans* (heads; tops) of *bhūbhṛits* (kings; mountains), being of auspicious rise, covering the intervals between all the quarters with his lustre, getting at every step increase of *pratāpa* (valour; heat), having an *anurakta* (devoted; red) *maṇḍala* (feudatories; disc) and being *padmākar-ānandita* (gladdened by the hand of the goddess of sovereignty; gladdening the assemblage of lotuses).

(V. 22). Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings **Nāgabhaṭa** and **Chandragupta**, he, intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like *śāli* corn, other kings, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards re-instated them in their own places.

(V. 23). The water of the springs of the Himālaya mountains was drunk by whose horses and plunged into by whose elephants, the thunder was redoubled in (its) caverns by the *tūrya* musical instruments of (whose) ablutions, (and) to whom, the great one, those (kings) **Dharma and Chakrāyudha** surrendered of themselves. He thus bore resemblance to the fame of Himālaya, and was consequently **Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa.**

(V. 24). Who returned from there, (thinking) that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the **Mālava** country along with the **Kōsala**, the **Kaliṅga**, the **Vaṅga**,[1] the **Ḍāhala**, and the **Ōḍraka**, that **Vikrama** himself made his servants enjoy them.

(V. 25). Making (his) enemies submissive, he returned to the remaining (part of the) Rēvā, and established himself in a capital befitting (him), at the foot of the Vindhyas, performing pious deeds by constructing temples, which are stores of spiritual merit.

(V. 26). While the Mahārāja **Śarva**, lord of a small kingdom, was his own, a son was born to him who was to be Mahārāja-Śarva, lord of the earth.

(V. 27). At the time of whose birth it was foretold by astrologers that "being irresistible he would enjoy the earth bounded by the Himālayas and the Sētu, and girdled by the ocean;

(V. 28). "Of the warriors, (his) enemies, those that were bound down in battle by Amōghavarsha would be released, but, if disaffected, there would be release from fetters only by being reduced to ashes."

(V. 29). Then he was Prabhūtavarsha, as he satisfied the desires of those that were his own. He was **Jgaattuṅga**, being at the head of *bhūbhṛits* (kings), just as Mēru is *jagattuṅga* (lofty on earth) being at the head of *bhūbhṛits* (mountains).

[1] [I would put Vēgi (or Vēṁgī) instead. See f. n. 29 on p. 245 above.—Ed.]

(V. 30). He (then) stood up to destroy the haughtiness of the **Dravila** kings, who were sleepless, anxious, and with minds distracted through deliberations.

(V. 31). By whose mere setting out, the clear undivided earth shakes, being shabbily covered by the instruments of his valour. Lakshmī too moves away, displeased, from the breasts of the enemies who hate him intensely, like a creeper pulled out by the wind. It is not the dust that has flown away to the quarters, but the loom that extended the fame of his enemies.

(V. 32). He terrified the **Kērala, Pāṇḍya** and **Chaulika** kings, caused the sprouting **Pallava** to wither, was the afflictor who caused the **Kaliṅga** and the **Magadha** to sit and fast themselves to death,[1] was destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering **Gurjjaras** (and thus) behaved (like Rāma), enemy of Laṅkā ;[2] (and as he) got its unimpeachable orders carried out assiduously, he was Vikrama of laudable valour.

(V. 33). The **Gaṅgas**, who became disaffected through baseness, were bound down with fetters and met with death. The lords of *maṇḍalas*, who were friendly, made his camp ground along with the enclosure,[3] free of dust by wage, but the **lord of Vēṁgi** and others by unpaid labour.

(V. 34). By whom having forcibly by (his chastising) rod controlled, like dumb and deaf persons, the king and the prime-minister, ruined through laziness in working for their good, (and) having brought to **Hēlāpura** from Laṁkā two statues of its lord, these, having afterwards proceeded to **Kāñchī**, were established there in the temple of Śiva like two columns of fame.

(V. 35). " (My) fame has occupied the three worlds, and my unique son is able to bear the burden of his world,"—so (thinking) he made his life fruitful through various religious acts. " For doing what should I stay in this (world) ? "—so saying **Anupama** followed (his) fame, while going to the lofty palace, namely, heaven, to which spotless fame and holy merit formed the steps.

(V. 36). In order to protect the fame (along with the subjects) of the ancestors in his worthy family, and of his pleasing relatives, who were the Vallabhas of the peoples, and who were now living in the form of (their) good fame which filled up the world, and in order (thus) to destroy the sinfulness of Kali, there rules the prosperous **Amōghavarsha**, sitting on the lion-throne, the exterminator of enemies, whose deeds are praised by the wise.

(V. 37). In front of the palace of whom, the destroyer of the impurity of Kali, (as in front of that) of Indra, sounds incessantly the deep rumbling sound of loud-sounding *ḍhakkā* and other (instruments), soaring high with the import : " there is no other lord of the earth like this one, able to protect the humble, to conquer enemies at the front of the battle, to make gifts to supplicants, and maintain the truthfulness of custom."

(V. 38). Seeing that new kingdom which consisted of sixteen principalities but (seeing also) the king, the might of whose righteousness was profuse and ennobling, the crooked, deceitful Kali, distressed that it was the beginning of the Kṛita Age, fleeing and penetrating into the interior, distracted the feudatories, the ministers, and his relatives, who were made his own.

(V. 39). Giving deceitful counsel through false oaths, they were independent of (their) lord. Of their own accord killing the appointed officers who were worthy, all seized for themselves. 'Another's wife is a daughter or sister,'—such distinction there was none, as among the beasts. The Kali Age becoming thus supreme, good behaviour became extinct through sinful living.

(V. 40). When, withdrawing (his) expanse of lustre from the sky, the great (sun) sets, the disc of the moon and the stars shine out, attaining to the glory of a rise. When a *sa-pratāpa*

[1] The word *prāyāsaka* I take in the sense of *prāy-āsaka*. *Prāya* signifies ' seeking death by fasting, fasting, sitting down and abstaining from food with some object in view (generally with words like *ās upaviś* etc.)'—Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

[2] *Laṁkārayati* I take in the sense of *Laṁk-ārivad-ācharati*, behaves himself like (Rāma), the enemy of Laṅkā.

[3] For the words *vāhyāli* and *parivṛiti* see *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 250 and n. 5.

(possessed of heat; possessed of valour) (temporarily) ceases to be, for that length of time only do the *vijihmas* (the dismal ones; the crooked ones) rise.

(V. 41). Following *guru* and *budha* (the two planets of those names; elders and wise men), the lord, the sun of the **Raṭṭas**, taking, again, his rise through the greatness of the rising mountain, namely, **Ārya Pātālamalla**, and overpowering the unruly circle of *tējasvins* (luminaries; men of fiery spirit), again, purifies the world alone.

(V. 42). The soul is the king; the mind is his minister; the group of senses is again that circle of feudatories according to the political science; and speech, &c., are the servants conforming to the prescribed rules. Presiding over his place, namely, the body, he (the soul) is able to enjoy, independently, his own *vishaya* (kingdom; worldly objects). When that enjoyer is subject to *saṁnipāta* (a kind of fever, collision), they all perish.

(V. 43). Who, having, with rage, destroyed the sedition-mongers that were so by regular succession from their own ancestors as does a medicine diseases, wind clouds, fire dry fuel, and the sun darkness, (and) having (thus) destroyed by fame as by moon-light the darkness of Kali from both the beginning and extremity of the earth, he shone by the beauty of the royal parasol, white like the moon.

(V. 44). From the *maṇḍala* (feudatories) struck by whose *daṇḍa* (chastising rod) pearls came to his palace like fruit from a tree (struck by a stick), (and) to his palace came a host of elephants, like a herd of boars, from the forest, with *maṇḍala* (temples) struck by *daṇḍa* (stick). With the bodies consumed by the fierce fire of whose anger the enemies were reduced to ashes; (as) others, with bodies favoured on account of their falling at his feet, attained to prosperity.

(V. 45). Whose order the alien kings incessantly place on their head as a chaplet. Whose expanse of fame is the white veil on the row of the temples of the elephants of the quarters. Far off from whom stands the greatness of the *pratāpa* (valour; heat) of his *karas* (hands, rays), though it is in him? Overpowering all the *bhūbhṛits* (kings; mountains) with his *tējas* (prowess, heat) over whom is he not a very *ina* (king; Sun)?

(V. 46). At whose gate the lords of the hostile territories are put to trouble by relays of door-keepers, being made to sit outside, while waiting for the proper time of (his) assembly-hall, and where, when they perceive that they will not obtain back their own bevy of courtezans and group of elephants, covered with choice gems and pearls, which have gone into his possession, they droop down.

(V. 47). That son of Jīmūtakētu gave away his own body in order to protect a serpent; Śibi, again, to a hawk to save a dove; (and) Dadhīcha to (his) supplicator. But they, we are told, gratified each a single individual, (whereas) the illustrious Vīra-Nārāyaṇa presented his left finger to Mahā-Lakshmī for the pacification of a calamity to the (whole) people.

(V. 48). That donor, in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his) brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen, (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document). But he, who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant (to him), (saying): 'of what account are the external objects', was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of the exalted Rāshṭrakūṭas was the (real) donor.

(V. 49). While Amōghavarsha, whose cluster of powerful enemies are bitten by the fangs of the terrible jaw of the snake, namely, the sword in his hand, is the ruler of the earth, no (adverse) times characterised by calamities to husbandry, plagues and famines can set their foot in the Hēmanta, Siśira, Vasanta, Grīshma, Varshā and Śarat seasons.

(V. 50). When the (earth), as far as the coast of the four oceans, bearing his seal, was subdued, the seals of all kings were broken by the **Garuḍa seal.**

(V. 51). Those kings are, indeed, worthy of respect who were of the past and whose charity is to be maintained by us and others. The (kings of the) present were wicked and had been destroyed. Those who are to be besought for (the maintenance of) our charity are kings of the future.

(V. 52). What consideration can there be for that unstable kingdom which is enjoyed by some through valour, passed over by some to others, and given up again by some others? By the great a charity alone should be maintained for fame.

(V. 53). Considering that this life is unsubstantial and as fickle as a breeze or flash of lightning and that a grant of land is a supreme religious merit, he has promoted this gift to Brāhmaṇās.

Ll. 57 ff. And he, the P.M.P. Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha, **Śrī-Amōghavarsha**, Śrī-Vallabhanarēndradēva, who meditates on the feet of the P.M.P. **Śrī-Jagattuṅgadēva**—being well, commands the officials such as the lords of the provinces (*rāshṭra*), the lords of the districts (*vishaya*), the heads of the villages (*grāma-kūṭa*), the accountants (*Yuktaka*),[1] the deputy-accountants (*Niyuktaka*), the leading persons, and others,—all according as they are concerned.

" Be it known to you that by me, while residing at the **capital** of **Mānyakhēṭa**,—for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—has been granted to four Brāhmaṇas of the Bahvṛicha *śākhā*, namely, (1) Narasiṁha-Dīkshita, son of Gōla-Shaḍaṁgavid,[2] grandson of Śāvikūvāra-Kramavid,[3] a religious student of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*) consisting of (the *pravaras*) Bharadvāja, Agnivēśya, Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, (originally) come from **Karahaḍa**; (2) Rakshāditya-Kramavid, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Bhaṭṭa, of the same *gōtra* and come from the same province; (3) Trivikrama-Shaḍaṁgavid, son of Vishṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaḍi-Gahiyasahāsa,[4] a religious student of the Vaḍḍamukha (*gōtra*). (residing) in the same country; (4) Kēśava-Gahiyasahāsa, son of Gōvāditya-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, a religious student of the Vatsa (*gōtra*), (residing) in the same country;—the village called **Jharivallikā** from the Twenty-four-village Group adjoining to **Saṁjāna.** Its boundaries (are): to the east, the river **Kaḷluvī**, flowing towards the sea, to the south the village of the Bhaṭṭas called **Uppalahatthaka**, to the west **Nandagrāma** (and) to the north the village of **Dhannavallikā.**

That (village), so marked by the four boundaries, together with the royal share,[5] with the appurtenances, with (the proceeds of the punishments for) faults and the ten offences, with the (right) of toll upon the appearance of a spirit,[6] with (the right to) forced labour as it arises, and with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by the Chāṭas or Bhaṭas,[7] and not to be seized by the hand of any (officials) belonging to the king, to be enjoyed lineally in regular

---

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśōka*, pp. 53-4. [2] *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 241, n. 3.

[3] *Kramavid* probably signifies "one conversant with the *Krama* arrangement of the Vedic text."

[4] Gahiyasahāsa corresponds to the modern Ghaissās, a surname at present found among the Dēśastha, Chitpāvan and Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇs of the Mahārāshṭra.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 189, n. 39.

[6] When any spirit manifests itself at any particular place, many people come there to propitiate it, and the place thus becomes a source of income (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 242).

[7] The meaning of these words is unknown. I have therefore left them untranslated. They have generally been taken to signify " regular or irregular troops," but this is a mistake. For another meaning of *chāṭa*, see *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 284, n. 10. The correct sense, however, appears to be that deducible from the quotations which Professors K. B. Pathak and H. M. Bhadkamkar have cited from Śaṁkara's gloss on the *Bṛihadāraṇyakōpanishad* (*Ibid.*, pp. 296-7) and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (*Above*, Vol. XI, p. 176 and n.1) respectively. See also J. Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Pt. I, pp. 130-2.

succession of sons, grandsons, etc., to endure for the same time with the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, the river and the mountains, to the exclusion of previously given grants to Brāhmaṇas and gods, and according to the custom of cultivable and uncultivable land[1] for the purpose of internal adjudication[2] was bestowed to-day on the great festive occasion of the **Uttarāyaṇa** in the **month of Pausha** falling in the (current) **Nandana-Cyclic year, seven centuries of years increased by ninety-three having elapsed since the time of Śaka king,** for the sake of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithisantarpaṇa*, by pouring water and so forth (from the hand). No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to one enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating it, causing (it) to be cultivated, or occupying (it) in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this, my gift (to Brāhmaṇas) should be assented to and supported, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether my descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver), and considering that ephemeral wealth is as fickle as the flashes of lightning and life as unsteady as the drops of water clinging to the ends of grass. And he who, with his intellect, enclosed by the cover, namely, darkness of ignorance, will assent to (the actions of) one ready to confiscate (this grant of land), will be invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins and minor sins. (For), it is also said by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—[Vv. 54-59 are the benedictory and imprecatory verses with which a charter usually ends.] This has been written by the judge and *Sēnabhōgika*, **Guṇadhavala**, son of Vatsarāja, who is born in the **Kāyastha** family of **Vālabha** and serves the lotus (feet) of the prosperous Amōghavarshadēva. The *Mahattaka* Gōgū-Rāṇaka was the *Dūtaka* through the king's own verbal order.

No. 27.—KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKESIN II.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of these **copper-plates** were sent to me by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who had received them from the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., Telugu Encyclopædia Office, Egmore, Madras. The plates had been found near **Kopparam** in the Narasaraopet Tāluk of the Guṇṭūr District. For a description of them, and for remarks on their alphabet and language, see Mr. Lakshmana Rao's valuable article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.[3] I now re-edit the inscription because I believe that I am able to improve a few of his readings and renderings. The composer of the text knew so little Sanskrit that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express.

The inscription records a grant made by the *Mahārāja* **Satyāśraya Pulakēśi-Prithivivallabha**[4] (line 6 f.), the " dear grandson " (l. 5) of the *Mahārāja* **Kīrtivarma-Prithivivallabha** of the **Chalukya** family (l. 4). As stated by Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 43), *priya-pautra* must be a stupid error for *priya-putra*, " the dear son." For we know from trustworthy documents that **Pulakēśin II** was not the grandson, but the son of **Kīrtivarman I.**

The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of the Śāṇḍilyāyana-*gōtra* and the Āpastamba-*sūtra*, who resided at **Mūgamūr** (l. 10). The grant consisted of a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas* of land) in the village of **Irbuli** in (the district of) **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 11). The field lay to the south of

[1] For the expression *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna*, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 77-9.

[2] *Siddhi*= " decision, adjudication, determination (of a lawsuit) "—Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

[3] See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, for 1923, App. A, No. 14.

[4] In this compound the shortening of the final *ī* of *prithivī* is permitted by Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63; *cf.* compounds like *Hārīti-putra* (line 1 of this inscription), *Kālidāsa*, etc.

Koṇḍav[e]ṛupūr and to the north of **Virpaṛu** (l. 12). For Karma-rāshṭra, see above, Vol. XV, p. 250. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 49) identifies Koṇḍav[e]ṛupūr with Koṇḍaviḍu, and Virpaṛu with Vipparla, both in the Narasaraopet Tāluk of the Guṇṭūr District, and Mūgamūr with Mūṅgamūr in the Kandukūr Tāluk of the Nellore District.

In line 10 we are introduced to a great warrior named **Pṛithividuvarāja** whom Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 46 f.) identifies with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goa plates of Śaka 532.[1] I venture to propose another identification. If we connect the participle *sa[ṁ*]pradattā* (l. 8) with *ājñaptiḥ* (l. 14) and with its Prākṛit form *āṇatti*[2] (l. 10), we are driven to consider the words *-rājyasya Pṛithividuvarājam=āṇatti* (l. 9 f.) a mistake—which would not be without parallels in this incorrect text—for *-rājyasya Pṛithividuvarājasy=ājñaptiḥ*. Now, *duvarāja* is a Draviḍian *tadbhava* of *yuvarāja*.[3] If we contrast the title Pṛithiviyuvarāja, "the heir-apparent of the earth," with Pṛithivivallabha, "the husband of the earth," which was the title of Kīrtivarman I and Pulakēśin II; and as it is stated in line 9 f. that Pṛithiviyuvarāja had "secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son," it seems that Pṛithiviyuvarāja can be safely identified with **Vishṇuvardhana I**, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II and the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It follows further that **Vishṇuvardhana I** continued to be dependent on Pulakēśin II in the twenty-first year of the latter's reign (text line 13). From the Sātāra plates we already knew that he held the office of *Yuvarāja* in the eighth year (of Pulakēśin II).[4] In a grant of A.D. 632, which was the 18th year of his own reign,[5] and in the Timmapuram plates,[6] Vishṇuvardhana I already bears the title of *Mahārāja*.

The words *Vallabha-sama[ksh]-āvastitē* (l. 8) may have to be corrected into *Vallabhē samaksh-āvasthitē*, "Vallabha (*i.e.* Pulakēśin II) being present in person." The mysterious words *marnta Kali-kulanām . . . sva-bāhunā* (l. 8 f.) may be compared with *Kaliyuga-khala-nirmathanai[ḥ*] . . . .charitaiḥ* in the Sātāra plates of Vishṇuvardhana I,[7] and may be corrected accordingly into *mathā Kali-khalānām . . . . sva-bāhunā*, "by his arm. . . (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age)." The compound at the beginning of line 9, which Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 53) refers to Pṛithiviyuvarāja himself, has to be connected likewise with *sva-bāhunā*, and has to be corrected into *nishkṛishṭa-maṇḍalāgra-sanāthēna*, "wielding the drawn sword."

Line 13 contains the date of the grant: **the year twenty-one of the reign** (of Pulakēśin II), **the month of Kārttika, the great ninth (tithi), a Thursday.** For authoritative remarks on this date I refer the reader to the **Postscript** on pages 260-61 below, which has been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Sewell.

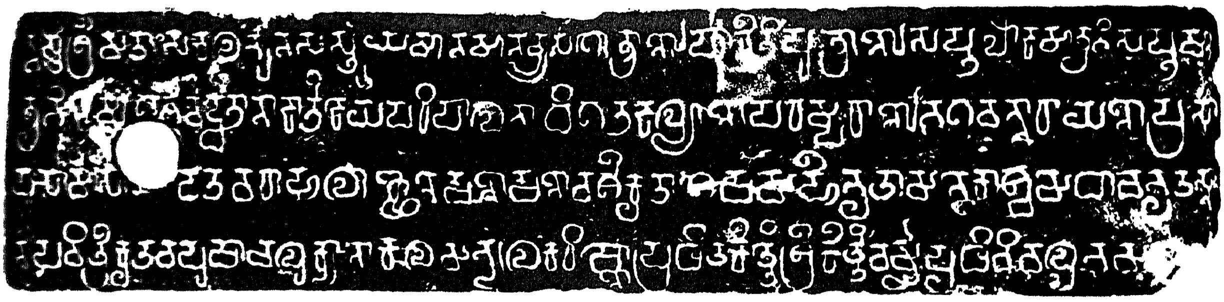
TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

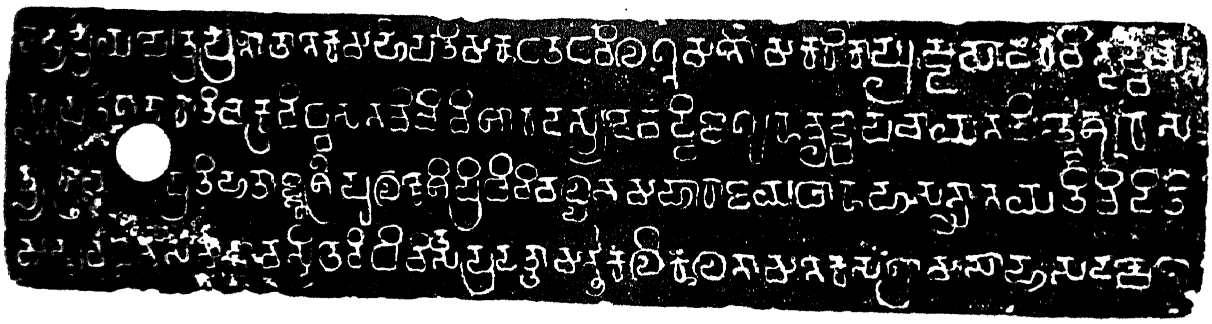
1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhu[va*]na-saṁstūyamāna[9]-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇā[ṁ*] Hāritiputrāṇā[ṁ*] sapta-lōka-mātṛibhi[ḥ*] Sapta-Mā-

[1] *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365 f.
[2] See *e.g.* above, Vol. VIII, p. 146, note 8, and Vol. XVIII, p. 7.
[3] See above, Vol. IV, p. 180, note 5.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 304.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.
[6] Above, Vol. IX, p. 317.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309, text line 5 f.
[8] From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.
[9] The *ū* of *stū* is corrected by the engraver from *u*.

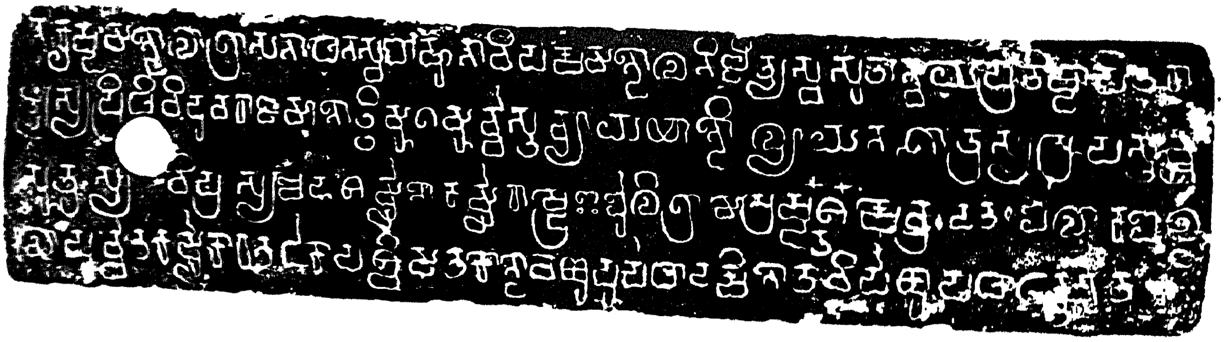
i.



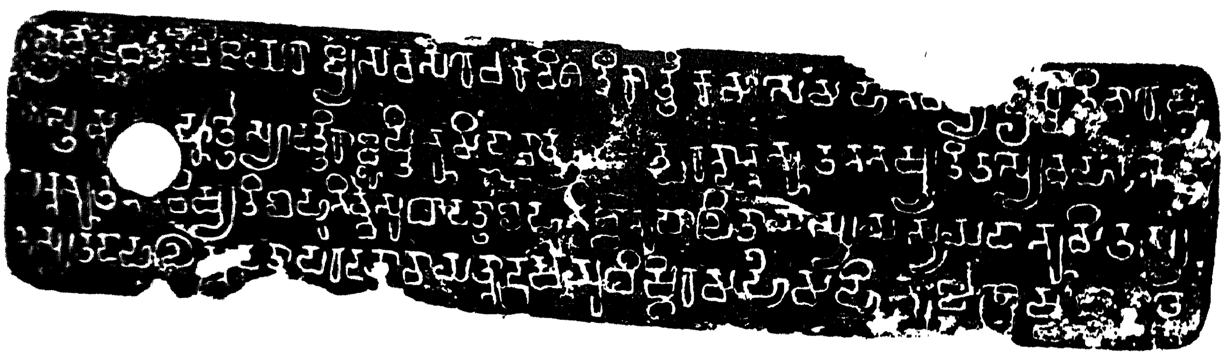
iia.



iib.



iii.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE NINE-TENTHS.

2 tṛibhi[ḥ*] [sa]myag=abhivarddhitānā[ṁ*] Kārtikēya-paripālan-ādhigata-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇā[ṁ*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasā-

3 da-sā(sa)māsāda(di)ta-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśēsha - mahībhṛitām=anēk-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-snā-

4 na-pavitrīkṛita-vapushā[ṁ*] **Chalukyānā[ṁ*]** kulam=abhyalaṁkarishṇō[ḥ*] prathita-kīrttē[ḥ*][1] śrī-**Kīrttivarmma-Pṛithivivallabha-ma[hārā-]**

Second Plate ; First Side.

5 **jasya** priya-pau(pu)tra[ḥ*] praṇat-ānēka-mahīpati-makuṭa-taṭa-vilagna-maṇi-makarikā-ghṛishṭa-pād-āravinda-dvaya-

6 sya pratigat-ārāti-chakra-vidhva[ṁ*]sana-vivi(dhi)-viśāradasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāya(yi)na[ḥ*] pit=aiva[2] śūra[ḥ*] **Sa-**

7 **tyāśraya**=pratihat-ājña[ḥ*][3] śrī-**Pulakēśi-Pri(Pṛi)thivivallabha-mahārāja(jō)** yathāruha[4] sanmā(mmā)nayati [||*] Viditi(ta)-

8 m=astu **Vallabha(bhē)** sama[ksh]-āvasti(sthi)tē vidhivi(va)t=sa[ṁ*]pradattā marnta[5] Kali-kulanām=[6]anēka-saṁgrāma-sāhasa-dakshēṇa

Second Plate ; Second Side.

9 nikṛi(shkṛi)shṭa-maṇḍalāgrā(gra)-sanāthēna sva-bāhunā vipaksha-maṇḍala[ṁ*] nirjitya sva-sut-ānvayē pratishṭā(shṭhā)pita-rā-

10 jyasya **Pri(Pṛi)thividu(yu)varājam**=āṇātti[7] [|*] **Mūgamūr**-vv[ā*]stavyā[ya][8] Chhā(Śā)ṇḍilyāyana-gōtrasya Āpasta[mba]-

11 sūtrasya viprasya [9]Vēdaśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] **Karmma-rāshṭrē Irbuli**-grāmē ashṭa-śataṁ[10] kshētraṁ dataṁ(ttaṁ) Balāka-ba(pa)lva-

12 lā[t*] pūrvvata[ḥ*] Karmmakāra-taṭākā[t*] paśchimata[ḥ*] **Koṇḍav[e][11]ṛupū[r]**-pathā[d=*] dakshiṇata[ḥ*] **Virpaṛu**-pathā[12] uttarata[ḥ |*]

Third Plate.

13 **pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sa[ṁ*]vatsarē ēkavi[ṁ*]śati[13] Kārttika-māsē mah[ā-navamyāṁ][14] Bṛi[ha*]spati-vārē** pra-

14 śastē muhūrttē=syā datti(ttē)r=ājñapti[ḥ ||*] Bhūmi-dānāt[15] tpa(pa)ran=dā[na*]n=na bhūta[ṁ*] na bha[vi*]shyati [|*] tasy=aiva haraṇ[āt=pā]-

15 pan=na bhūta[ṁ*] na bhavishyati [|| 1*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-

---

[1] An *i* is also affixed to the *tt* of *ttē*.

[2] Read *pit=ēva*. The *va* is entered below the line.

[3] Read *Satyāśrayō=pratihat-ājñaḥ*.

[4] Read *yathārhaṁ*.

[5] Read *mathā*.

[6] Read *Kali-khalānām=*.

[7] Read °*rājasy=ājñaptiḥ*.

[8] Either read *-vvāstavyasya*, or replace the four genitives following it by datives.

[9] [The name seems to be Aiḷa. The symbol for *ē* in l. 13 below would suggest that the first letter is *ai* and the second letter seems to be *ḷa*.—Ed.]

[10] The *ta* of *-śataṁ* is entered below the line. Two crosses (*kākapada*) above the line mark the place where it has to be inserted. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 44 f.) mistook them for numerical symbols. [The original seems to read *śatı*.—Ed.]

[11] [The letter looks more like *che*.—Ed.]

[12] Read *-pathād=uttarataḥ*.

[13] Read *ēkaviṁśē*.

[14] The tops of the bracketed letters are broken away, but the reading is certain.

[15] There is a vacant space after this word.

16 tasya tadā phala[m || 2*] [Sva-da]t[t]ā[ṁ*] para-dat[t]ā[ṁ*] vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[ṁ*] mahi(hī)bhujā[ṁ*] śrēsh[ṭha dānā]te[1]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6) Hail! The dear grandson (*read*: son) of the glorious **Kīrtivarma-Pṛithivi-vallabha-Mahārāja** who adorned the family of the glorious **Chalukyas**, etc.; whose fame was (widely) spread; whose pair of lotus-feet was rubbed by the *makara* ornaments[2] of jewels attached to the slopes of the diadems of many prostrate princes; who was proficient in achieving the destruction of the circle of opposing enemies; (and) who honoured the gods, the twice-born, the *Gurus*, and the aged;

(L. 6 f.) the glorious **Pulakēśi-Pṛithivivallabha-Mahārāja** (who), like (his) father, (is) a hero, the abode of truth (**Satyāśraya**)[3] whose commands are unopposed, suitably honours (the officials of this district and informs them as follows):

(Ll. 7-10) "Be it known (to you that), **Vallabha** being present in person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed on Pṛithividuvarāja (*i.e.* **Pṛithiviyuvarāja**) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people) of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son."

(Ll. 10-12) "To the Brāhmaṇa [4]Vēdaśarman who resides at **Mūgamūr**, belongs to the Śāṇḍilyāyana-*gōtra*, (and) follows the Āpastamba-*sūtra*, a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas*) in the village of **Irbuli** in (the district of) **Karma-rāshṭra** has been given. (This field lies) to the east of the Balāka-palvala (pond), to the west of the Karmakāra-taṭāka (tank), to the south of the road to **Koṇḍav[e]ṛupūr**,[5] (and) to the north of the road to **Virpaṛu**."

(L. 13 f.) "**In the year twenty-one of the reign of increasing victory, in the month of Kārttika, on the great ninth** (*tithi*), **on a Thursday**, at an auspicious moment, the execution of this grant (was bestowed on Pṛithiviyuvarāja)."[6]

[Ll. 14-16 contain three of the customary verses.]

POSTSCRIPT.

BY ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

At Dr. Hultzsch's request I have examined the date of the Chalukya inscription published on pp. 43 to 54 of Part I, Vol. VI of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* which is stated to belong to "the year twenty-one of increasing victory" of a Chalukya sovereign who is perhaps identical with Pulakēśin II.

The details of the given date are "Thursday the *mahānavamī* day in the month Kārttika." It is not stated whether this 9th day was in the light or dark fortnight, but in the absence of this information it is reasonable to assume that the 9th day of the month was meant, or more accurately the day on which at sunrise the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika was current. If the inscription belongs to the reign of Pulakēśin II it must have been composed about A.D. 629 or 630, or thereabouts.

---

[1] Read *dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam* || 3.

[2] According to Cowell and Thomas (Translation of the *Harshacharita*, p. 266), "the word *makarikā* appears to denote a *makara*-shaped forehead ornament."

[3] This was the favourite surname of Pulakēśin II. See Fleet's *Dyn. of the Kan. Districts*, sec. ed., p. 351.

[4] [See footnote 9 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

[5] [See footnote 11 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

[6] The bracketed words are supplied from lines 8 and 10.

Calculation for a date of that period must be made either by the mean-system computation of the *First Ārya-Siddhānta*, or of the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, which latter was compiled in A.D. 628.

By either of these the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika fell in A.D. 628 on a Wednesday. In A.D. 629 it fell on Sunday by the *First Ārya-Siddhānta* and on Monday by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*. In A.D. 630 it fell on Saturday by both authorities. But in A.D. 631 it fell on **Thursday**, by both these *Siddhāntas*, and that Thursday corresponded to **October 10 A.D. 631.** This last satisfies the requirements of the case if, in the practice of those days, the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika marked a *mahānavamī* day. I regret that I am unable to give an opinion on this point. The modern *mahānavamī* day is, I understand, the day corresponding to the 9th śukla *tithi* in the month Āśvina.

If the day in question was actually Thursday October 10 A.D. 631, it makes the king's accession to have taken place on or after October 11 A.D. 610, seeing that it belongs to his 21st regnal year.

As regards this date it must be noted that Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 23) stated that Pulakēśin II's accession must have taken place "early in Śaka 532 (A.D. 610-1)"; that R. G. Bhandarkar fixed it as in Śaka 533, *i.e.* A.D. 610 or 611, according as the Śaka year was treated as current or expired (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 38); and that Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 111) gives it as in A.D. 609. Fleet's fixture slightly conflicts with the date October 11 A.D. 610, since the year Śaka 532 began on March 19 in that year.

R. SEWELL.[1]

No. 28.—THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103.

BY STEN KONOW.

The stone on which this inscription is incised measures 17″ by 14½″, and it is now in the Lahore Museum. There is some uncertainty about its provenance. Cunningham originally stated[2] that it had been discovered by Dr. Bellew at Shāhbāzgaṛhi. Similarly Mr. Hargreaves writes in a letter dated Simla $\frac{\text{4th}}{\text{10th}}$ December 1913: "In connection with the Gandhāra sculptures I had occasion to look up references to the very well-known and frequently quoted Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, and to my surprise find that there is no absolute certainty it emanates from Takht-i-Bāhī at all, it may very well come from Shāhbāzgaṛhī."

Later on Cunningham speaks about the record as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhī, without mentioning his previous note on the subject, and since that time the epigraph has always been spoken of as the 'Takht-i-Bāhī' inscription.

Both places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgaṛhi 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles north-west of Mardān in Yūsufzai.

According to the Editor of *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, Dr. Bellew had left the stone at Hoti Mardān "in Dr. Johnson's compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorised

[1] Readers will learn with sincere regret that this veteran scholar, to whom Indian History and Chronology are so heavily indebted, died in London on the 30th December 1925 in the eighty-first year of his age.—E. H.

[2] *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1873, p. 242.

Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hoti Mardān. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed. The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner."

A rubbing of the inscription was forwarded by Dr. Leitner to Professor Dowson, who gave a notice of it in *Trübner's Record* of June 1871. A second notice was published by Cunningham in the same *Record*, June 1873,[1] and a fuller account, with an excellent plate by Dowson,[2] who read the date portion and, in a second note,[3] gave a new reproduction of the same. Then follow editions by Cunningham,[4] Senart[5] and Boyer.[6] I now edit the epigraph from excellent estampages which I owe to the kindness of Professor Vogel, who had them prepared for me when he was Superintendent of the Punjāb Circle of the Archæological Survey.

The inscription consists of six lines, and the average height of the letters is 1¼". In the first line there is an apparent gap after the seventh letter, but nothing has been omitted, the intervening space having been purposely left without any writing on account of the roughness of the stone. Similarly there is a vacant space in the middle of l. 5.

Cunningham remarks that "as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether." In such circumstances it is intelligible that the reading and interpretation is in some places beset with considerable difficulties.

The alphabet is Kharōshṭhī of the Śaka variety. The letter *ya* has the relatively broad angle which we also find in the Pāja inscription of Saṁ 111, and the Mount Banj inscription of Saṁ 102. The continuation of the vertical of *sa* up towards the upper curvature, which is seen in both those records, is apparently not met with. We find the same occasional lengthening of the right top of *ma* as in Mount Banj. *Ba* has the older curvilinear and not the later angular shape. The curvature of the upper end of *da* towards the right is very insignificant. There is no dental *na*, and the cerebral *ṇa* has the rounded top which we find in the Mount Banj and Kaldarra epigraphs and also in the Pātika plate. The shape of individual letters is not, however, quite consistent, and more especially the letter *ya* has several somewhat different forms, so that it is not quite certain whether it should not, in *puyae* ll. 5 and 6, be read as *puae*. Note also the curious flourish after the last letter of the inscription, which is certainly *e*. It is perhaps due to damage to the stone during the years when it was used for grinding spices.

With regard to individual letters we may note the *akshara* following after the break in l. 1, which I follow Professor Franke[7] and M. Boyer in transliterating *f*. M. Senart[8] transcribed it as *bh* and Professor Lüders[9] as *vh*. I use *f* because this writing has the advantage of greater simplicity, and because the Latin form of the name in which the letter occurs has familiarized us with the *f*. But it is not my intention to convey the impression that the actual sound was necessarily the voiceless spirant *f*. *Gudufara*, the name in question, is not Indian but Persian, derived from an old *Vindafarna* "the winner of glory". The last part of the compound is derived from the Aryan base *svar*, and *sv* is usually represented by *uv* in Ancient

[1] Reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1873, p. 242.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. VII, 1875, pp. 376 ff., with plate.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 144 ff.

[4] *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. V, 1875, pp. 58 ff., with plate XVI, No. 3.

[5] *Journ. Asiat.*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 114 ff., with plate.

[6] *Ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 457 ff.

[7] *Pāli und Sanskrit.* Strassburg, 1902, p. 111.

[8] *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, xii, 1893, p. 206.

[9] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 665 ff.

Persian, *i.e.*, the result was probably a voiced sound. The Kharōshṭhī sign itself seems to be derived from *v* and not from *p*, by adding an upward stroke to the right. A similar stroke is found in the Kharōshṭhī documents discovered in Chinese Turkistan, where we sometimes find the letter which is usually transliterated *st* provided with a perpendicular, rising from the right end of the cross-bar. *Cf.* plate XCII in Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, where Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart read the *akshara* as *sth* in *sthishyadi*, l. 9. I am, therefore, inclined to think that *vh*, *i.e.*, an aspirated voiced spirant, was the sound meant, and it would probably be more correct to transliterate *vh*. I do not think, however, that we can be certain about the pronunciation, and, for practical reasons, I prefer to write *f*.

I may further draw attention to the compound letters *tśa* in *saṁbatśarae*, l. 2, and *rjh* in *erjhaṇa*, l. 5.

With regard to orthography and phonology we may note the change of intervocalic *j* to *y* in *maharayasa*, l. 1; *puyae*, ll. 5 and 6; the softening of intervocalic *t* to *d* in *madu*, l. 5; *pidu*, l. 6; the change of *v* to *b* after an *anusvāra* in *saṁbatśarae*, l. 2; of *ts* to *tś* in the same word; of *shy* to *ś* in *iśa*, l. 2, and of *śr* to *sh* in *shadhadaṇa*, l. 4. Such changes are, as is well known, of frequent occurrence in Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions.

In spite of all the care that has been bestowed on the reading and interpretation of the epigraph, several points are still far from being finally settled. Dr. Thomas has, therefore, rendered a real service to scholars in preparing the new facsimile plate published together with this article.

The first line can be read with perfect certainty and has never presented any serious difficulty. Dowson read the second *akshara* of the king's name *nu* instead of *du*, but a comparison with *du* in *madu* l. 5, *pidu*, l. 6, conclusively shows that the letter is *du*. The third *akshara* has usually been rendered as *pha*, but I have already given my reasons for transliterating *fa*. We must accordingly read: *maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha 20-4-1-1*, (during the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, in the 26 year. *Vasha* is also used in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 and the Skārah Ḍherī epigraph of the year 399, while the Machai record of the year 81 has *vashē*, which is probably intended in the other dates as well. There is not, however, any trace of an *ē-mātrā*. No certain inference can be drawn from the use of *varsha* instead of *saṁvatsara* in these instances; the word may have been chosen in our record in order to distinguish between the two dates in ll. 1 and 2, or in order to indicate that the year used in the first one began with the rains.

Cunningham and Dowson identified Gudufara with the king Gondophares of Christian tradition, and this identification has been generally accepted and may be considered as certain. The date of l. 1 has, further, always been interpreted to mean that the inscription belongs to the 26th year of the reign of King Gudufara. Epigraphists will, however, agree with me that we are only informed that it was issued during Gudufara's reign, while the year can just as well be referred to some era which may have been introduced by some of Gudufara's predecessors. If we compare the dating of Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, we might be inclined to think that the latter was the case. *Cf. e.g.* No. 149*a* of Professor Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*: *mahārājasya rājātirājasya dēvaputrasya shāhēr=Vvāsishkasya rājya-saṁvatsarē 24* and other similar records where *saṁ* is used instead of *rājya-saṁvatsarē*. Nobody would here think of the regnal year of the king mentioned in the inscriptions, but unhesitatingly refer the date to the Kanishka era. I shall state below why I think the same to be the case in our epigraph.

Then follows, in l. 2 and the beginning of l. 3, a new date.

The first word was read *saṁ* . . . by Cunningham, and *saṁvatsarasa* by Dowson. E. Thomas[1] demurred to Dowson's reading, but did not suggest any alternative. Messrs. Senart and Boyer read *saṁbadhaē* and explained this word as meaning "du comput continu", "in the continuous reckoning". There cannot, however, be any doubt that Dr. Thomas[2] was right in reading *saṁbatśaraē*. The traces of the letters visible in the impressions and the plates make this reading absolutely certain. Moreover, the use of *tś* for Sanskrit *ts* in this very word seems to be quite regular in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. Thus we find *saṁvatśarayē* in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102 and in the Pāja record of the year 111. Similarly *saṁvatśarē* is the usual form in the Kharōshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkistan.[3] In the Suē Vihār plate we have *saṁvatśarē*, but the upper part of the compound is misshaped, wherefore Professor Franke[4] reads *saṁvachśare* and Mr. Majumdar[5] *saṁvachchharē*. The Hidda epigraph of the year 28 and the Āra inscription of the year 41, finally, have *saṁbatśaraē*.

The writing *tś* is no doubt meant to render the current pronunciation of the compound *ts*. The usual Prakrit representative of ancient *ts* is *chchh*, which only differs from *tś* in being aspirated. It is probable that the form *tś* is due to the linguistic tendency of the north-western dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted.

The same compound occurs in the Kharōshṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where M. Senart reads it *ṅs*, in *ahitśai*, A[4] 8; *bhamētśu*, B 34; *bhētśidi* Cvo 3 and *matśaṇa* Cxviii vo 2. The two last words correspond to Sanskrit *bhētsyati* and *matsyānām*, respectively, where *tś* has a similar origin as in *saṁvatśara*. In *ahitśai* and *bhamētśu* a *t* seems to have been inserted between a nasal and *s* with a consequent change of *s* to *ś*. There is nowhere any trace of the aspiration which comes in in the common Prakrit form.

There are indications which seem to show that the absence of aspiration in similar compounds is an old feature of north-western vernaculars. For we find *pacha* for *paścha* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version of the Aśōka inscriptions. On the other hand, *pātcho*, afterwards, in Ancient Khotanī might lead us to the conclusion that we are faced with a phonetic tendency in the home-tongue of the Indo-Skythians.

The change of *v* to *b* in *saṁbatśaraē* is perhaps to be explained as a result of the influence of the Indo-Skythian substratum. For not only do we find *b* for *v* after an *anusvāra* in the Kharōshṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where *api* and *iva* become *vi* and *va*, respectively, after vowels, but *bi* and *ba*, respectively, after an *anusvāra*.[6] But in ancient Khotanī *b* frequently corresponds to Sanskrit *v*, not only in loanwords such as *bīna*, Sanskrit *vīṇā*, but also in indigenous words such as *biśśi*, Sanskrit *viśva*. The actual sound was perhaps a bilabial spirant, English *w*.

The word following after *saṁbatśaraē* is certainly *tiśatimaē*. M. Senart read *tiśatamaē*, but the *i*-stroke of the second *ta* is too distinct to be accidental. The form *śatimaa* also occurs in the Pāja inscription, where we read *ēkada[śa*]śatimayē*, and, as remarked by M. Boyer, in the Skārah Ḍherī image inscription, where I follow Dr. Fleet in reading *ēkuṇachaduśatimaē*.

Then follow the numerical symbols 1, 100, and 1 1 1, and *Vēśakhasa masasa divasē*, as has always been recognized.

L. 3 ff. were not read by Dowson, and Cunningham only attempted to make out some few words. M. Senart was the first one to give a transliteration and interpretation of the greater portion of these lines, and M. Boyer gave a continuous reading of the whole.

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. IX, 1877, p. 10, footnote.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 636[3].
[3] *Cf.* Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 114.
[4] *Pāli und Sanskrit*, pp. 96 f.
[5] *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Pt. i, pp. 469 ff.
[6] *Cf.* Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 91.

The first word in l. 3 was read *paṁchamē* by the two French scholars, who also agreed in reading the ensuing sign or signs as *pa*, which, according to M. Sénart, is the sign of the figure 5. I cannot accept this reading and interpretation.

The first *akshara* is much damaged, and there are several strokes which are probably the result of the use to which the stone has been put. There cannot, however, be any doubt, that it is a *pa*. I cannot see any trace of an *anusvāra*, but there are some strokes at the bottom, which may be the remnants of an *u-mātrā* or of a post-consonantic *r*. The second letter consists of a vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and a distinct cross-bar. If the latter is accidental, we would think of *dha*, and if the curvature at the top is due to accident or oversight, we would have *tha*. I have already in another connexion[1] suggested to read *prathamē*, and I still think that reading the most likely one, though *pradhamē* would also be possible.

What M. Senart read as the symbol for 5 I read as *di 1*. It is, as is well known, the unvariable custom in Kharōshṭhī to use the symbols for 4 and 1 when the number five is given in figures, and not in words. And it would be very extraordinary to find a notation of the kind suggested by M. Senart.

The ensuing *aksharas* were for the first time read by M. Boyer, and his transliteration *iśa* is certainly correct, though both letters are damaged, and it is possible that *iśē* is the reading intended. *Iśa* and *iśē* are of frequent occurrence in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in India and Eastern Turkistan, and the meaning is clear; they render Sanskrit *asmin* and *atra*. M. Boyer thinks that *iśa*, "with *ś* instead of *s* as in Māgadhī," is Sanskrit *ēsha*, but that explanation cannot be right, *ēsha* being nothing else than the nominative singular, and the change of *s* or *sh* to *ś* not being a feature of the vernacular. *Ś* can only be an old *sh* or the representative of an old *shy*. In the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version of the Aśōka inscriptions we repeatedly find forms such as *arabhiśaṁti*, Sanskrit *ārabhishyanti*,[2] and in the Kharōshṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada *ś* is frequently the representative of Sanskrit *shy*.[3] *Iśa* would accordingly be the regular representative of a female oblique form from the base *i*, and it is possible that the theme *ishya* has developed a stereotype locative adverb *ishyē*. At all events, the base must be the pronoun which we find in *id-am*.

After *iśa* M. Boyer read *chhunami samana*, and M. Senart . . . *padē* . . . . *Chhunami* would of course suit the context very well, but *samana* could not represent Skr. *śramaṇa*, as M. Boyer thinks, the only possible forms of that word in the dialect being *śamaṇa* and *shamaṇa*.

Now there cannot, I think, be any doubt that the two last *aksharas* of the passage are *pachhē*. The traces of both letters are quite distinct, and *pa* has also been recognized by M. Senart. The new plate will show that *chhē* is also beyond doubt. *Pachhē* can scarcely be anything else than Sanskrit *pākshē*, *pakshē*, or, perhaps, *pathyē*, salutary, suitable, auspicious, here used to characterize the day or the moment when the inscription was issued.

There accordingly only remain two *aksharas* between *iśa* and *pachhē*, and so far as I can see the extant traces are more in favour of *diṇē* than of *chhuṇē*, though it is impossible to be quite certain.

I accordingly read the second date as follows: *saṁbatśaraē tiśatimaē 1 100 1 1 1 Vēśakhasa masasa divasē p[ratha]mē di 1 iśa [diṇē] pachhē*, in the hundred and third year—103, on the first day—d. 1 of the month Vaiśākha, on this *paksha*-day, or, on this auspicious day.

The interpretation of the word *pachhē* is difficult. If we were justified in explaining it as corresponding to Sanskrit *pathyē*, we should be able to prove conclusively that the date of

[1] *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.

[2] See Johansson, *Actes du 8 congrès international des orientalistes* II, iii, pp. 129 and 169, where, however, the use of *ś* has not been explained.

[3] See Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 93.

the inscription is the first and not the fifth Vaiśākha. That date was auspicious because it was considered to be the Buddha's birthday. Tradition placed that event on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, and the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription would accordingly show that the months in north-western India were *pūrṇimānta*, just as it can be proved to have been the case when the Kharōshṭhī epigraphs dated in the Kanishka era were drawn up.

There is, however, one grave objection to this interpretation. In the Aśōka inscriptions and in the Kharōshṭhī records from Central Asia there are two different *aksharas* which are usually both transliterated *chh*, one with, the other without a cross-bar below the head. The latter one is usually stated to be the only one occurring in later Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. That statement is not, however, correct. We find the cross-bar form in inscription J on the Mathurā Lion capital, where we must read *palichhina*, Sanskrit *parichchhinna*, instead of Bühler's *paliśhṭēna*. Now an examination of the Kharōshṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada* shows that the cross-bar form represents old *chh* and also *chh* derived from *thy*, while the other form stands for Sanskrit *ksh* and should probably be transliterated *ksh* and not *chh*. It is this form which is used in *pachhē*, and it, therefore, seems necessary to explain this word as Sanskrit *pakshē* or *pākshē*. I would therefore suggest to explain *diṇē pachhē* as *dinē pākshē*, on (this) *paksha*-day, and assume that the day is designated in such a way in order to mark it as the first day of a *paksha*, though the *pakshas* are not usually mentioned in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions.

Then follow five letters which M. Boyer read *bēlasamisa*, while M. Senart could not make out more than the two last ones. M. Boyer adds that the *ē*-stroke of the first letter is, perhaps, only a flaw in the stone, and it seems to me that such is evidently the case. I, therefore, read *balasamisa*, the genitive of *balasami*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *balasvāmin*. The final *sa* is quite distinct, and I, therefore, do not venture to follow Dr. Thomas, who[1] thinks that we ought probably to read *mira* as in l. 4.

M. Boyer saw in *bēlasamisa* the name of the donor. It seems to me that such can scarcely be the case, the donor being mentioned in l. 4, and I, therefore, think that *balasamisa* should be taken with the opening word of l. 4.

The last four *akskaras* of l. 3 were read *gōyanasa* by the two French scholars, but only M. Boyer tried to translate this word. He took *gōyana* to correspond to Sanskrit *gōyāna*, a carriage drawn by oxen, a cart in general, and drew the final *sa* to l. 4. I think, however, that the extant traces show that Dr. Thomas was right[2] in reading *bōyanasa* as in l. 4. I only differ from him in transliterating the nasal as the cerebral *ṇ* in accordance with my remarks, above, Vol. XIV, pp. 181 ff.

Bōyaṇa, which is also used together with the name *Mira* in l. 4, cannot be an Indian word. M. Boyer sees in *Mira Bōyaṇa* the Iranian name Μιϑροβουζάνης, and this explanation is probably right, but it does not help us to understand the word *bōyaṇa* itself. It seems to contain a base *bōy* and a termination *aṇa*. The latter is no doubt the well-known suffix *āna*, which forms adjectives from nouns (as in Khotanī *balysāni*, belonging to the Buddha (*balysi*) and in the word *kushāṇa* from *kushi*) or participles from verbal bases. The base *bōy* can be identified with Iranian *baug*, to save, if we remember that a *j* between vowels has become *y* in *maharaya* and *puya*.

Bōyaṇa can accordingly mean "saving", "saviour", and I take it to be an Iranian translation of the same title σωτήρ which has been Indianized on Indian coins as *trātāra*. I think that such is evidently the case, and I take *bōyaṇasa* as a title of *Balasami*. It follows from this interpretation that the final *sa* cannot be taken together with the first word of l. 4.

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 636[3].

[2] *l.c.*

Here M. Senart read *pa . . aa*, but M. Boyer was certainly right in reading *par[i]vara*. At first sight one is inclined to read *parōvara*, which might be explained as a compound of *para* and *ōvara*. *Ovara* would have to be taken as identical with *ōvaraka*, cell, which occurs in several Brāhmī inscriptions.[1] *Parōvara* might mean "the predominant cell". This explanation cannot, however, be upheld. An *ōvara* for *ōvaraka* does not occur in any other record, and even *ōvaraka* itself is never met with in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. I think that M. Boyer is right in thinking that the apparent cross-bar of the first *r* of *par[i]vara* is accidental, and that there are traces of an *i* across the left extremity of the upper portion of the *akshara*.

The word *parivara*, Sanskrit *parivāra*, occurs in many ancient records. M. Boyer took it together with the final *sa* of l. 3 and explained *sa-parivara* as an adjective characterizing *gōyana*, the whole meaning "a cart together with a covering". He is fully aware of the difficulty arising from the nature of the donation, which would hardly justify the engraving of an inscription. He thinks, however, that the object of the epigraph may have been to honour the prince mentioned in l. 5 more than to record the gift. Or else, the cart may have been of great value, and the donation accordingly of especial merit. In this connexion, he draws attention to a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*,[2] where we read *yānaṁ dānaṁ dadāti ṛiddhipādavipākapratilābhasaṁvartanīyam*, he gives a cart, a gift leading to the acquisition of the result of the state of supernatural power. This explanation is very ingenious, but I fear that it is too ingenious, and if Dr. Thomas' reading *bōyaṇasa* in l. 3 is accepted, we shall have to look out for another explanation.

The meaning "covering (of a carriage)" is well attested for the word *parivāra*, but it is never met with in ancient inscriptions. In Brāhmī inscriptions we find *saparivāra*, *e.g.*, in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9, and in his edition of them M. Senart remarks[3]: "It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivāra* by 'with his family'. If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners." The original meaning of the word seems to be "covering", "surrounding", and it actually has this meaning in some passages in classical literature, but more frequently it must be translated by some word meaning surroundings, train, suite. This meaning does not, however, seem to give any sense in our inscription, and it may perhaps be of interest to examine other instances of its use in Kharōshṭhī records.

The oldest Kharōshṭhī inscription where it occurs is the Mathurā Lion capital. We are there informed of the fact that the chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula puts up some relics of the Buddha, together with some of her relatives, the *atēura* and the *hōrakaparivara*. Here *atēura* corresponds to Sanskrit *antaḥpura*, the inner court, the female apartment of the palace and those who live in it. The *hōrakas* are the officials who are called *hōramurta* in the Māṇikiāla inscription, and *hōramurta* is a "Śaka" rendering of Sanskrit *dānapati*.[4] Now it should be remembered that *parivṛita* is used in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (2.6.1.20) and elsewhere to denote a place enclosed with walls and used for worship, and *hōrakaparivara* might accordingly mean "the enclosed hall of the *hōrakas*" and further "the *hōraka*-department", a meaning which would be very appropriate in our passage, where the word is used in connexion with *antaḥpura*, which has a similar sense.

The next time we find the word *parivāra* in a Kharōshṭhī inscription is in the record under discussion. Then follows the Suë Vihār copper-plate of the year 11, during the reign of Kanishka,

[1] See Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Index of Miscellaneous Terms, *sub voce* 'apavaraka'.

[2] ed. Cowell and Neill, p. 482, l. 20.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 77.

[4] See Lüders, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 650 f.; *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 421 f.

of which we have now a good reproduction in the excellent edition by Mr. N. G. Majumdar.[1] The third line of this record, where the word *parivāra* occurs, cannot be read with absolute certainty; and I shall not, in this place, try to show how I arrive at my reading of the whole of it. We learn that a *yaṭhi*, a staff, has been raised (in memory) of the friar Nāgadatta, and that the Upāsikā Balanandi, the wife of a householder, and the mother of Balajā, makes a present of an *anuparivara*, which in my opinion can hardly mean anything else than a subsequent enclosing through a wall for the purpose of building up the shaft in which the staff was placed.

The word *parivāra* again occurs in the Māṇikiāla inscription, where we read that the *daṇḍanāyaka* Lala erects a *stūpa*, together with some other persons and the whole *parivāra* : *sa(ṁ)vēṇa cha parivarēṇa sadha.* Here we may translate " together with the whole retinue ", but the original meaning of *parivāra* can very well be the same as in the Mathurā Lion capital inscription.

Finally, we meet with the word *parivāra* in the Wardak vase inscription, where I would read in l. 3 : *mahiya cha rōhaṇa sada sarviṇa avashaḍigaṇa—sa parivara cha—agrabhagapaḍiyaśaē bhavatu,* and let my deposit—and also the surrounding wall (or chapel)—for ever lead to sharing in the preferential lot for all (beings) up to the heretics.

I think that this examination will have shown that *parivāra* can be translated by " surrounding structure ", " hall ", " chapel ", and such is, in my opinion, the meaning of the word in our inscription, which records the donation of some structure bearing the name of Balasvāmin, the Saviour, perhaps a memorial monument, or a building raised by him.

The next word was read *yadha . . na* by M. Senart and *śadhadana* by M. Boyer. The first *akshara* can hardly be *śa*. Its top is more rounded than in the *śa* of *vēśakha,* l. 1, and the damaged *śa* of *iśa*, l. 2. Moreover, there are traces of a vertical below the upper curve. I have, therefore, suggested[2] to read *shadhadaṇa*. I think that this reading is quite certain. The change of *śr* to *sh* is a regular feature in Ancient Khotanī and apparently also in the north-western dialect of the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions,[3] though we always find *ś* in the name of the month *Śrāvaṇa*. In that word, however, the Sanskrit form would naturally exercise its influence. We find the same tendency to substitute *sh* for *śr* in the dialect of the Kharōshṭhī *Dhammapada*, and it is probably due to the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted in the Indian border districts.

The third *akshara da* has a peculiar shape. Its lower end is curved towards the left and continued upwards in an angle. It is possible that we are here faced with the *ā-mātrā*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Kharōshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkistan.[4] Or else the hook is the mark of the *anusvāra*, indicating the nasalization of a vowel before a nasal, which is a common feature in Ancient Khotanī. We must accordingly read *shadhadaṇa* or *shadhadaṁna*.

The corresponding Sanskrit word would be *śraddhādāna*, or *śrāddhadāna*. M. Boyer compares Pāli *saddhādeyya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *śraddhādēya*, " a gift of faith ", " a pious gift "

Of the ensuing *aksharas* M. Senart only read the two first ones, in which he saw *sapa*. M. Boyer read *sapayasōvadana*, and explained this as *saprajāsuvadanā*, taking it together with the following *mirabōyaṇasa*, so that the whole should mean " with his children Suvadanā and Mirabōyana ". He thinks that the curiously shaped last letter contains a *na* with a *da* added above after the *na* had been engraved, when there was no more space left below. I am unable to accept his reading. The initial *sa* is certain. The second *akshara* is *pa*, but has a distinct loop at the bottom, so that we must evidently read *pu*. The third letter, which was

[1] *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 459 ff.
[2] *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.
[3] *Cf.* Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 94.
[4] *Cf. e.g.* the document N. XXIV viii 9 reverse in Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, Plate XXIV.

read *ya* by M. Boyer, has a distinct vertical, rising from the left hand termination, and looks like *ta*. The following *akshara* cannot, I think, be *sa*, but seems to be *dhi*, though it is different from the *dha* in *shadhadaṇa*. With every reserve I would therefore read *saputadhi*. But then the following *akshara* cannot be anything else than *ta*, though it looks more like a *ra*. The upper stroke is sloping upwards and not horizontal as in *va*. Moreover, there are traces of an upward stroke at the left termination of the letter, which has become somewhat indistinct as a consequence of the following letter having been engraved across it. That last *akshara* is quite misshaped, and it seems necessary to infer that it has not been engraved before the ensuing *akshara*. It seems as if it had originally been overlooked and was subsequently added, after the omission had been detected. There was not then sufficient space for the proper shape of the *akshara*, and its upper part was engraved above the other letters and across the preceding *ta*. We have a similar letter at the very end of the Zeda inscription, where the last word is no doubt *Saṁghamitrarajasa*. I therefore read the *akshara* as *sa* and the whole compound as *saputadhitasa*.

The remaining portion of l. 4 does not present any difficulty, and both M. Senart and M. Boyer agree in reading *Mirabōyanasa*. I have no hesitation in accepting this reading, only substituting *ṇa* for their *na*. *Mira* is, as stated by M. Boyer, the Iranian *Mithra*, and it is of interest to note that *tr* has become *r* as in Ancient Khotanī.

The first three *aksharas* of l. 5 were read *ejhshuna* by M. Boyer, while M. Senart only read the first and third letters. The second *akshara* is certainly a compound, and the upper part is clearly *jh*. The curved line across the lower vertical is the usual sign of a *r* preceding the consonant, and such is evidently its significance in our inscription as well. A compound *jhsh* is in itself very unlikely and has never been met with in any Kharōshṭhī record, while *rjh* also occurs in the Zeda inscription. The loop below the *akshara* looks like an *u-mātrā* and it would be natural to read *erjhuṇa*.[1] If we bear in mind, however, that the usual way of denoting a *r* forming the first part of a compound in later Kharōshṭhī inscriptions is to add a loop at the bottom, it is perhaps possible to consider our compound as an intermediate form and to read *erjhaṇa* and, finally, the reading *erjhāṇa* might also be possible. *Cf.* my remarks to the word *shadhadaṇa*, l. 4. At all events, there cannot be any doubt that we have to do with an un-Indian word.

The letter *jh* is seldom used in Indian inscriptions. Where it occurs in Kharōshṭhī records, it seems to represent a voiced *z*, just as is the case in the Kharōshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkistan, where *s* is commonly softened between vowels so that we find *dajha* for *dāsa*, *divajha* for *divasa*. The letter is found in the Zeda inscription, where *marjhaka*, l. 2, is evidently identical with Khotanī *malysaki*[2]; in the Māṇikiāla inscription, where we must read *Kartiyasa majhē divasē 20*, with the same softening of *s* between vowels as in the Turkistan documents, and in the Ara inscription, where *Vajhēshka* corresponds to Brāhmī *Vāsishka*. This name is evidently derived from the Iranian base *vāza*, strength, vigour. Similarly *jh* is used for *z* in the coin-legends of Zoilos.

The sound *z* had long ago become obsolete in Indian languages, and considerable difficulty was experienced when it had to be expressed in foreign words. The form *Vāsishka* shows that it was occasionally written as *s*, and later on *j* became the representative of *z*, as, *e.g.*, in the coin-legends of Zeionises. If *Kusuluka*, which occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika and on the Mathurā Lion capital, is the same word as *kujula* in the name of the first Kushāṇa ruler, we here have *s* and *j* in the same word as different attempts at rendering the voiced *s*.

[1] I read the word so. *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.
[2] *Cf.* my remarks, *Festschrift Hirt*, p. 230.

A fourth attempt was made in the records of Ysamotika and his successors, *viz.*, by means of the compound *ys*[1]; and this same device became the rule in Ancient Khotani.

Erjhaṇa accordingly represents an attempt at rendering the sounds of *erzaṇa* or *erzāṇu*, and there can be no doubt that in this form we have to see the same word which occurs in Ancient Khotanī as *alysānai*, *eysāṁnai*, which is used to render Sanskrit *kumāra*. The *l* before the voiced *s* in this word, as also in *malysaki*, is certainly a later development in Khotanī, which, on the whole, agrees with Old Iranian in using *r* for *l* throughout.

M. Boyer, who read *ejhshuna*, saw in this word the name of a prince and thought that this name was an Iranian compound containing *īzad* as its first part. But no similar name is known to exist, and in my opinion, my explanation of the word is absolutely certain.

If now *erjhaṇa* belongs to the language which I have called Khotanī, it would be natural to infer that the individual characterized as *erjhaṇa*, *i.e.*, *kumāra*, belonged to the tribe or tribes who used that form of speech. His name must be contained in the fourth and fifth *aksharas* of l. 5, which M. Senart read as *kapa*, while M. Boyer, who admitted that the first *akshara* looks like *ka*, suggested to read [*bhu*]*pa*. There cannot be any question about the nature of the first letter. It is *ka*, and it is so clearly cut that we have no right to correct it. The second *akshara* is certainly *pa*, but underneath there are distinct traces of an *akshara* which I have formerly[2] suggested to read as *śa* or *sha*. It now seems to me that it must be read as *sha*, there being distinct traces of a vertical below the semi-circle, *i.e.*, of the letter *sha*. I still think that this *kapsha* cannot be anybody else than the Kushāṇa prince whose name is written in many different ways, *kadphises* and *kadaphes* in Greek letters, and *kasa*, *kaphsa*, *kadapha* in Kharōshṭhī. With regard to the use of *sh* when the Greek rendering has *s* we may compare Kharōshṭhī *ayilisha*, Greek *azilises*.

We know that the national tongue of the Kushāṇas was identical with, or closely related to Ancient Khotanī,[3] and Sir John Marshall's discoveries at Taxila have shown that Kujūla Kadphises followed almost immediately after Gudufara as ruler of that place. Sir John writes[4]: "After the death of Gondophernes his empire was split up into smaller principalities, and it was then that Hermaeus and Kadphises I appear to have made their successful invasion of Gandhāra and Taxila." I therefore feel no hesitation in identifying the prince mentioned in our inscription with Kadphises I, since he is characterized by a Khotanī title and bears a name which is almost identical with the names used in his coin legends.

The remaining portion of the inscription is quite clear. After *Kapsha* follows the genitive termination *sa*, separated from *Kapsha* by a wide gap, and further *puyaē madu pidu puyaē*. The curious flourish to the left of the final *ē* is, as stated above, probably accidental.

The inscription carries, as we have seen, a double date: in the 26th year, during the reign of Gudufara, and in the 103rd year. The latter date has usually been referred to the Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall has tried to show[5] that that reckoning was instituted by Azes, and Professor Rapson[6] endorses that view. I am unable to accept it, for several reasons. Sir John's theory is based on his interpretation of the word *ayasa* occurring after the figures denoting the year in the Taxila inscription of the year 136, which he takes to be the genitive

[1] *Cf.* Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 407 ff. The recent attempt made by Mr. N. B. Divatia, *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, XXVI, pp. 159 ff., to vindicate the rendering of the compound as *ghs* is a failure. The learned author has failed to recognize that *ys* is the regular sign for voiced *s* in Ancient Khotani.

[2] *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801 f.

[3] *Cf.* Konow, *Z. D. M. G.* 68, pp. 85 ff.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 979 f.

[5] *J. A. R. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

[6] *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

of the name *Aya*=Azes, characterizing the year as belonging to an èra established by Azes. In my edition of that inscription I have mentioned[1] the reasons which have been urged by various scholars against this interpretation, and so far as I can see they are still as cogent as they were ten years ago. If *ayasa* were the name of a king, the inscription would necessarily fall within his reign. The absence of every title is, however, so extraordinary that it is almost impossible that the word can be the name of a ruler. Professor Rapson, it is true, asks[2] us to remember "that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaśilā had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kushāṇas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings', in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning." Are we to believe, then, that the people who did not know Azes still used his name in connexion with the era current in the district?

There is another reason which, in my opinion, makes it impossible to ascribe the establishment of the era to Azes: that theory makes it necessary to separate one of the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, the Taxila plate of Patika, which is dated in the same way as the other epigraphs, from the rest and construct a special era for it. That has also, as is well known, been done by several scholars. Sir John Marshall has, consistently with his interpretation of the Taxila silver scroll, explained the words *maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa* in the Taxila plate as indicating the ruler who established the era used in the record. Professor Rapson thinks[3] that this era "may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān, after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues." He further shows that the theory according to which Mithradates I conquered North-Western India is based on a misunderstanding of a statement of Orosius and goes on to remark: "The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Irān; not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II (*i.e.*, after 88 B.C.), when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent." M. Foucher[4] holds a similar view, but seems inclined to refer the date of the Taxila plate to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., supposing the figure for hundred to have been suppressed, so that 78 would stand for 178 and correspond to 70 B.C.

I cannot accept any of these theories: Sir John's not because a proper name in the genitive in connexion with the date in ancient records invariably denotes the ruler in whose reign the inscription was executed, and the other ones because I do not think that we have any indication of the use of foreign eras in India in ancient times, at least not in private documents; and most Kharōshṭhī inscriptions are of that nature. I quite agree with M. Foucher, who discusses the supposed use of the Seleukidan era in some Kharōshṭhī epigraphs and, after mentioning the well-known dated coin of Platon, goes on to say[5]: "Just as much as the use of the Greek reckoning seems to us to be on its place on an essentially official and governmental piece like the Platon coin, just as difficult would it seem to us to justify it in the case of a private *ex-voto*, emanating from a simple indigenous donator." Patika can hardly be supposed to have used an old era belonging to the dynasty from which the invaders of India, the ancestors of his own suzerain, had made themselves independent. Even if we were to admit the possibility of omitted hundreds in these dates, what I do not think we are justified to do, the only natural inference from the general state of things in the Indian borderlands in the first

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 286 f. [2] *l.c.* p. 582. [3] *l.c.* pp. 568 ff.

[4] *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra* II, p. 488. [5] *l.c.* p. 490.

century B.C., would be that the era used in the Patika plate was instituted in commemoration of the conquest of India by the dynasty to which Moga belonged, or of its emancipation from dependance on the Parthian overlords. In other words, the initial point of the era cannot fall before 88 B.C.

The date of the Patika plate can, as is well known, be broadly fixed with reference to the Āmōhini votive tablet of the year 72, during the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa. Professor Rapson, it is true, gives[1] 42 as the date of that epigraph. He seems to be unaware of the fact that Professor Lüders has proved[2] that the symbol used in the Śōḍāsa inscription, something like a St. Andrew's cross, must be read as 70 and not as 40. So far as I can see, no other scholar has accepted Professor Rapson's reading, and so long as he has not shown that Professor Lüders' convincing arguments are inconclusive, we can safely adhere to the prevailing opinion.

I agree with most other scholars in referring the date of the Śōḍāsa record to the Vikrama era. It accordingly corresponds to 15 A.D. In that year Śōḍāsa was Mahākshatrapa. In the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion capital Śuḍasa, *i.e.*, Śōḍāsa, is mentioned as Kshatrapa, while his father Rajula is characterized as Mahākshatrapa. The Lion capital must accordingly be older than the Āmōhini tablet, how much older we cannot say. Sir John Marshall has shown[3] that Rajula was probably ruling about the beginning of the Christian era, and we can provisionally date the Lion capital between, say, 1 and 10 A.D.

In addition to Rajula the inscriptions of the capital also mention another Mahākshatrapa, Kusulaa Padika, who cannot be anybody else than Patika, the son of the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, who issued the Taxila copper-plate. Sir John Marshall therefore suggests[4] to date the Taxila plate about 17 B.C., and I do not think it is possible to refer it to an earlier period. *A priori* I should be more inclined to say between 10 and 1 B.C.

According to Sir John's theory we should accordingly have to state that about 17 B.C. an era, instituted by Moga, was in use in the country about Taxila, while, at the same time, the era of Azes had already been in use for forty years. This simultaneous use of two foreign eras at the same time and in the same neighbourhood during a prolonged period is not very likely, and the state of things becomes still more difficult if we admit, as I think it is necessary to admit, that Moga was still reigning at the time of the Patika plate, *i.e.*, according to Sir John, about 17 B.C. In that case it becomes impossible to claim Azes, who is known to have succeeded Moga, as the establisher of the Vikrama era.

The Azes theory will, I think, have to be abandoned. Everything we know from Indian tradition points to the conclusion that the Vikrama era was a national Indian era, and ancient Indian ideas seem to be traceable in the oldest Vikrama-dates.[5] The eras used in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, on the other hand, are partly framed after the model of the Macedonian calendar. That is evident from the occasional use of Macedonian month-names and from the habit of reckoning the days of the months through, from full moon to full moon, while the Indian calendar divided the month into two fortnights. It seems, accordingly, necessary to infer that the era or eras used in the Patika plate as well as in the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription are of foreign origin, and if it is granted that Moga was still reigning in the year 78 of that era, and we meet with Gudufara in the year 103, it is difficult to avoid the inference that both

[1] *l.c.* p. 575.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243 ff.

[3] *Archæological Survey of India ; Annual Report*, 1912-13, p. 43.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 985 f.

[5] *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 135 ff.

records should be referred to one and the same era, so that there are, accordingly, 25 years between the Patika plate and the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, or, in other words, between Moga and Gudufara.

Such an interval is about what we would expect, considering the fact that only the king or kings known as Azes and Azilises seem to intervene between them. The reason why this inference has never been drawn is probably that Cunningham's dictum, that the inscription is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gudufara, has never been challenged. I have already stated above that a comparison of other ancient records necessarily leads us to the conclusion that the Gudufara inscription is dated in the year 26 of some era which may or may not coincide with his individual reign. And if it is admitted that Moga was still reigning about 17 B.C. or perhaps even later, and that we have absolutely no real reason for referring the Gudufara date to the Vikrama era, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that the year 26 refers to an era established by some of Gudufara's predecessors, and in that case there cannot be the question of any other ruler than Azes. If, therefore, we refer the Patika date and the Gudufara date to the same era, it will be seen that the era which I think commemorates the accession of Azes begins one year before the Patika date. But then his record hails from Taxila, while the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription only informs us of the fact that, 25 years later, the rule of another dynasty had extended its sway as far eastward as Takht-i-Bāhī or Shāhbāzgaṛhi. The conquest of Taxila did not take place in the first year of the Parthian era.

There is nothing inconsistent in this supposition. The Śaka conquest started from Seistān, reached the Indus country and thence extended over Taxila and Gandhāra. The Parthian dynasty, to which Gudufara belonged, came from the west through the Kābul country. It found a Śaka era in use in the conquered territories, and the use of this era had become so firmly established that a subject of Gudufara, 26 years after the establishment of Parthian rule, thought it necessary to record the date of his epigraph, not only in the Parthian era, but also in the old Śaka reckoning.

Nor can we wonder at the absence of any later reference to the Parthian era. The dynasty founded by Azes was short-lived. After Gudufara's reign it was replaced by the Kushāṇas, the successors of the Śakas, in the Kābul country and in Taxila, and the second Kushāṇa ruler, Vima Kadphises, reconquered "India", *i.e.*, the Indus country and probably also Kāthiāwār and Central India, and I still think that that event was commemorated through the institution of the Śaka era, as stated in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.[1] In other words, the Śaka era commemorates the final re-establishment of Indo-Skythian rule after the interruption caused by the Parthian conquest, and it is a revival of the Śaka era introduced after the first Śaka conquest of India. In this way it also becomes intelligible why Chinese sources speak of Vima Kadphises' conquest as a re-conquest.

I agree with Messrs. Foucher and Rapson that the first Śaka conquest must be subsequent to the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. The subsequent weakening of Parthian power made it possible for the Śakas of Seistān to assert their independence, and the strengthening of their power resulting from the immigration of new Śaka hordes led to an expansion of their realm into the Indus country. We do not know who the first Śaka conqueror was. We only know the name of the Śaka ruler or rulers Maues, Moga, and we have seen that Moga was still ruling 25 years before the Gudufara inscription.

It has been customary to speak of several rulers intervening between Moga and Gudufara, one or two bearing the name Azes and one or two called Azilises. Opinions differ as to the nationality of this or these rulers. Some scholars think that they were Parthians, others that they were Śakas. I have never been able to understand why it should be necessary to assume

[1] *Cf.* my remarks, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 811 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 293.

the existence of more than one ruler Azes-Azilises. As pointed out by Dr. Thomas,[1] **Azes** is a short form of Azilises. And if we compare the coin legends, we are, I think, led to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises are one and the same person. When we find coins with the legends *basileōs basileōn megalou Azou* on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* on the reverse, or *basileōs ... megalou Azilisou* on the obverse and *maharajasa* [*rajaraja*]*sa mahatasa Ayasa* on the reverse, the only natural inference from the use of the imperial title on both sides is that we have not to do with more than one ruler.

Nor do I think that there can be any doubt about the nationality of this ruler : he was a Parthian and not a Śaka king. That follows, in my opinion, from the coin-legends showing the names of Spalirises, Spalahora and Spalagadames. In the first place we have the coins of Spalirises, the king's brother, with the legends *basileōs adelphou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajabhrata dhramiasa Spaliriśasa* on the reverse. Then we find Spalirises associated with Azes, with the legends *basileōs megalou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa* on the reverse. Here Azes is associated with Spalirises, but he has not yet assumed the imperial title. We may infer that he had not yet acquired the power attested by his later legends, and also that he was a Parthian ruler. Finally we find Spalirises designated as *basileōn basileōs megalou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Spaliriśasa* on the reverse. In addition to Spalirises we have Spalahora, *alias* Spalyris, and his son Spalagadama, whose names are associated with that of the great King of Kings Vonones. There are several coin types and legends : *basileōs basileōn megalou Onōnou* on the obverse and *maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa*, or *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse ; *Spalyrios dikaiou adelphou tou basileōs* on the obverse and *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse.

Numismatists seem to agree in the opinion that Spalirises and Spalahora were both brothers of Vonones, and that the former survived Vonones and succeeded him on the throne. Vonones, on the other hand, is considered to be different from and older than the king Vonones I of Parthia (8-11 A.D.).[2] The name of Spalirises is not, however, anywhere combined with that of Vonones, and I cannot see any obstacle to the assumption that he was an older member of the dynasty, perhaps the father of Azes and the uncle of Vonones, in which case the latter can very well be identical with Vonones I of Parthia.

According to my view, the state of things can accordingly be summarised as follows : Some time after the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B. C., a Śaka ruler of Seistān made himself independent, invaded the Indus country and established a new era. According to the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*[3] the Jaina Kālakāchārya applied to the Śaka rulers of Sagakūla[4] for assistance against King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī, who had abducted his sister, and the result was that the Śakas made themselves masters in Ujjayinī, where their rule, according to some well-known memorial stanzas,[5] lasted for four years. They were then ousted by **Vikramāditya**, who established his own era. As I have stated elsewhere,[6] I see no reason for discrediting this tradition. The Vikrama era is a national Indian era, established by an Indian ruler to commemorate his victory over the Śakas. And in my opinion it is the first secular era of Indian origin. The oldest certain instance of its use is the Śoḍāsa inscription of the year 72, and from the fact that the date portion of this record does not make any mention of the *paksha* but simply mentions the 9th day of the month, we may infer that the calendar was partly arranged according to the principles introduced by the Śakas.

---

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 208.

[2] *Cf.* Rapson, *l.c.* pp. 573 f. ; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff., where further references to the literature about the subject are given.

[3] *Z. D. M. G.* 34, pp. 247 ff.

[4] [According to the *Prabhāvakacharita* (IV. 43-44) it is *Śākhideśa*—the country of the *Śākhis*, otherwise called *Śakas*—lying on the *Sindhu* in the west.—Ed.]

[5] *Cf.* my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 33.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 293 f.

The best known of the Śaka rulers is Moga, who was still on the throne in the year 78 of the old Śaka era. If it is granted that the establishment of that era must be subsequent to the year 88 B.C., the year 78 cannot be earlier than 10 or 9 B.C. The Patika plate mentioning it is dated on the fifth Panemos. From the use of the Macedonian name we can infer that the year began, as in the Macedonian calendar, with the month Dios, *i.e.*, it was Kārttikādi. The month Panemos corresponds to June. If the beginning of the era coincided with October 88 and the years were current, the earliest possible date for the Patika plate would be June, 10 B.C., and if the years were elapsed, June, 9 B.C. It is not, however, probable that the era was established before one or two years after the demise of Mithradates II. On the other hand, some time was required for Patika, who in the year 78 was not even a Kshatrapa, to acquire the rank of Mahākshatrapa, and further for Śōḍāsa, who was Kshatrapa when Patika was Mahākshatrapa, to be promoted to Mahākshatrapa, a position which he held in 15 A.D. We can, therefore, with some confidence, state that the last ten years before the beginning of our era must be the period when the Patika plate was engraved.

Now I have tried to show that a new, Parthian, era had been established one year before the date of the Patika plate, by Azes, the first Parthian conqueror of the Kābul country and Western Panjāb, and that the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is dated in the 26th year of that era. That would take us to the time 16-20 A.D., which would be a very likely date for Gudufara, who is generally assumed to have come on the throne in 19 A.D.

Gudufara is, as I have already mentioned, certainly identical with the King Gondophares who, according to Christian tradition, summoned the apostle Thomas to his court. This tradition is not, however, of much use for chronological purposes. In the first place, the name of the king is not mentioned before the third or fourth century A.D., and, in the second, the whole tradition cannot prove anything more than that the name of the King Gudufara had become known in the Christian east about the time of Christ's death or of the first Christian mission.

We do not know how long Gudufara's rule lasted. We learn from the Panjtār inscription that a Kushāṇa-Mahārāja (*Gushaṇa maharaya*) had come into power in the year 122, *i.e.*, 19 years after the date of our inscription, and from the Taxila silver scroll that this same Kushāṇa had assumed the imperial titles *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* 14 years later, in the year 136. If the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription belongs to one of Gudufara's first years, he cannot, accordingly, have held undisputed sway for more than about twenty years, and we do not know anything which militates against such an assumption.

With regard to the ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and Taxila records opinions differ, but all scholars are agreed that it is the same ruler who is mentioned in both inscriptions. From a consideration of the find-places of the two epigraphs we can infer that he had, between the years 122 and 136, extended his sway eastwards, and the increase of his power consequent on this extension is illustrated in the higher titles used in the Taxila scroll. But both find-places full within the territory which the Chinese called Kipin,[1] and which, according to them, was conquered by Kadphises I, while "India", which was subdued by Kadphises II, must be located outside of Kipin.

In full agreement with this state of things Sir John Marshall[2] has shown good reasons for identifying the Kushāṇa-Mahārāja of these records with Kujūla Kadphises, and I am more convinced than ever that he is right, though the prevailing opinion seems to be that Vima Kadphises is the ruler mentioned.

[1] *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 290 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 977 f.

We know from the *Hou Han-shu,* the annals of the Later Hans, Ch. 118, fol. 11vo that the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, *i.e.,* Kujūla Kadphises, after conquering four other *hi-hous,* established himself as *wang* (king) and used the dynastic title "King of Kuei-shuang", *i.e.,* Kushāṇa King, that he invaded An-si (Parthia), seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), annihilated P'u-ta and Kipin, and that all these territories formed his empire. He became eighty years old, and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-chen, *i.e.,* Vima Kadphises, who "again" conquered India, where he appointed a general to rule as his viceroy.

The *Hou Han-shu* cover the period beginning with 24 A.D. Kujūla Kadphises' consolidation of the Kushāṇa empire accordingly falls after that date. Before then he can only have been a petty *hi-hou* or a young prince. But afterwards he gradually became king (*wang*) and king of Kuei-shuang.

It will be seen that all these details point to the conclusion that the Kushāṇa-Mahārāja was Kujūla and not Vima Kadphises. The latter ruler does not seem to have resided in India. He ruled through a viceroy, and in my opinion this viceroy is the Soter Megas, whose "coins are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshāwar to Mathurā. These facts point to a great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important of the kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms point to a period about the Kushāṇa conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises."

"Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharōshṭhī *akshara vi*,"[1] and I agree with Cunningham that this *vi* may possibly be the initial of the king's name, though Mr. Whitehead does not accept this view. If it is correct, we would have a clear indication of Vima Kadphises being the suzerain on whose behalf the Soter Megas coins were issued.

Mr. Whitehead thinks it possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler. I think that he is right, and that the Soter Megas coinage covers the period from the accession of Vima Kadphises to the installation of Kanishka. Sir John Marshall is no doubt right in assuming[2] an interval between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka, but we have no information about the Kushāṇa rulers who held sway at headquarters after the demise of Vima Kadphises.

Moreover the designation *Kushāṇa-Mahārāja* is more easily understandable, without the addition of any personal name, in the case of the ruler who first introduced it, than with his successor, and if Vima Kadphises was the king who introduced the later Śaka era, as I think we must infer from a comparison of Chinese tradition and the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka,* he cannot be the Kushāṇa-Mahārāja of the Panjtār and Taxila records. We can only think of Kujūla Kadphises.

It has been urged against this that the Taxila scroll shows a monogram  which is characteristic of the coins of Vima Kadphises. Sir John Marshall has, however, drawn attention to the fact that the same monogram also occurs on the coins of his predecessor, and I may add that it is likewise met with on coins of Zeionises. Professor Rapson[3] objects that the coins in question "bear the name not of Kujūla Kadphises, but of Kujūla Kara Kadphises, who was probably another member of the dynasty . . . . Kujūla Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī, and he may have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises."

---

[1] *Cf.* Whitehead, *l.c.* p. 160[2].

[2] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1912-13, p. 8[2].

[3] *l.c.* p. 582[1].

Not being myself a numismatist I feel some hesitation in differing from a scholar whose knowledge of Indian coins is probably at the present time unsurpassed. I cannot, however, help thinking that numismatists are too much inclined to construct different rulers at the hand of different coin-types. Just as I have not been able to convince myself of the existence of more than one Azes, in the same way I fail to see that the variety in the titles used by Kujūla Kadphises makes it necessary to assume the existence of more than one ruler of that name. We must not forget that Chinese tradition assigns a long period to his reign.

Kujūla Kara Kadphises cannot have been a petty chief or a subordinate ruler like the Kshatrapa Zeionises. He is designated as *maharaya rayatiraya* and *maharaya rayaraya dēvaputra*. Similar titles, *viz.*, *maharaja mahata* and *maharaja rajatiraja* are met with on coins which bear the name of *Kuyula Kapha*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that Kujūla Kadphises and Kujūla Kara Kadphises are one and the same person. Sir John Marshall[1] found at Sirkap a coin showing, on the obverse, the bust of Hermaeus with a corrupt Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a Kharōshṭhī legend of which we can at least read *jūla kara*. Here Kujūla Kara's name occurs on a coin showing the bust of Hermaeus, and thus his identity with Kadphises I becomes still more probable. We do not know the etymological meaning of the word *kujūla*.[2] I may add that I do not any more think it likely that it is a Turkī word.[3] We have no certain traces of Turkish in the language or titulature of the Indo-Skythians. The title *yavuga*, which has often been stated to be an adaptation of the Turkī *yabgu*, has not been etymologically explained, and it is perhaps more probable that it is originally an Iranian word which has been taken over by the Turks than that the opposite should be the case.

I therefore identify Kujūla Kara Kadphises with Kujūla Kadphises and cannot admit that the use of the monogram in question on the Taxila silver scroll can be urged against the view that the Kushāṇa king mentioned in the inscription is Kujūla Kadphises.

There is still another reason which strongly speaks in favour of this identification: Vima Kadphises is never, in his coin-legends, designated as a Kushāṇa, and nobody would, I think, *a priori* be inclined to identify him with the *Gushaṇa-maharaja* of the Panjtār inscription and the *maharaja rajatiraja dēvaputra Khushāṇa* of the Taxila silver scroll, if it were not for the common theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka.

I do not overlook the fact that Sir John Marshall has found some coins at Sirkap which seem to show the legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khushaṇasa yavugasa*, while the obverse bears the head of a Kushāṇa king, resembling that of Vima Kadphises. Sir John[4] is inclined to ascribe these coins to Vima Kadphises and writes: "The epithet *Yavuga* (=Turkish *jabgou*) is found on coins of Kujūla Kadphises, and is supposed to have been replaced by the title *maharaja rajatiraja* after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct." He is not, it should be noted, certain about the assignation of these coins to Vima Kadphises, and, in my opinion, the use of the title *Khushaṇa yavuga* goes a long way towards proving that they should be assigned to Kujūla Kadphises. The legend informs us of the fact that he who was then the *maharaja rajatiraja* had risen to that exalted position from the rank of a *Khushaṇa yavuga*, and I cannot help thinking that there is a touch of justifiable pride in the wording of the legend.

---

[1] *l.c.* p. 52.

[2] *Cf.* Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1922, pp. 260 f.

[3] Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.* 69, p. 176, thought of *güjlü*, strong, and I have myself, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 799, compared *güzel*, beautiful.

[4] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1912-13, pp. 44 ff.

Professor Rapson[1] has no doubt about the identity of the *maharaja rajatiraja Khushaṇa yavuga* with Vima Kadphises. He says: "Most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley. They are imitated from the barbarous issues of that region which still continued to reproduce mechanically the legends with the name of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, long after his death. They are found in enormous numbers beyond the limits of the Kābul valley in Takshaśilā, where the stratification of the objects discovered in the excavations proves unquestionably that, in that district, they are rather later than the coins of Gondopharnes. At first sight the evidence of the finds would thus seem to show that Kujūla Kadphises himself was later in date than Gondopharnes and that he was the actual conqueror of Takshaśilā; but since the coins in question manifestly come from the Kābul valley, we must suppose that they represent the ordinary currency of the Kushāṇas at the time when the invasion took place, and that they were introduced into Takshaśilā as large numbers of Sassanian coins were brought into the country of the lower Indus from Irān by the Hūṇas of the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujūla Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes; and there is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chinese writers that it was not Kujūla Kadphises, but his son and successor, Vima Kadphises, who extended the dominions of the Kushāṇas from the Kābul valley to N.-W. India."

I quite agree with Professor Rapson that the bulk of Kujūla Kadphises' coins may have been struck in the Kābul valley, but in other respects I differ from him *toto coelo*. The Chinese sources do not, as we have already seen, tell us that Vima Kadphises, and not Kujūla Kadphises, conquered N.-W. India. They state that the latter invaded An-si (Parthia), conquered Kao-fu (Kābul), P'u-ta (probably the country about Ghazni) and Ki-pin. But we know that Ki-pin comprised parts of the Panjāb, *i.e.*, N.-W. India,[2] and the "India" conquered by Vima Kadphises cannot be identified with N.-W. India.

In such circumstances it seems to me that the Sirkap coins must be ascribed to Kujūla, and not to Vima Kadphises. Coins of the known types of the former were found in the same locality, but no coins of Vima Kadphises or of Soter Megas. It cannot be objected that Kujūla Kadphises' bust does not occur on any of the coins which can, with certainty, be ascribed to him. Professor Rapson has given the explanation of this fact: these coins were struck in the Kābul valley, and it was only after the conquest of Takshaśilā that Kujūla Kadphises introduced his bust on his coins, probably in direct imitation of Gondopharnes.

It is of interest to note that the form *Khushaṇa* occurring in the Sirkap legends is also found on some coins of Kujūla Kadphises with the legend *Khushaṇasa yavuasa Kuyula Kaphsasa sachad hramathitasa*, and some of these coins were found together with the new type at Sirkap, with the legend *Khushaṇasa yavugasa Kuyula Kasasa*.

So far as I can see, the cumulative weight of all these indications makes it necessary to ascribe the silver coins found at Sirkap, with a head "resembling" that of Vima Kadphises, to Kujūla Kadphises and to infer that they were struck during his rule at Taxila, in imitation of the practice adhered to by his predecessors.

Now I have tried to show above that the date of the Gudufara inscription must fall between 16 and 26 A.D. Nineteen years later, *i.e.*, between 35 and 45, the Kushāṇa ruler of the Panjtār record had assumed the title *Mahārāja*, and 33 years later, *i.e.*, between 49 and 59, he uses the imperial titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra*. If the ruler in question was Kujūla Kadphises, he had already a distinguished career behind him when he began his conquest of the Parthian empire. He had succeeded some other ruler as *yavuga*, and he had subjected four

[1] *l.c.* p. 581 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen nur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 59 f.

other *yavugas* to his rule. He cannot have been quite a young man. If we assume that he was about 40 years old at the time of the Panjtār inscription, his death must have taken place between 75 and 85 A.D., and it will be seen that the establishment of the Śaka era, which I ascribe to his son and successor, falls within that period. On the other hand, he can hardly have been an old man when he started on his eventful career. We know from Chinese sources that that happened after 24 A.D. We can infer, with some confidence, that he was born shortly before or shortly after the beginning of our era, and as he died an octogenarian, that would take us to the same time as I have come to above. I am unable to see how Vima Kadphises can possibly be pressed into the period between Gudufara and the establishment of the Śaka era,[1] and the theory that that reckoning was introduced by Vima Kadphises is the only explanation which is not merely based on general chronological considerations but derived from definite statements in Chinese and Indian literature, and I have not seen any serious grounds urged against it.

In such circumstances my identification of the prince (*erjhaṇa*) Kapsha mentioned in l. 5 of the Gudufara inscription with Kujūla Kadphises receives considerable support. He is not distinguished by any title which would lead us to infer that he was a ruling prince. He is not even styled *yavuga*, but simply characterized as *erjhaṇa*, *i.e.*, *kumāra*. We would naturally infer that he had not yet risen to the rank of *yavuga*, and at all events, that his conquest of the other *yavugas* had not yet taken place. He may have been a young man, of say twenty years, and if he were born about the beginning of the Christian era, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to c. 20 A.D.

I do not think that it is possible to arrive at more definite results at the hand of the materials themselves, without any hypothetical interpretation of their text. I believe, however, that there is one indication in one of the ancient Kharōshṭhī records which may some day lead us to an absolutely certain conclusion about the initial point of the era. I refer to the word *ayasa* in the Taxila scroll inscription.

I have stated above that I think it impossible to explain this *ayasa* as the genitive of the name *Aya*, Azes. But then *ayasa* must be connected with *ashaḍasa masasa*, and the only question is why the month is characterized as *aya*. *Aya* might, of course, correspond to Sanskrit *ārya*, and Professor Jacobi has mentioned the possibility that the month may have been called Aryan because the Indian and not the Macedonian month is mentioned. It will, however, be seen from a comparison of the dates of the Gudufara, the Pāja, the Kaldarra and the Panjtār inscriptions, that the use of the Indian and not the Macedonian names of the months was a common feature at the time when the Taxila silver scroll was inscribed. I therefore still think, as I thought when I published the record, that *ayasa* corresponds to Sanskrit *ādyasya*. It should be remembered that *ādya* does not become *ajja* in any Prakrit dialect, and that the change of *dy* to *yy* is attested through *uyyāna*, Sanskrit *udyāna*, which is met with both in Pāli and in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version of the Aśōka edicts.

When the month Āshāḍha is designated as the "first" Āshāḍha, that does not, of course, mean that Āshāḍha was the first month of the year, but that there were two Āshāḍhas in that particular year. Can this information help us to settle the question about the precise date of the record?

The reply would, of course, be in the negative, if we had to do with the ancient Indian calendar of the Jyōtisha, according to which there was an intercalated Āshāḍha every five years. I have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the calendar used in the old Kharōshṭhī inscriptions is not purely Indian but contains foreign, Greco-Macedonian, elements. In other

[1] The difficulty becomes still greater if the Gudufara date and those of the Panjtār and Taxila records are referred to the Vikrama era.

words, we have to do with the initial stages of that development which finally led to the recasting of Indian astronomy and the Indian calendar on purely scientific lines.

The question then arises whether we should not be justified in applying the methods of the *Siddhāntas* to the date of the Taxila silver scroll. It is true that the *Siddhāntas* are later than the inscription. According to Dr. Thibaut,[1] the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and some other *Siddhāntas* are probably at least some centuries older than 500 A.D., but not necessarily more than two or three centuries older. But then it should be borne in mind that the *Siddhāntas* are the result of a long development and not the first laying down of scientific astronomical principles. It is, therefore, not excluded that their methods can be used for a still older period. The question is not so much what the general Indian astronomer knew about calendar matters in the first century A.D., as what the Indo-Skythian successors of the Greek princes had learnt from their predecessors and how they had arranged their Greco-Indian calendar.

I do not myself understand anything about astronomy, and I cannot, therefore, form an independent opinion. I have, however, submitted the question to my friend the Dutch scholar Dr. W. E. van Wijk, who has been good enough to calculate which years between A.D. 50 and 80 had an intercalated Āshāḍha according to the *Siddhāntas*. He has informed me that such was the case in the years 52 and 71 A.D., and Mr. Sewell has accepted this result.

Of these two dates only the former one is possible. For, if Sam. 136 corresponded to 71 A.D., the 5th Panemos 78, the date of Patika plate, would correspond to 13 A.D., only two years before the Śōḍāsa inscription, and two years are not sufficient for covering the events falling between the two records. The year 52, on the other hand, excellently suits the facts as we know them. If it should prove to be right, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to **10 March 19 A.D.,** *i.e.*, about 60 years before the beginning of the Śaka era, and if Kapsha, *i.e.*, Kujūla Kadphises, were then twenty years old he would have been born in 1 B.C. The year 103 would have begun in October 18, and the accession of Azes, if the figure 26 refers to an era instituted by him, would fall in the year 9-8 B.C., wherewith it is impossible to know whether the use of the term *varsha* for 'year' points to a year beginning with the rains and not with the autumn.

If this result is accepted, it would become possible to give the dates corresponding to those occurring in other Kharōshṭhī records of the older series. The Patika plate of the 5th Panemos 78=June 6 B.C.; the Machai inscription of the year 81=4-3 B.C.; the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102=18-19 A.D.; the Pāja inscription of the 15th Śrāvaṇa 111=23 June 27 A.D.; the Kaldarra inscription of the 20th Śrāvaṇa 113=5 July 29 A.D.; the Panjtār inscription of the 1st Śrāvaṇa 122=7 June 38 A.D.; the Taxila silver scroll of the 15th of the first Āshāḍha 136=17 May 52 A.D.; the Dewai inscription of the 8th Vaiśākha 200=24 March 116 A.D.; the Loriyān Tangai inscription of the 27th Prōshṭhapada 318=27 August 234; the Jamālgarhi inscription of the 1st Aspaiu (?) 359=September 276 A.D.; the Hashtnagar inscription of the 5th Prōshṭhapada 384=7 June 300 A.D.; the Skārah Ḍherī inscription of the 10th (or 20th) Āshāḍha 399=28 April or 8 May 315 A.D.[2]

I give these identifications with every reserve. Future research may make it necessary to fix the initial point of the era some few years later than I have done, but the relative chronology is, I think, certain. The new arrangement also removes a great difficulty which has been felt by everybody who has studied the history of the Indo-Skythians: the many different eras supposed to be used side by side in their records. The late Dr. Fleet consistently maintained that all the dates of Indo-Skythian records should be referred to the Vikrama era, which he held to be introduced by Kanishka. I do not think that anybody holds that view at the present date.

[1] *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, p. 45.

[2] See *Acta Orientalia*, III, pp. 82 f.

Most scholars are of opinion that the Patika plate stands alone with an era of its own, that the older series should be referred to the Vikrama era, while the Kanishka group is dated in Śaka years. The dates with years higher than 300, finally, it has become customary to refer to the Seleukidan era. M. Foucher[1] has demurred to the latter part of the prevalent theory. I have quoted his remarks about the improbability of the use of a foreign era in private votive inscriptions above, and I think that they are quite to the mark. But I do not think that his own solution of the difficulty is in any way better. He holds that the high figures should be referred to the so-called Maurya era, a suggestion which had already been made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his valuable paper on the Scythian Period of Indian History.[2] He reckons the year 322 B.C. as the starting point of the Maurya era and draws attention to the fact that the beginning of the Śaka era comes exactly 400 years after that date. In his opinion the Śaka era is only a continuation of the Maurya era, with omitted hundreds.

It is extraordinary how tenacious this idea of suppressed centuries is. I quite accept the dictum of the late Dr. Fleet[3]: "There is, in fact, no sound reason for thinking that this irrational method of recording dates was used in ancient times in any territory which comes in any way within the scope of our inquiry." The results of referring the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions with years higher than 300 to the Maurya era are, moreover, just as fatal as if we use the Seleukidan reckoning. We would have to date the Loriyān Tangai statue in the year 3 B.C. and the Hashtnagar pedestal in 63 A.D. Now palæography seems to be in discredit at the present date, but still I think most scholars would experience some difficulty in ascribing the Loriyān Tangai epigraph to an earlier date than the Gudufara and Pāja inscriptions. M. Foucher himself thinks that the epoch of the Loriyān Tangai *stūpa* is late, and according to him, approximately the second century A.D. The *point d'appui* for this dating is the Kanishka reign, which he supposes to begin about 78 A.D. If now the accession of Kanishka took place more than 50 years after that date,[4] the Loriyān Tangai *stūpa* must be referred to the third century, as I have done above. M. Foucher, it is true, places the inscribed statues from Loriyān Tangai and Rājar (Hashtnagar) before Kanishka, but it seems to me that his reason, the good style of the foldings of the garments, is far from being convincing. If an older image was broken and had to be replaced by a new statue, the Gandhāra artists of a later period were certainly not more backward in imitating ancient models than the Indian craftsmen of the present day. And statues without heads and hands are, it would seem, not the very best material for drawing chronological conclusions.

Moreover, it would seem to be a necessary preliminary to the reawakening of the theory of a Maurya era to show that the strong reasons cannot be accepted which have been brought into the field in order to show that the whole idea of such an era is without any foundation. And it would have been well to try to explain the curious fact that there is not the slightest reference to any such era in the numerous epigraphs of the great Maurya emperor Aśōka. His inscriptions are, it should be remembered, official documents, and if a Maurya era had been in existence, we should certainly expect to find it used in them. The only inscription in which the Maurya era is supposed to be mentioned, belongs to a different dynasty, that of the Chēdis, and besides, the supposed date is given in such a way that no unbiassed person could be supposed to understand the meaning.[5]

M. Foucher has made no such attempt. He has been content to state that his whole theory stands and falls with the Maurya era, and there is, so far as I can see, absolutely no more

[1] *l.c.* pp. 484 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, pp. 25 ff.; see especially p. 67.

[3] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 984.

[4] I hope to show that such was actually the case in my edition of the Zeda inscription.

[5] For further details I may refer the reader to my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12 ff.

foundation for the belief in its existence than there would be if somebody were to suggest that an era was instituted to commemorate the conquest of India by Alexander.

The only objection against referring the high dates in Kharōshṭhī inscriptions to the old Śaka era of which I can think, is that it seems difficult to understand why it was not replaced by the Kanishka era. But then we have the analogy of the Gudufara inscription, which shows that the old era had gained such a firm footing in Yūsufzai that it survived the introduction of a new, Parthian era. There are, on the whole, no traces of Kanishka and his successors in Yūsufzai proper. The capital was no more Pushkalāvatī or Shāhbāzgaṛhī. Those districts, and the country further to the north, where the Gandhāra school of art had had a richer development than anywhere else, were no more in the centre of political activity. Peshāwar, on the high road to the stronghold of the Kushāṇas in Badakshān,[1] had become the most important city in the west, and the route from Taxila to Peshāwar did not lead through Yūsufzai. That country had been reduced to be an out-of-the-way territory, where Buddhist civilization and art remained, but where political vicissitudes were of little importance. No wonder that the indigenous donors and sculptors went on using the old era, undisturbed by the accession of Kaṇishka.

TEXT.

1 Maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha 20 4 1 1
2 saṁba[tśarae ti]śatimae 1 100 1 1 1 Veśakhasa masasa divase
3 [pratha]me [di 1 i]śa [diṇe] pachhe Balasamisa [bo]yaṇasa
4 par[i]vara [sha]dhad[a]ṇa sapu[ta]dhitasa Mira boyaṇasa
5 erjhaṇa Kap[sha]sa puyae madu
6 pidu puyae

TRANSLATION.

(During the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, (in) the year 26, in the hundred-and-third year—103—on the first day—d. 1—of the month Vaiśākha, on this *paksha*-day, the chapel (?) of Balasvāmin the Saviour [is] the pious gift of Mira the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Kapsha, in honour of his mother and father.

No. 29.—FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

By

RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (*Retired*), JUBBULPORE.

The Government Epigraphist for India forwarded to me impressions of 4 sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhañja dynasty sent to him by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, B.A., District Munsiff of Aska, Ganjām District. Brief notices in respect of them appeared in Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18 on pages 12 and 135 ff., paragraphs 10—14. I now edit the charters from the impressions supplied by him, which are reproduced in the accompanying plates.

The Bhañja grants yet discovered number eleven[2] including the present ones, four of which have been edited in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* and the rest in this Journal including the one of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, which has been re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn in Volume IX, above. For facility of reference the charters have been assigned

[1] *Cf.* Chavannes, *T'oung Pao II.* viii, p. 187[2].
[2] Sixteen. See Postscript.

Takht-i-Bahai Inscription: the year 103, being year 26 of Gudufara.



F. W. THOMAS SCALE ·4 W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH

distinguishing letters given below, especially because some of them bear the same name, having been found in the same locality. In editing the two Baudh charters Mr. R. D. Banerji distinguished them by the letters A & B and Mr. Mazumdar gave to the Sonpur grant the letter C, which have been retained in my scheme.

A. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 54th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 322 ff.

B. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 26th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 325 ff.

C. Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañjadēva; by Mazumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, page 98 ff.

D. Bāmanghāṭi grant of Raṇabhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, page 165 ff.

E. Bāmanghāṭi grant of Rājabhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, page 168 ff.

F. Orissa grant of Vidyādharabhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, LVI, Part I, page 154, re-edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, page 271.

G. Ganjām plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, page 669.

H. Ganjām plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva edited below.

I. Ganjām plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva edited below.

J. Ganjām plates of Vidyādharabhañjadēva edited below.

K. Antirigām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva edited below.

The description of these plates supplied by the Epigraphical office is reproduced below.

H. Ganjām plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva.

" This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal, which passes through a hole of about ½" in diameter near the proper right margin and has its ends riveted into the arms of the bracket at the back of the seal accompanying it. The ring was uncut when the plates reached this office. The plates have writing on five faces in all, the first plate being engraved only on the inner side. They measure about 6½" in breadth and 3¾" in height. They bear slightly raised rims on either face, though those of the first plate are worn out a little. The ring has a diameter of about 3½". The seal is circular in shape and has a diameter of about 1⅓". On its countersunk surface it bears in relief the figure of a lion at the top of proper left with the legend '**Śrī-Nētṛibhañjadēvasya**' below it in two lines. The entire set weighs about 158 tolas."

I. Ganjām plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva.

" This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung ogether on a ring of the same metal which passes through a hole about ⅓" in diameter at about 1" from the proper right margin. The ring was uncut when the set reached the office. It carries a fixed seal which is now partly damaged and must have been circular in form originally. The engravings on it are all lost. The first plate is written only on one side while the other two have writing on both the faces. The plates have very slight rims. They measure 6" in breadth and 3¼" in height. The set weighs 71 tolas."

J. Ganjām plates of Vidyādharabhañjadēva.

" This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape and strung together on a ring 2¾" in diameter, which passes through a hole of about ½" in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring carries a seal into the two arms of the bracket on the back of which are fixed its two ends. The seal is much damaged so that nothing remains of the original engravings on its surface. Its diameter is about 1⅓". The plates measure 7¼" in breadth and 3½" in height. They have writing on four faces in all, the first and the last ones being blank in outer faces. The first plate is broken to the extent of 1" in the right hand top corner. The total weight of the set is 85 tolas. The plates are not uniformly thick, the first being slightly thinner than the other two."

K. Antirigām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva.

"This is a set of three thin copper-plates strung on a ring of the same metal passing through a hole about ½″ in diameter near the proper right margin. They are oblong in shape and have four faces of writing in all, the first and the last being blank on the outer sides. They have no rims worth the name; still the writing is in good preservation. The ring which is about 1¾″ in diameter carries a turned knob into the base of which its two ends are fixed. The knob is about 1½″ long and is a miniature representation of the *kalaśikā* seen on the top of the broad umbrella used in the South Indian temples. The plates are a little drawn out in the side margins and have therefore slightly rounded corners. They measure about 8¼″ in breadth and 3½″ in height. The weight of the set is 72 tolas. The plates were found in a village called Antirigām in the Pūrbakhaṇḍa division of the Chatrāpur tāluk, not far from Jauguḍa, in a field while ploughing."

The language of all the records is Sanskrit written in the Nāgari character influenced by the Oriyā style more conspicuously in charter K than the three others, which closely resemble one another not only in characters, but in the phraseology used in them. All the records as usual are divided into three portions, the first and the third in verse, the former recording the invocations to the family god and the genealogy of the king and the latter benedictions and imprecations quoted from religious books, while the second or the middle portion in prose deals with the business in hand. There is also a little prose at the end of the records giving the names of the messenger, the writer, the engraver and the seal-affixer. The first portion being composed by a learned man of the court once for all during the currency of a reign, is always ornate and so it is in the present grants. The second is usually full of mistakes, as business respects neither rhetoric nor grammar and goes straight to the point, even admitting forms like *Svāmisya*, *Śarmisya*, *Agnīhōtrisya*, so long as the sense is not obscured. Imprecations being mere quotations from Dharma-Śāstras are pure formalities of the age, given little care in point of accuracy, though in well written records they receive as much attention as the other parts of the records. In our records there is ample evidence of the carelessness with which quotations have been entered. In some cases the verses are incomplete, in others they have been mutilated and strung together in a new form, for instance, see J, where a verse occurs as follows :—

यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं । मा भुयफलशङ्का वः परदत्तानुपालन: ॥
which gives a jumble of mis-spellings and misjoinders.

As regards the peculiarities in writing a full description has been given by Dr. Kielhorn in his article on the Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañja, re-edited by him in Vol. IX, pp. 271 ff. in this Journal. His remarks almost wholly apply to the plates H, I and J, and need not be repeated. The plates K are more modern than the other three and exhibit more prominently the Oriyā style of writing, the chief characteristic of which is the rounding of the straight or angular portions into a curve. The plates H, I and J will show that the top lines of letters are not straight, but slightly curved, furnishing each letter with a sort of a horn. In K the form of क gets transformed into କ, a ख into ଖ a ग into ଗ and so on. These are really Oriyā letters. Of course Oriyā characters are no other than Nāgarī letters with the inevitable rounding resulting from an iron stylus playing on palm leaves, which would be torn if straight lines were drawn on them. As a matter of fact the slanting limbs of the letters in all these four records are too prominent to require any mention. I would not therefore dilate any further on this point.

I shall now proceed to the contents of the records and the historical data they give us. The charters H and I were issued from Vañjulvaka by Nētṛibhañjadēva surnamed Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañjadēva, grandson of Śatrubhañjadēva and great-grandson of Śilābhañjadēva,

H grants a village named **Rātaṅga**[1] in the **Vāsudēvakhaṇḍa-vishaya** to a number of Agnihōtrins belonging to the Kauśika- and Vatsa-*gōtras*. The plate I grants a village named **Machchhāḍagrāma** of the **Māchhāḍakhaṇḍa** to another donee of the Vātsya-*gōtra*. These two records do not give either the residence of the donees or the place whence their forefathers came, nor do they state the occasion on which they were granted. They state as usual that the gifts were made for increasing the religious merits of the king's father, mother and self. They do not refer to any date whatsoever, but simply say that they were issued at the king's own order and written by the Minister for peace and war, in the case of H by **Savarāja** and in the case of I by **Kubēra**. Both were incised by a goldsmith (*akshaśālika*) named **Durgadēva**. The seal in H was affixed by **Māmmā**, apparently a short form of Mahāmāyā (the queen) and in I a lady, named **Jachchhikā** of the noble family. The messenger for H was **Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala**, but the name of that in I is not legible.

The charter J was issued by **Mahārāja Vidyādharabhañjadēva**, surnamed **Amōghakalaśa**, son of **Śilābhañjadēva**, grandson of **Digbhañjadēva** and great-grandson of **Raṇabhañjadēva**. It was issued from the ancestral capital Vañjulvaka and records the grant of a village named **Mūlamāchhāḍa** (*i.e.*, Māchhāḍa proper) situated in the **Māchhāḍakhaṇḍa-vishaya to Bhaṭṭa Purandara**, an emigrant from **Manmāṇā**, situated in the district **Taḍisama-vishaya in Varebdhi**[2] (province). In this case as in the previous two, the gift was made for increasing the religious merit of the donor and his parents and bears **no date**. The record was composed by **Stambha**, the Minister for peace and war, and incised by the goldsmith **Kumārachandra**, and the seal was affixed by **Trikaliṅga-Mahādēvī**, on the record being apparently presented by the Prime Minister **Bhaṭṭa Kēśavadēva**. One **Chāchika** is recorded as the *vārgulika* which appears to be an alternative term for *dūtaka* or messenger.[3] All these names occur in plate F except the last, with a medley of offices, which throw a doubt on its genuineness, but this is susceptible of being explained, as would appear later on. The last charter K was issued in the **3rd year** (**of the king's reign**) **on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the Kārtika month** (known also as Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśī), the day on which **Vishṇu** awakes from his four months' sleep, granting the village **Komyāṇa** of **Vōḍā-vishaya** to the astrologer **Jagadhara-Śarman**, resident of **Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka**, situated in the district of **Koṇṭarāvaṅga-vishaya**, emigrant from **Vapabhūmi**, situated in the middle of **Thīhāra-vishaya** by **Yaśabhañjadēva**, son of **Rāyabhañja II**, who was son of **Vīrabhañja**, who was son of **Rāyabhañja I**, who was son of the **Rājādhirāja Dēvabhañja**, styled *Samasta-Khiñjali-dēś-ādhipati* or lord of the whole **Khiñjali country**, which connects him with the family headed by Śilābhañjadēva, from whom the kings referred to in the preceding three (H, I, J) records, were descended. Though Khiñjali is not mentioned in the three foregoing records in hand, it finds a mention in A, B and C. In the latter there is a mention of Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala which shows that the Khiñjali was divided into two *maṇḍalas* or divisions, though owned by the same king. The records, however, do not show how Dēvabhañja, the original ancestor of Yaśabhañja's family, was connected with the parental stock to which all the kings mentioned in plates **A** to **J** appear to belong. From these eleven[4] records of the Bhañja family the following tentative **genealogy**[5] may be made out :—

[1] [R. B. Krishna Sastri would read this name as Arātaha; see his *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 12, No. 6.—Ed.]

[2] [R. B. Krishna Sastri would read it as Varēndhi, see *ibid.*, p. 136, para. 13.—Ed.]

[3] [If it is a derivative of the Telugu *vargu* = ledger, the official might have been a ledger-keeper of land given. By analogy it appears to be supported by the Kanarese expression *vargakoḍu* which means "to deliver land to somebody as his property."—Ed.]

[4] Sixteen. See Postscript.

[5] [In drawing the genealogical tree we should not lose sight of the fact that some of these rulers used different seals, for such a difference can well indicate a different house or branch of a dynasty.—Ed.]

Virabhadra (Gaṇadaṇḍa)
(D. E. A. O.)

Koṭṭabhañja *or* Śilābhañja I
(D. E. O.) (H. I.)

Digbhañja I *or* Śatrubhañja I
(D. O.) (G. H. I.)

Raṇabhañja I
(D. E. F. G. H. I. J. O.)

- Digbhañja II (F. J.)
  - Śilābhañja II (F. J.)
    - Vidyādha[ra*]bhañjadēva or Vidyādharabhañja Amōghakalaśa) (F. J.)
      - Śatrubhañja II (A. B. C. L. N. P.)
        - Raṇabhañja II (A. B. L. P.) Solaṇabhañja (M)
          - Durjayabhañja (M)
            - Kanakabhañja (M)
- Nētṛibhañja (Kalyāṇakalaśa) (G. H. I.)
  - Dēvabhañja (K)
    - Rāyabhañja I (K)
      - Virabhañja (K)
        - Rāyabhañja II (K)
          - Yaśabhañja (K)
- Rājabhañja (E.)
- Prithvibhañja (O.)
  - Narēndrabhañja (O.)

NOTE:—Letters in the brackets refer to the charters as named in this article and the postscript. Gaṇadaṇḍa appears to have been the title of the original ancestor, which is found in some records in a corrupted form as Gandhaṭa.

In the Bāmanghāṭi charters (D. E.) which appear to be the oldest, it is stated that the original ancestor of the Bhañja family was one Virabhadra, who was reared up by Vaśishṭhamuni. From him was descended in the main line king Koṭṭabhañja whose grandson was Raṇabhañja; this seems to imply that there were several other branches, the senior being the one in which Raṇabhañja I was born. As the saying goes, two swords cannot remain in a single scabbard, the junior members of the family had apparently no alternative but to settle elsewhere, either as subordinate or independent rulers. It appears that the senior branch continued to observe the Orissa practice of repeating the names of its ancestors, while the junior ones adopted a different scheme. Thus in the main branch with 8 kings, there is only one whose name is not repeated, while in the second there is only a single name out of 6, which has been repeated. In the main line there were 2 Śilābhañjas, 2 Digbhañjas, 2 Śatrubhañjas, and 2 Raṇabhañjas, although in one case the first Digbhañja was apparently identical with the first Śatrubhañja. In the junior branch there were only 2 Rāyabhañjas. In the main line the word Bhañja forms an integral part of the proper name, without which the latter would be ridiculous. In the junior line this is not the case as its elision would still give an appropriate connotation. For instance, it would be extremely uncomplimentary to name one's

son as Śatru or enemy, unless *bhañja* were to be an integral part of it, which would make him the 'vanquisher of an enemy'. Similarly *śilā* is a rock, but with *bhañja* added, it makes its wearer 'the breaker of rocks'. *Raṇa* is battle, but a king is no battle; he is Raṇabhañja, the 'conqueror in battle'. *Diś* are the 4 or 10 quarters. Obviously the king cannot be *diś*, but it is a great compliment to him to be called Digbhañja, the 'victor of all the quarters'. There is only one name in that line which appears to be self-sufficient without the *bhañja* and that is Vidyādharabhañja found in two plates (F and J) where in each case the last letter *ra* is absent which, however, is supplied by the seal attached to the charter F. By the way I may here note that the king had the title of 'Āmōghakalaśa', which was conjecturally read by Dr. Kielhorn as Dharmmakalaśa, owing to an over-engraving in the part where the epithet occurred. It was natural for him to read it as such, on the analogy of Kalayāṇakalaśa attached to the name of Nētṛibhañja, especially as the last letter looked like double *m*, which was apparently meant for *gh*. Dr. Kielhorn has clearly shown that plates F are palimpsests, but what is most curious is that the alterations are most prominent in the names of the donor, his title and his ministers. Plates J show that the Prime Minister was Bhaṭṭa Kēśavadēva, who presented the charter to the queen for affixing the royal seal, and that the composer of the charter was Stambha, the Minister for peace and war, in whose office it appears that such records used to be prepared. In plates F the offices are reversed, whereby Kēśava becomes Minister for peace and war, while Stambha becomes the *Mantri*.[1] The alterations were so carelessly made that Khambha (the popular form of Stambha) continued to be shown as Minister for peace and war and, as such the writer of the charter. This led Dr. Kielhorn to suppose that Stambha and Khambha were different names, occupying the offices of *Mantri* and *Sandhi-vigrahika* respectively, while Kēśava was put down as a messenger, in view of the fact that no messenger was mentioned in the record.

My view of the matter is that the record F was originally prepared during the reign of a short-lived king, the immediate successor of Śilābhañja II, but it could not be issued before his death. At this stage Vidyādhara, the younger brother of the deceased, was installed, not without a *coup d'état*, which brought the Minister for peace and war to prominence causing the supersession of the Prime Minister Kēśava by Stambha for the time being. The accession of Vidyādhara to the throne must have been an occasion for munificent gifts and apparently the charter F was issued in hot haste, with necessary corrections, though not very carefully carried out as

[1] Our record J which has no signs of being tampered with at all reads as follows at the end :—

लाञ्छितं श्रीत्रिकलिङ्गमहादेव्या (*a*) मंत्रिणा श्रीभट्टकेशवदेवेन। (*b*) वार्गुलिकचाचिकेन लिखितं सांधिविग्रहिक श्रीस्तम्भेन। उत्कीर्णं चाचसालीकुमारचन्द्रेण ॥

I think the original record was exactly like this, except perhaps that at (*a*) the word प्रवेशितं and at (*b*) समानीतं or some such equivalents were omitted. In tampering with the record the first alteration to have been made was the insertion of the family name of Stambhadēva as Tējaḍika, which took the place of *pravēśitam* at (*a*) leaving no room for the word *mantriṇā* to precede his proper name, which was next inserted in the place of Kēśavadēvēna. The official designation *mantriṇā* had therefore to follow instead of preceding his name against the usual practice. Thus the word *mantriṇā* had to be put in the place of the unknown word at (*b*). This necessitated the insertion of his part of the duty (that is, presenting the record to the queen for affixing the royal seal) further on, again against the usual practice, and the word प्रवेशितं had therefore to go in the place of वार्गुलिक. There remained now Kēśava's name to be inserted and it was apparently put in the place occupied by चाचिकेन which was as usual followed by लिखितं संधिविग्रहिक, which was left intact, the duty and the office of the displaced minister thus being joined with his name in this manner. What was omitted to be done was the elision of खम्भेन which created an almost meaningless colophon as follows :—

लाञ्छितं श्रीमहादेव्या तेजडिकेन श्रीभट्टस्तम्भदेव मंत्रिणा प्रवेशितं केशवेन लिखितं संधिविग्रहिक खम्भन उत्कीर्णं चाच सालीकुमारचन्द्रेन ॥

[The expression Tējaḍika might be connected with the Telugu and Kanarese *Tēji* meaning a horse. The title may have been derived from the fact of Stambha or his ancestors having been originally Keepers of royal horses.—Ed.]

referred to before. Things may have afterwards resumed the normal condition including the restoration to office of previous employees, when the charter I was issued. This would also account for the peculiar name Vidyādhara as Śilābhañja II's successor, who should have been in the ordinary course named as Digbhañja III, (who should be no other than the deceased elder brother of Vidyādhara in the present case). I feel this is rather a wild conjecture, but until evidence to the contrary is available, there is nothing strange about it. In Orissa the śāstraic custom of continuing ancestral names[1] has survived even up to the present day. For instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūḍhaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva and I have personally known three generations, Sir Sūḍhaladēva, his son Tribhuvanadēva and his grandson Sūḍhaladēva again. In Pāl Lahrā, situated between Bāmra and Keonjhar, the Rāja is either "Pāṭ Gaṇēshvara Pāl" or "Pāṭ Muni Pāl". In the Bhañja family the recurring names appear to have been four, viz., Śilā, Dig, Śatru and Raṇa, and each has had a repetition according to the inscriptions found. There is nothing to prevent the discovery of a third name-sake of any or all of them.

There are a number of geographical names in the records which have been yet found, but no serious attempt was ever made to identify them. In an appendix to this article I have tried to identify not only places mentioned in the four records in hand, about which I have added a special note in the end, but also those mentioned in charters previously edited. It will be seen from them that the oldest charters D and E refer to villages in the extreme north of the Mayūrabhañja State, A, B and C to those in the Baudh State to the west, and the remaining ones to those in the Ganjām District. This gives an indication of the extent of the Bhañja kingdom, which apparently included almost all the tributary states[2] of Orissa together with the northern portion of the Ganjām District covering about 16,000 square miles, about half of which is occupied by Mayūrbhañja and Keonjhar States, both of which were owned by Ubhaya-Khiñjal-yadhipati, or the lord of both the Khiñjalis. This title was retained by the latest king of the family, *viz.*, Yaśabhañja of charter K, who styled himself as Samasta-Khiñjali-dēś-ādhipati or the 'lord of the whole Khiñjali country', which can be no other than the present Keonjhar. The aspirate of the first letter disappeared, a soft *o* after *k* crept in after the Oriyā mode of pronunciation and the *l* at the end changed into *r*, which transformed the original name into Keonjhari or Keonjhar.

The latest *Imperial Gazetteer*[3] states, "Keonjhar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts, Lower Keonjhar being a region of valleys and lowlands, while Upper Keonjhar includes

[1] *Cf.* V. A. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 291.

[2] The traditions of the various Rāj families of these states support it; for instance, the Keonjhar Rāja claims descent from a brother of the Bhañja king of Mayūrbhañja State, which is referred to later on in some details. Pāl Lahrā was admittedly a subordinate of Keonjhar, which claims that one of its Rājas got Aṭhamalik from the Puri king. The Daspallā chief traces his origin to a younger son of Rāja Nārāyaṇa Bhañj of Baudh, where they say the original Rāja was a Brāhman, but was ousted by the Bhañja chiefs (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XIII, p. 110). The Bonai State of which Rehrakhol is a branch has a peacock for its crest with a curious story, which looks like a variant of the origin of Mayūrabhañja kings discussed later on The Bonai legend avers that its original ancestor when born was abandoned and was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy when a peacock swallowed it and kept it in his craw, until the danger was over. The infant was born under a Kadamba tree, so the family came to be called Kadambavaṁśi, but it regards the peacock as sacred. This peacock totem certainly establishes a connection with the Mayūrabhañja family. The Bāmra family are Gaṅgavaṁśis, whose connection with the Bhañjas has been shown later on. The chiefs of Dhenkanal admit that they were feudatories of the old Orissa Rājas, who conferred the title of Sāmanta on them. The Athamalik Rāja who bears a similar title has a tradition of his origin similar to that of Mayūrabhañja, *i.e.*, from an emigrant from Jaipur. The Khaṇḍapara and Nayāgaṛh States, the latter being an offshoot of the former, got the title of Rāja during the Marāṭha campaign of Orissa. None of the other states, Baramba, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Nilgiri, Rangir, Talcher and Tigaria, encompass an area of more than 400 square miles and could not but have been subordinate to the Bhañjas, if they existed as separate entities in those times. See "*Who is who in India*", part VIII, Lucknow edition.

[3] See Vol. LXV, p. 202.

the mountainous high lands." These are natural divisions which must have existed, as they do to-day, during the Bhañja rule, and the word "*ubhaya*" meaning 'both' found in the records in connection with **Khiñjali** not only justifies its use, but affords a clue for the identification of the country. Local chroniclers also support the fact that Keonjhar was ruled by the Bhañja Rājas. Hunter's *Gazetteer*[1] plainly records :—" Keonjhar State originally formed part of Morbhañj, but about 200 years ago, the tribes of this part, finding it a great hardship to travel through the perilous forests of Morbhañj to obtain justice from their prince, separated themselves and set up the brother of the Morbhañj Rāja as their independent ruler." That is to say, Keonjhar separated from the parental stock less than 300 years ago and was part of the Mayūrabhañja State where many of the Bhañja inscriptions were incised.

The records show that there were about three capitals of the Bhañja kings, either co-existing or at different periods of their rule. D. and E., the oldest records as noted before, give **Khijinggā** or **Khijjiṅga** as the residence of the king. This is identical with the present Khiching to the west of Baripada, the present head-quarters of the Mayūrabhañja State. It still contains numerous ancient remains about which Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu remarks :—" The superior workmanship of these has indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of poets and artists. The smiles .... look as fresh and soft as newly-blown buds .... and illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madonna."[2] A., B. and C. refer to **Dhṛitipura** as the old capital which is untraceable. F., G., H., I. and J. were issued from **Vañjulvaka** and as the villages mentioned in them are all found in the Ganjām district, it is perhaps not unfair to conclude that Vañjulvaka was also situated within that district. The name connotes a superabundance of cane plants, for which the Ganjāṃ district is noted. The last record, K., mentions no capital at all.

In spite of the extensive area occupied by the Bhañja family and its branches, it, however, appears that they were not the sovereign lords of the country they ruled. The original ancestor of the family appears to have been an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu republic, as his title *Gaṇadaṇḍa* indicates. The title was apparently a short form of *Gaṇadaṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Gaṇadaṇḍa-pāla*, the former being equivalent to a Minister and the latter to an officer in charge of the maintenance of the army.[3] There are numerous instances of ministers or army officers becoming kings, whenever they found the administration over them weak. Traditions of a strong member of the democracy usurping the power of government and finally becoming king are not wanting in the Orissa *Janapadas* as the political communities were called in olden days of which the Aṭhmallik State is an excellent example. It was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name of Aṭhamallika (the tract ruled by eight). It is not very far away from Mayūrabhañja. What wonder that Vīrabhadra and his descendants should have seen their opportunity and become the sole masters of their political community. Judging from the **titles** of the inscriptional kings of this line, however, it does not appear that they ever attained to paramount sovereignty, and as such they must have become the *Māṇḍalikas* of the Mahākōsala kings, firstly of the Sōmavaṁśīs of Vinītapura (Binka) and later on, of the Haihayas of Ratanpur, both of whom bore the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati or " Lord of the Trikaliṅgas," which, apparently, included the Orissa Tributary Mahals. The omission, in the grants, of references to any sovereign power, however, indicates that the Bhañjas enjoyed much extended powers and were at any rate semi-independent chiefs.

[1] Vol. VIII, p. 121 (Second Edition). [2] *Mayūrabhañja Arch. Rep.*, Part I, Preface, page vii

[3] Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 134 and 147.

There is no record of any conquest made by them, the eulogistic epithet of *Jagadēkamalla-vijayī* added to the name of Yaśabhañja being ambiguous. It may mean 'the conqueror of Jagadēka-malla' or 'the one warrior and conqueror in the world'.[1] It, however, seems that the Rājas of the Bhañja dynasty were connected with the Southern Jaipur instead of the Northern Jaipur of Rājputāna, to which local chroniclers connect them, in the wake of all Rājputs, who consider it an honour to link themselves with the country regarded as the true home of the Kshatriyas. The Jaipur Zamindār, formerly a Rāja, who still holds an estate covering about ten thousand square miles, relates that the predecessors of his family belonged to Śilāvaṁśa,[2] and we know from the Buguda[3] and Śaśāṅka's charters[4] that the family of Śilōdbhavas or Śailōdbhavas (born of rock or hill) were ruling on that side about the 7th century A.D. It sent out its scions to different parts of the country, one of whom settled in the Vindhyas in the Central Provinces and conquered many countries round about, as revealed by the Ragholi plates,[5] the only record yet found about that branch. Another adventurer, apparently, settled in Mayūrabhañja. The date of the advent of the Mayūrabhañja conqueror, as related in local chronicles (*viz.*, 1,300 years ago),[6] very well fits in with the dates of the inscriptional Śilōdbhavas, and the family has more than one Bhañja named after Śilā. In fact, the oldest ancestor found in the inscription is named Śilābhañja. Distinguished Indian families usually seek for supernatural origins. As is well known, Rājputs claim descent direct from the Sun or the Moon. This may look edifying, but they have pushed the matter so far as to make it ridiculous. Some trace their origin from an inanimate object or an animal of any kind whatsoever, because such an origin implies some miraculous power. It mystifies the real origin which lurks beneath it and which might cause a blush in its bare nakedness. Here is, for instance, the origin of the Śilōdbhavas as recorded in the Buguda[7] plates of Mādhava-varman :—" There was a personage named Pulindasēna, famous amongst the people of Kaliṅga. He, although endowed with many excellent qualities, did not covet sovereignty for himself, but rather worshipped Brahmā in order that the god might create a fit ruler of the land. And Brahmā granted his wish and created out of a rock the lord Śilōdbhava, who became the founder of a distinguished family." Laid bare, the story would show that the dwellers of the local mountains or rock produced a person, who became the ruler and as such the founder of a dynasty. In editing the Ragholi plates I have shown how Śailavaṁśa was patronymic and how the metronymic of the same family was Gaṅgavaṁśa. The dynasty was thus the outcome of a mountaineer husband and a river-born wife (the sacred Ganges), which was delicately turned into a compliment, when describing the local river Śālimā on whose bank Kōṅgēda, the capital of their kings, was situated.[7] " On its banks covered with flowers of excellent trees," said the eulogist, " pools of water have formed resembling the river of gods (Gaṅgā), which issued from the sky and the streams of whose waters are split and dashed out-side by masses of rocks."[8] Bereft of the allegory, this would signify that a brave mountaineer of Orissa married a Gaṅgavaṁśī lady and their son became the founder of a new dynasty. By a similar process the Aṇḍavaṁśa family was evolved from a pea-hen's egg. A scion of the Śailavaṁśa left his parental home and went to the country where peacocks (Mayūra) abounded, which gave to the people of that locality the appropriate name of Māyūrikas,[9] as found in the Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāladēva. He defeated them and thus became the Mayūrabhañja (breaker of Māyūras) and in due course married a Māyurkī, a local lady, whose

---

[1] [The attribute जगदेकमल्लविजयी given to Yaśabhañja in l. 11, Plate K, is very significant and may lead one to surmise that he defeated one of the Western Chāḷukya kings of Kalyāṇi, perhaps Jagadēkamalla II him-self or one of the feudatories.—H. K. S.]

[2] Hunter's *Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 64 (Second Edition).

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 41 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 41 ff.

[6] *New Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, p. 255.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, p. 42.

[8] Above, Vol. VI, p. 146.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 135 ff.

progeny became the founder of a new dynasty. A Māyurkī, literally pea-hen,[1] lays eggs and, therefore, her offspring must be *aṇḍajaḥ* or born of an egg. The peacock became the family totem and that is why there is still a strict prohibition against killing peacocks in the Mayūrabhañja State.

Postscript.

It was after I had sent my article to the Government Epigraphist on 6th May 1923 that I received a letter from Mr. McLeod Smith, Dewan of Mayūrabhañja State, dated 21st May 1923, in which, besides giving certain local information in reply to my queries, he was good enough to add that in 1916 a copper-plate grant was found at Khaṇḍadeulī in Parganā Khāntā Pir of the Bāmanghāṭi sub-division, and was published in the 4th volume of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* which I had not consulted at all. This led to a research which brought to light as many as three other grants[2] of the Bhañja family, published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in Vol. II of the Journal, and a genealogy of the same dynasty as given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the 3rd volume of the same Journal. Had these been before me when I was drafting the above article, the discussion in it would have assumed a somewhat different form, but it is now too late to recast it. I would, therefore, note here the salient points after inserting new names of kings in the genealogical table on page 286 above, and some geographical names in the Appendix, which deals with identification of places. For facility of reference letters L., M., N., O. and P. have been given to these records as follows :—

L. Tasapaikerā grant of Raṇabhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 167 *et seq.*

M. Baudh grant of Kanakabhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 356 *et seq.*

N. Kumrukelā grant of Śatrubhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 429 *et seq.*

O. Khaṇḍadeulī grant of Raṇabhañjadēva ? (Narēndrabhañjadēva) by Haraprasad Śāstrī, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume IV, pp. 172 *et seq.*

P. Patna Museum grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 21st year by R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* (awaiting publication).

Only two records, M. and O., give new names of kings; M. gives Kanakabhañja, son of Durjayabhañja, who was son of Śolaṇabhañja. They belonged to the Bhañja branch ruling at Baudh and were possibly connected with Śatrubhañja II and his son Raṇabhañja II of A., B., C., L., N. and P. The Plate O. gives Narēndrabhañja, son of Pṛithvībhañja, son of Raṇabhañja I, son of Koṭṭabhañja, descended from Vīrabhadra, the original ancestor of the Bhañjas.

In dealing with Plate M., Mr. Mazumdar has given a lengthy discussion on the dates of the Bhañja grants in general, and has come to the following conclusions :—

(1) The present chiefs of Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar States have no connection with the inscriptional Bhañjas.

(2) There were several offshoots of the early Bhañjas, of which one ruled at Baudh and had under its sway the Baudh and Kimiḍī tracts during the times of Śatrubhañja II. These split up during the reign of his son Raṇabhañja II, who remained a feudatory at Baudh, while a descendant of Nētṛibhañjadēva established a new line of rulers at Kimiḍī.

(3) Kanakabhañja flourished about 1475 A.D. His line was independent of Raṇabhañja II.

[1] [That would be Māyūrī or Māyūrikā, but not Māyurkī. The latter, if connected with Māyūraka, will have a different connotation for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dict. under Māyūraka.—Ed.]

[2] [The two Bhanja grants from Daspalla which Mr. B. Bhattacharyya has edited in the same journal (Vol. VI, pp. 266 ff.) are also to be added to this list.—Ed.]

Mr. R. D. Banerji, reviewing Mr. Mazumdar's discussion, declared the date assigned to Kanakabhañja as absolutely impossible on palæographical grounds. 'We cannot,' he said, 'admit the existence of a Raṇabhañja in 1200 A.D., because the Raṇabhañja of the Bāmaṇghāṭī grant[1] was living in the third quarter of the 11th century, according to Mr. Mazumdar, and palæography shows that Raṇabhañja (II), son of Śatrubhañja (II), is earlier than Raṇabhañja (I), son of Digbhañja (I). Mr. Banerji would place Kanakabhañja in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.'

It would thus appear that the **Bhañja chronology** still remains a subject of great controversy, but, although I do not find sufficient reasons in support of Mr. Mazumdar's theory dissociating the present families of Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar States from the inscriptional Bhañjas by relegating their origin to an adventurer of Rājputāna, I agree with him as regards the date of Raṇabhañja II, about the end of the 12th century A.D., until Mr. R. D. Banerji establishes his contention, for which he says he is ready. Kanakabhañja may or may not have been very far removed from Raṇabhañja II; but the mere fact that Kanakabhañja's two ancestors only are mentioned in Plate M. does not warrant the conclusion that his grandfather was not connected with the Bhañjas known to have been previously ruling at Baudh. It is true that the Bhañja family sent out several offshoots and they became rulers of different tracts, but at present there is nothing to show that Kanakabhañja's line was a distinct one and supplanted Raṇabhañja II's. Again, the adoption of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* in place of the old 'Aṇḍaja' or egg-born is no proof of disparity in view of the accepted rule that 'he who has no *gōtra* belongs to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*.' Kanakabhañja belonged to a much later date than his original ancestor. He must have noticed the contempt with which the origin from an egg must have been looked upon in his time. The easiest thing for him or his immediate predecessors was, therefore, to relegate themselves to the sage Kaśyapa, to which nobody could raise an objection.

By a misreading of the word **Khiṁjali** as Khiṇḍini or Khiñjini Mr. Mazumdar was led to identify it with Khimiḍi and consequently to the conclusion that a branch of the Bhañja family held sway there. In essence he is not very far from the truth, in that a branch belonging to the line of Nētṛibhañja did rule in the Ganjām District, the eastern portion of which was certainly under the Bhañja sway, as a number of villages granted were situated in the Gumsūr, Aska and Chatrapur taluks to which Kimiḍi in the same district adjoins towards the west. Kimiḍi may or may not have been included in the Bhañja dominions, but it was certainly not of such an importance as to have induced the kings to adopt the title of 'Lords of Kimiḍi.' The title 'Lords of both the Khiñjalis (Keonjhar)' was an ancient one, and all the branches of the Bhañja family appear to have taken pride in calling themselves as such, irrespective of whether they continued to be rulers of that tract or not.

With due deference to the learned Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., who has edited the charter O., which he calls 'Khaṇḍadeulī inscription of Raṇabhañjadēva,' I may perhaps be permitted to state that his descriptive title is inaccurate. The grant should have been described as one of **Narēndrabhañjadēva**, who was the real grantor and not his grandfather Raṇabhañjadēva. The latter comes in merely as one of the several ancestors of the donor. The text reads :[2]—

श्रीरणभंजाख्य: तस्य चौ(चो)पयि(यी)कात्मज(ज:) श्रीपृथ्वीभञ्जसुतश्रीनरेन्द्रभञ्जदेवो भूत:।
स च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये * * * * वोनुलाग्राम[:] * * * *
रान्को आभिधानाय प्रतिपादितो अस्माभि:

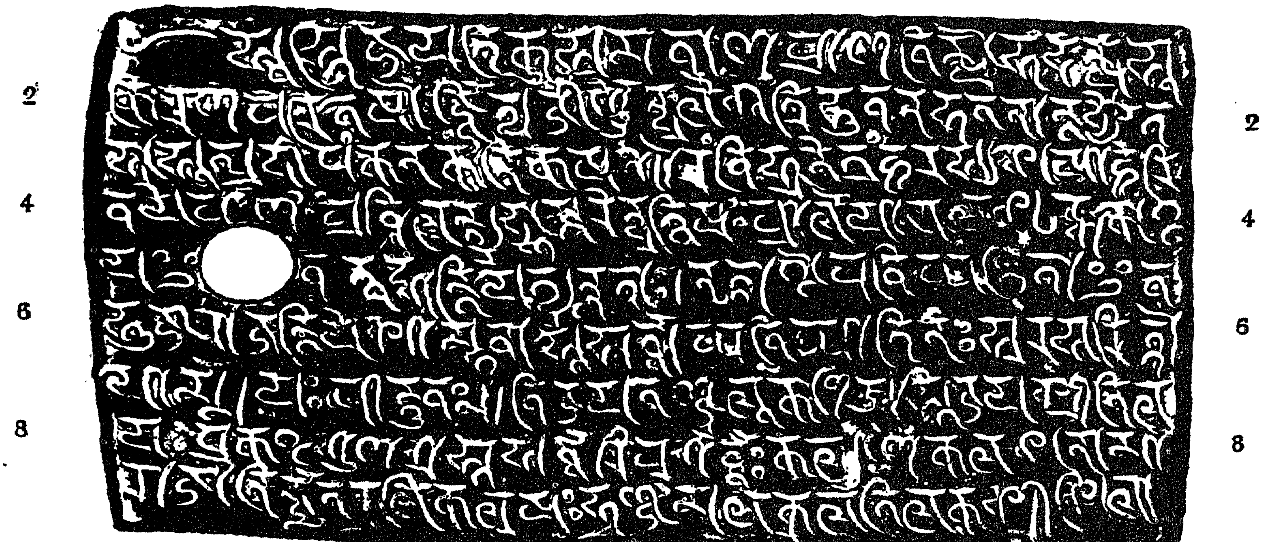
[1] The only dated Bhañja charter yet found (D) bears the date 288 which Mr. Mazumdar assigns to the Chōḷa-Gaṅga era It is thus equivalent to 1060 A.D.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 176.

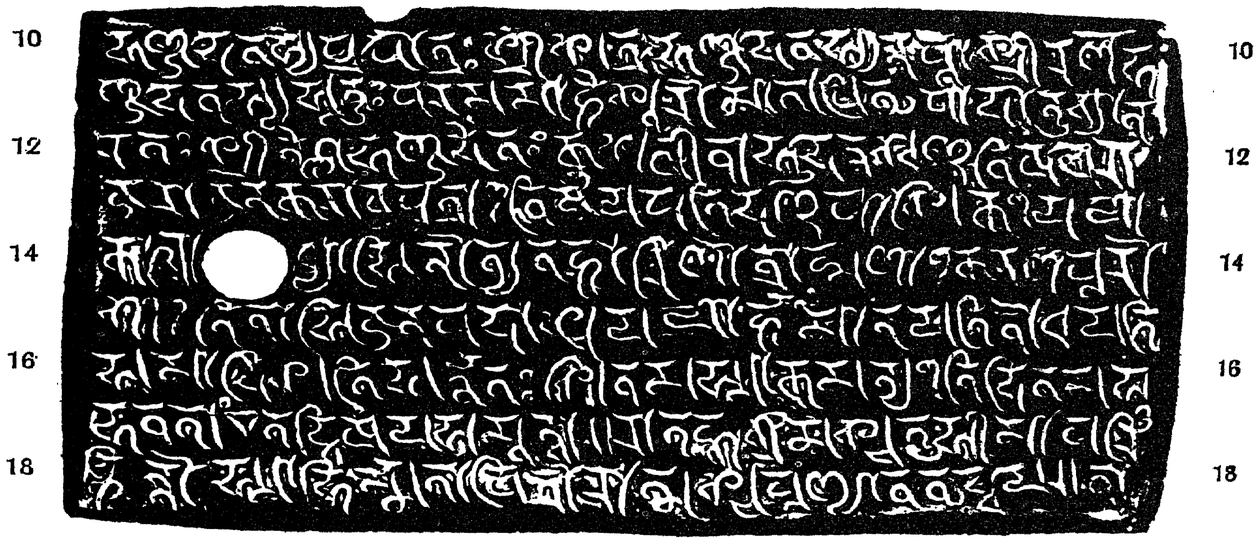
Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants:

H–Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva.

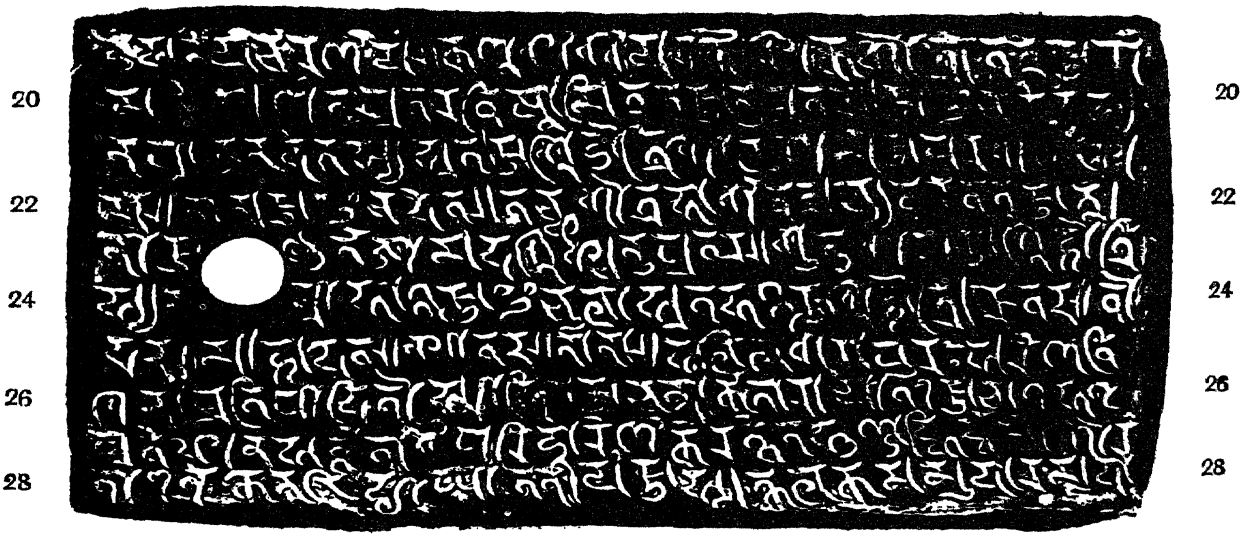
i.



iia.



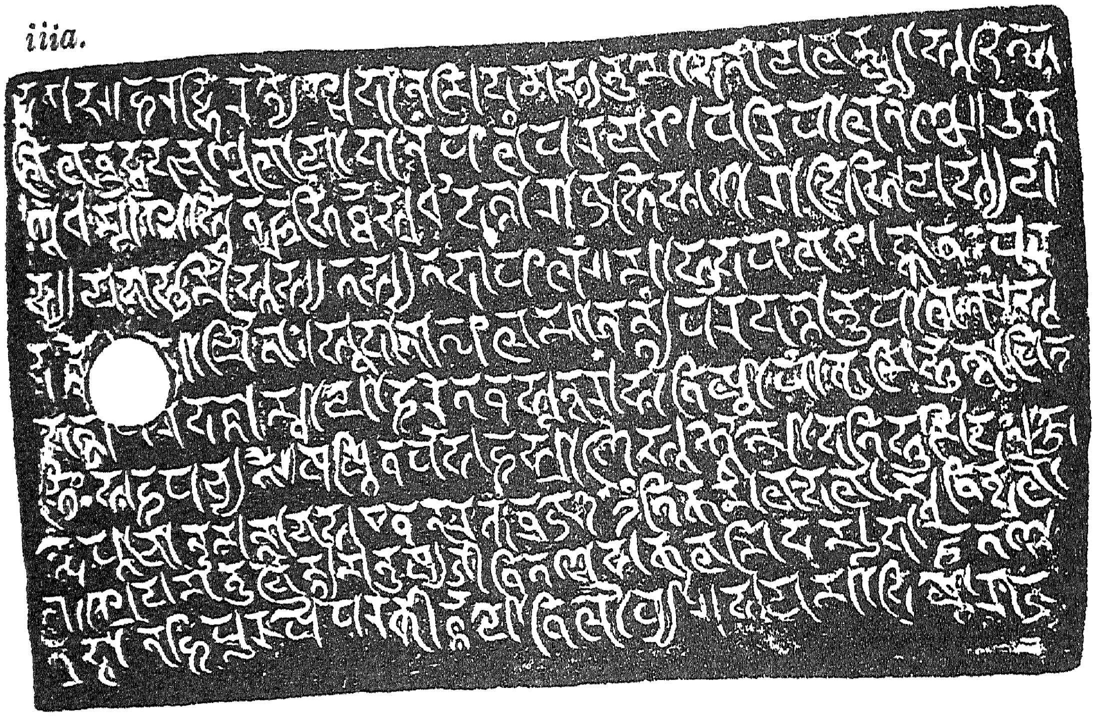
iib.



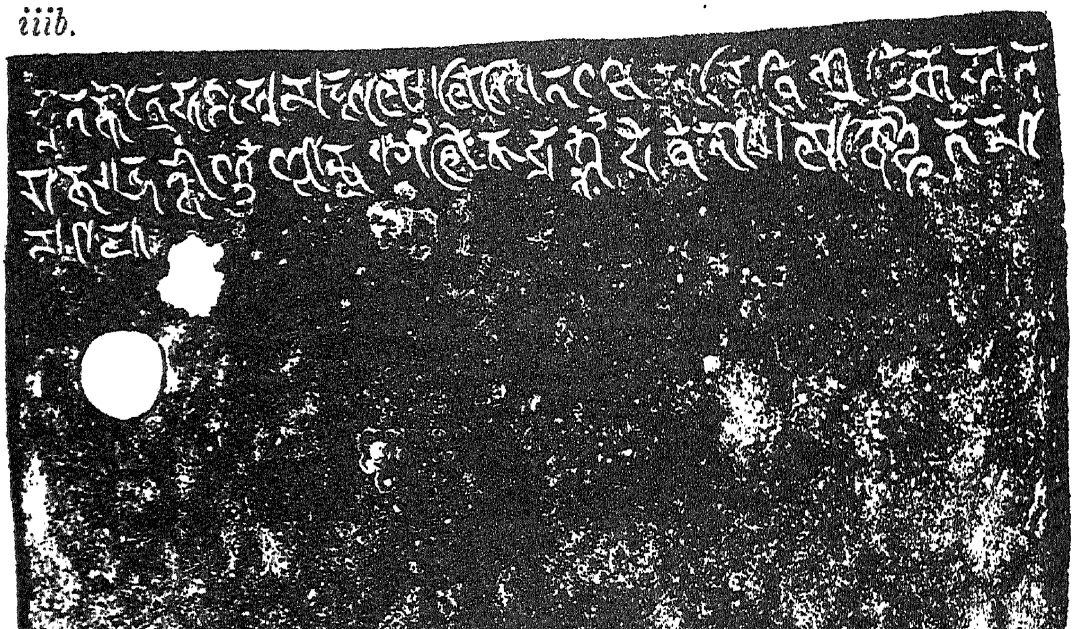
SCALE. 75.

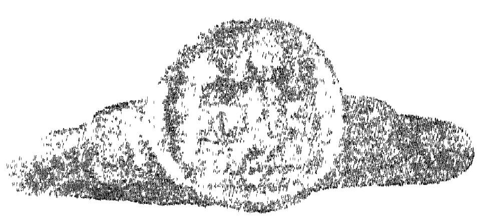
Survey of India, Calcutta.

iiia.



iiib.





The language is defective no doubt, but it is clear that the words स and अस्माभिः in the above extract refer to Narēndrabhañjadēva[1] and not to Raṇabhañja. The above extract is preceded by verses giving the genealogy of the Bhañja kings from Vīrabhadra to Raṇabhañja, apparently taken from a charter composed during the time of Raṇabhañja in which the last line stood as follows :—

श्रीरणभंजख्यातः सानुन्व(न)यं प्राह भूपालान् ॥

It appears that the word प्राह has misled the above-named scholar. It was suited to the time when it was composed and not to the one when it was adopted by his grandson's grant-writer. The latter's composition in prose quoted above is an index of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit, although to the best of his ability he endeavoured to convey his meaning by repeating श्रीरणभंजाख्यः after the close of the quotation in verse and connecting him with his reputed son तस्य चोपर्य्यौकात्मजः, whose सुत or son was नरेन्द्रभञ्जदेवः. And स (he, *viz.*, the latter) was the person who granted the village.

H.—Ganjām Plates of Nētribhañjadēva.

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(बा)णप्राणविक्षोभदक्षं स्व-
2 किरणपरिवेषोर्ज्जित्यजोर्स्सेन्दुलेखं [।*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योत-
3 भास्वत्प्रदोपं(पः) कनकनिकषगौरं वि(ब)भ्रु नेत्रं हरस्य [॥१*][3] शेषाहेरि-
4 व ये फंणाः प्रविल[स*]न्त्युज्ञास्वरेन्दुत्विषः प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गकोट-
5 य इव लङ्घन्ति येत्युन्नताः। नृत्ताटोपवि[घट्टि]ता इव
6 भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भवास्ते सर्व्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरित्तो-
7 योर्म्मयः पान्तु वः ॥ [२*][4] विजयवञ्जुल्वकात् [।*] अस्ति जयश्रीनिल-
8 यः प्रकटगुण स्तसर्व्वरिपुगर्व्वः कल्याणकलशनामा
9 राजा निर्द्धू(र्धू)तकलिकलुषः[5] भञ्जामलकुलतिलक[:*] श्रीशिला-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 भञ्जदेवस्य प्रपौत्रः श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीरणभ-
11 ञ्जदेवस्य सूनुः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यान-
12 रतः श्रीने[त्र]भञ्जदेवः कुशली वा[सु]देवखण्डविषये रा-
13 जराज[ा*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिदण्डपाशिक[ा*]न् यथा-
14 कालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् करणपुरो-
15 गान् निवासिजनपदांश्च यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति
16 समादिशति सर्व्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्य[त्] विदितमस्तु

---

[1] This is further confirmed by his name being inscribed in the medallion (seal ?) at the top, as communicated to me by Babu Kāmākhyā Prasād Basu, Deputy Collector of Mayūrabhañja State.

[2] Expressed by a symbol. [3] Metre : *Mālinī*. [4] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] [From अस्ति . . . to कलुषः scans as *Āryā*.—Ed.]

17 भवतां एतद्विषयसम्वन्धा(म्बद्धो) ॥[1] [2]रातङ्ग्रामसतुसी(स्सी)मापरि-
18 च्छिन्नोऽस्माभिम्म[र्*]तापित्रोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्याव(भि)वृद्धये ॥[1] वा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 जसनेयचरणाय ॥[1] कण्वशाखाय ॥[1] कौशिकगोत्राय[3] अघ-
20 मरिष(र्ष)णप्रवर(राय) विश्वा(श्वा)मित्र[व*][त्]अनुप्रव[राय*] ॥[1] अइचदेवस्य
21 नप्ता जनदे[व]स्य सुत [1] अग्निहोत्रि(त्री) गोलशर्म(र्मा)[4] अपरगोलश-
22 र्म(र्मा) ॥[1] नाम अइचदेव[:*] ॥ वच्छ(त्स)गोत्रभार्गव[व*]त् । च्यवनवत् आत्म-
23 ना अउर्व(और्व)जामदग्निश्च[ा*]नुप्रवर ॥[1] गुहशः(श) अग्निहोत्रि-
24 स्य[5] नप्ता भा(भ)ट्टअइचुलासुतभट्टअग्निहोत्रि भोवड़ ? ॥[1] वो-
25 दड़ ॥[1] मा(म)ह्यादेव ॥[1] शा(शो)वड़ ॥[1] नाना(मभ्य:) ॥[1] [स]लिलधारा-
पुरःसरेण वि-
26 धिना प्रतिपादितो(तम)स्माभि[:] । अ(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारा(रं) यावत् अचाटभट-
27 प्रवेशेन सर्व्वबाधापरिहारेणाकरत्वेन भुञ्जद्भिर्द्धर्म्मगौर-
28 वात् न केनचिद्द्याघातनीयं [॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रमसुदारमुदा-

Third Plate ; First Side.

29 (दुगड़ ॥[6]) हरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [।*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्स-
30 लिलवुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयश[:*]परिपालनञ्च ॥[7] [२*] उक्तं-
31 च धर्म्मशास्त्रे [।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:*] ।
यस्यय-
32 स्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[३*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का व: पर-
33 दत्तेति पार्थिवा:[8] । स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालनं(ने) ।[।५*] स्व-
34 दत्ता(त्तां) [9]परदत्तान्वा यो हरेत वसू(सु)न्धरां [।*] स विष्ठायां क्रमिर्भू-
(र्भू)त्वा पितृ-
35 भि: सह पच्यते ॥[६*] षष्ठि(ष्टिं) वर्ष(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भु(भू)-
मिदः । अ(आ)-

---

[1] Punctuation superfluous.

[2] [See f. n. 1 on p. 285 above.—Ed.]

[3] [The plate gives गोत्रावत् and अघमरिषणात्.—Ed.]

[4] This appears to be the name of the first donee ; the second donee also bore the same name, his alternative name being Aüchadēva, the same as his grandfather's name. The meaning is rather obscure. What follows in the nominative should all have been in the dative, referring as it does to the description of donees of another *gōtra*.

[5] Read प्त्रो.

[6] These *aksharas* with punctuation are superfluous and should be omitted.

[7] Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

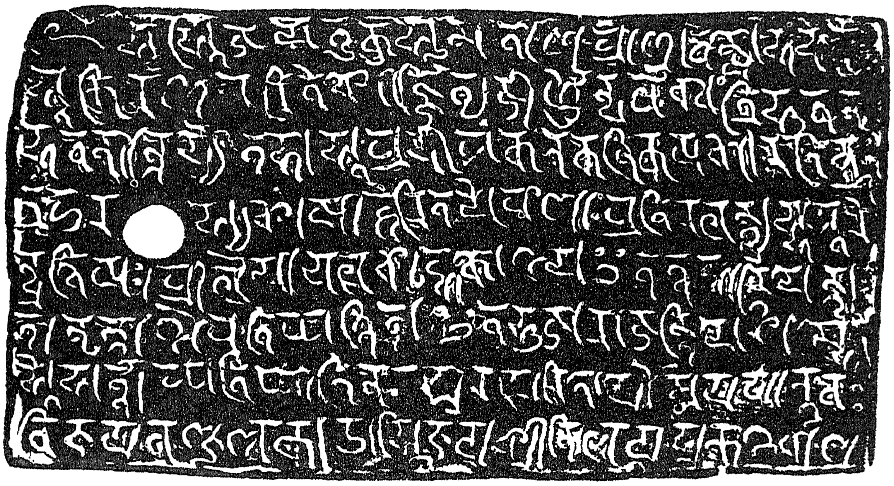
[8] The two letters ति and पा have been cut off by the ring-hole of the plate, the former wholly and the latter partially.

[9] This letter is cut off by the ring-hole of the plate

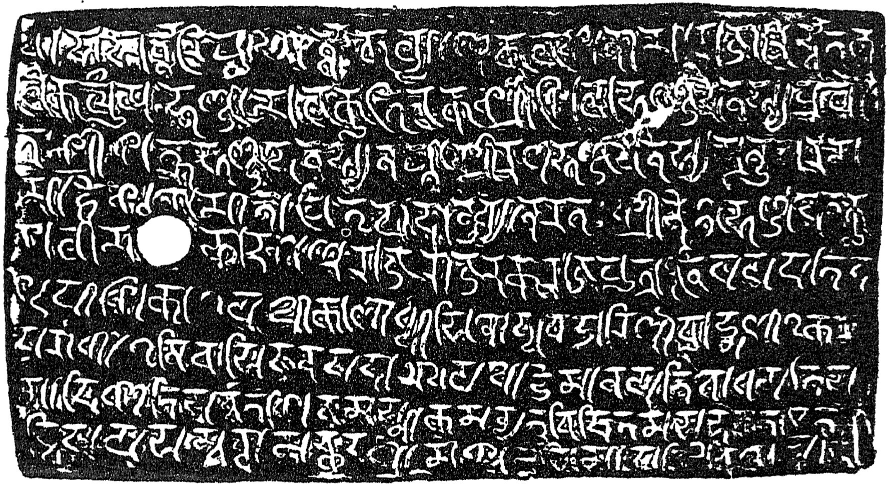
Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants:

I–Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva, with damaged seal.

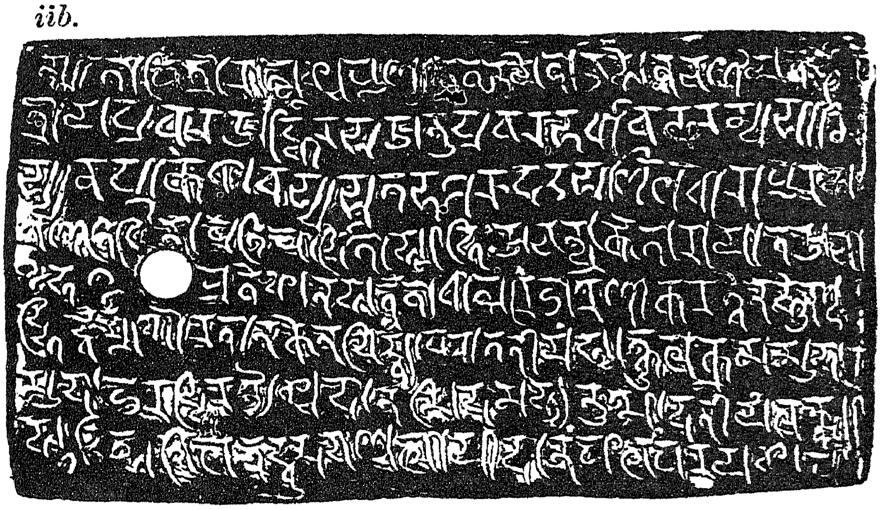
i.



iia.



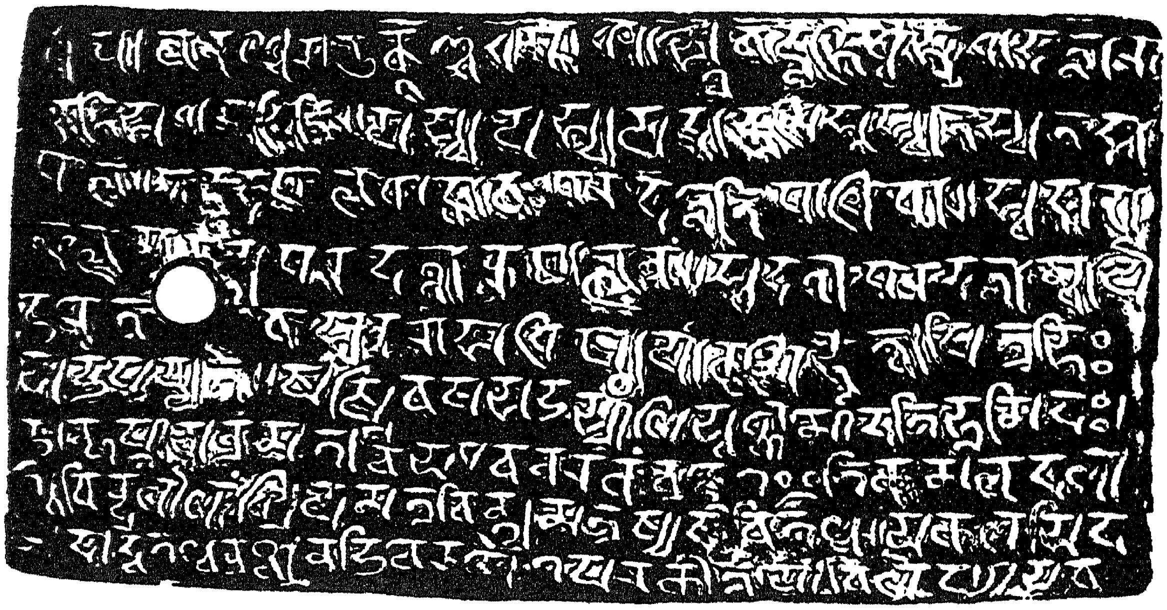
iib.



SCALE. 75.

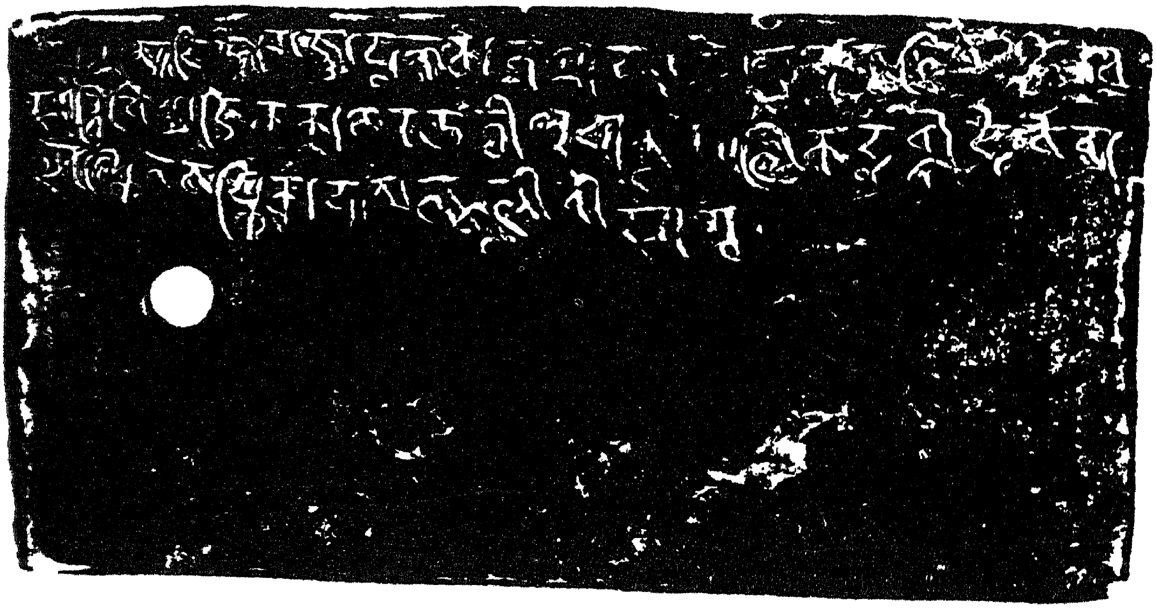
Survey of India, Calcutta.

iiia.



26 28 30 32 34

iiib.



36

36 च्चेता चानुमन्ता च स एव नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
वि(बि)न्दुलो-
37 ला(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] सकलमिदमुदा[हृ]तञ्च
38 वुद्दा(बुध्वा) नहि पुरुषै[:*] परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[:*][1] ॥[८*] स्वयमादिष्टो
राज्ञ(ज्ञा)

Third Plate; Second Side.

39 दूतकोत्र भट्टसुमङ्गल[:*] ॥ लिखितञ्च स[ा]न्धिविग्रहिकसव-
40 राज(जेन) ॥ ऊ(उ)त्कीर्ण्णञ्चाचशा[लि]कदुर्ग्गदेवेना(न) ॥ लाञ्छितं मा-
41 म्माया[:॥*]

I.—Ganjām Plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva.

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयतु कुसुमवा(बा)णप्राणविक्षोभद[क्षं]
2 स्वकिरणपरिवेशो(षो)ज्जित्यजीर्ण्णेन्द(न्दु)लेखं [।*] त्रिभुवन-
3 भवनान्तर्व्योतभास्वप्र(त्प्र)दीपं(पः) कनकनिकषगोर(गौरं) वि(ब)भ्रुने-
4 त्रं हरस्य [॥१*][3] शेषाहेरिव ये फणाः [4]प्रविरलन्त्युन्नाम्बरे-
5 न्दुत्विषः । प्रालेयाचलु(ल)शृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्त्यन(त्युन्न)-
6 ता[:।*] नृत्ताटोपविध[ट्टि]ता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भ[वा]-
7 स्ते सर्व्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरितो(त्तो)योर्म्मय[:*] पान्तु वः [॥२*][5]
8 विजयवञ्जुलवका[त्*।] अस्ति जयश्रीनिलय[:*] प्रकटग(गु)ण-

Second Plate; First Side.

9 [ग्र]स्तसर्व्वरिपु[ग]र्व्वः[6] कल्याणकलशनामा राजा निर्द्धं(र्घू)तक-
10 लिकलुषः भञ्जामलकु[ल*]तिलक[:*] श्रीशिलाभञ्जदेवस्य प्रपौ-
11 त्रः श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य सूनु[:*] परम-
12 माहेश्वरो मातापितृपदानुध्यानरतः श्रीनेतृभञ्जदेव[:*] कु-
13 शली मह्याड़खण्डराजराज[ा*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिद-
14 ण्डपाशिकान् यथाकालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् कर[ण*]-
15 पुरोगान् मि(नि)वासिजनपदां[श्च] यथार्ह्(र्हं) मानयति वो(बो)धयति स-
16 मादिशति सर्व्वत[:*] शिवमस्माकमन्यत् विदितमस्तु भव[तां] एत-
17 द्विषयसम्बन्धा(म्बद्धो) मच्छड़ग्रामश्चतुसि(स्सी)मापरि[च्छि]न्नो[म्माभी](भि)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

18 र्म्मातापित्रोरात्म्न(त्मन)श्च पुण्याव(भि)वृ[द्ध]ये वाजसेन(सनेय)च[र*]णाय व-
च्छ(त्स)[गो]-
19 त्राय प्रवरआङ्गिरसअनुप्रवरभ[ा*]र्गव[वाय*] हरम्यसामि-

---

[1] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[4] Read प्रविलसन्त्यु° as in H. above and J. below.

[5] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] [See footnote 4 on p. 293 above.—Ed.]

20 स्व(स्वामिनो) नप्ता(प्त्रे) केशवस्य सुत(ता)[य*] भट्टरुदड़(द्रटाय) सलिलधारा-
 पुरस(स्स)-
21 रेस विधिना प्रतिपादितो(तम)स्माभिः अ(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारा(रं) याव[त्*] अचा-
22 टभटप्रवे[श्ये]न सर्व्वबा(बा)धा[प]रिहारेणाकरत्वेन भुञ्ज-
23 द्भिर्द्धर्म्मगौरवा[न्*]न केनचिद्व्याघातनीयं [॥ अ*]स्मत्कुलक्रमसुदार-
24 मुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [।*] लक्ष्म्या-
25 स्तडित्सलिलबुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयश[ः]प-

Third Plate ; First Side.

26 रिपालनञ्च [॥२*][1] उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशास्त्रे [।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता रा-
27 जभि[ः*] सगरादिभि[ः*] । (।) यस्ययस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा
28 फलं ॥[४*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः*] ।(।) स्वदाना-
29 त्फल[मानंत्यं]˙ परदत्तानुपालनं(ने) ॥[५*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो
30 हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] स विष्ठां(ष्ठा)यां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पित्र(तृ)भिः
31 सह पच्यते ॥[६*] षष्टि(ष्टिं)वष(वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
32 अच्च(आच्चे)प्ता चानुमता(न्ता) च स ए(तान्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति
 कमलदला-
33 म्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च ।(।) सकलसि(मि)द-
34 [मु]दा[हृ]तञ्च बु(बु)द्ध्वा नहि चे(पु)रुषैत(ः) परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[ः] [॥८*]
 सव[2]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

35 स्वयमादिष्टो राज्ञा टूक(त)कोत्र श्रो — — — — लिखि[त]ञ्च
36 सान्धिविग्रहिककुने(बे)र(रे)[ण* ।] उत्कीर्ण्ण(र्ण्णा)ञ्चसा(शा)लिकदुर्ग्गदेवेन ।
37 लाञ्छित(तं) जच्छिकाया[ः*] सत्कुलोनायाश्च [॥*]

J.—Ganjām Plates of Vidyādharabhañjadēva.

First Plate.

1 ओं[3] [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(बा)णप्राणविक्षोभदक्ष(क्षं) स्वकिरणपरि-
 [वेषोर्ज्जि][4]-
2 त्यजोने(र्णे)न्दुलेख(खं) [।*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योतभास्व[त[5]]त्प्रदीपं(पः) कनक-
 [निकष][4]-
3 गौरं विस्पुनेत्र(त्रं) हरस्य[6] [॥१*] शेषाहेरिव ये फणा[ः*] प्रविलसन्त्यु-
 ड्डास्वरेन्दुत्वि[षः][4]
4 प्र[ा*]लेयाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्युन्नता[ः ।*] न्हता(त्ता)ट्टो(टो)पविष-
5 द्दिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शान्(शाम्भ)वा ।[7] ते(स्ते) सर्व्वाघविघातिन[ः*]
 सु[र*]-

---

[1] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[2] [These two letters appear to be superfluous.—Ed.]

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] The portion of the plate containing the letters in square brackets is broken off.

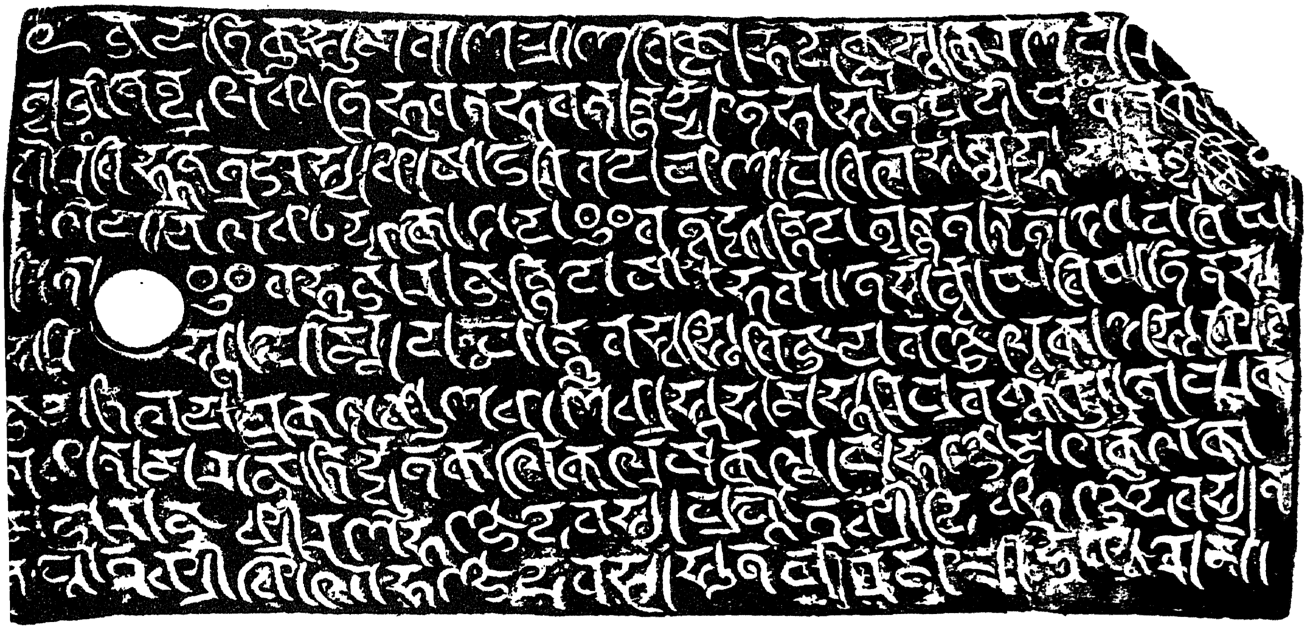
[5] [Superfluous.—Ed.]

[6] Metre : *Mālinī.*

[7] Punctuation superfluous.

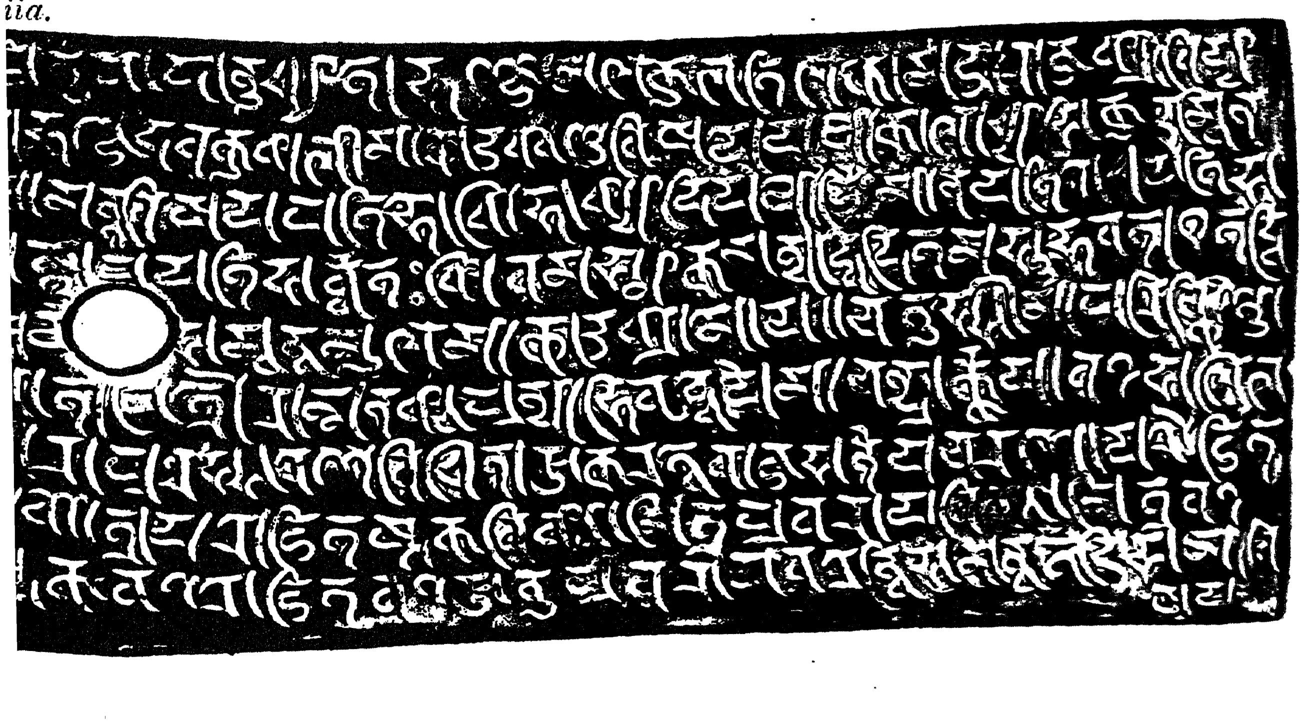
J–Ganjam Plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva.

i.



2
4
6
8
10

iia.



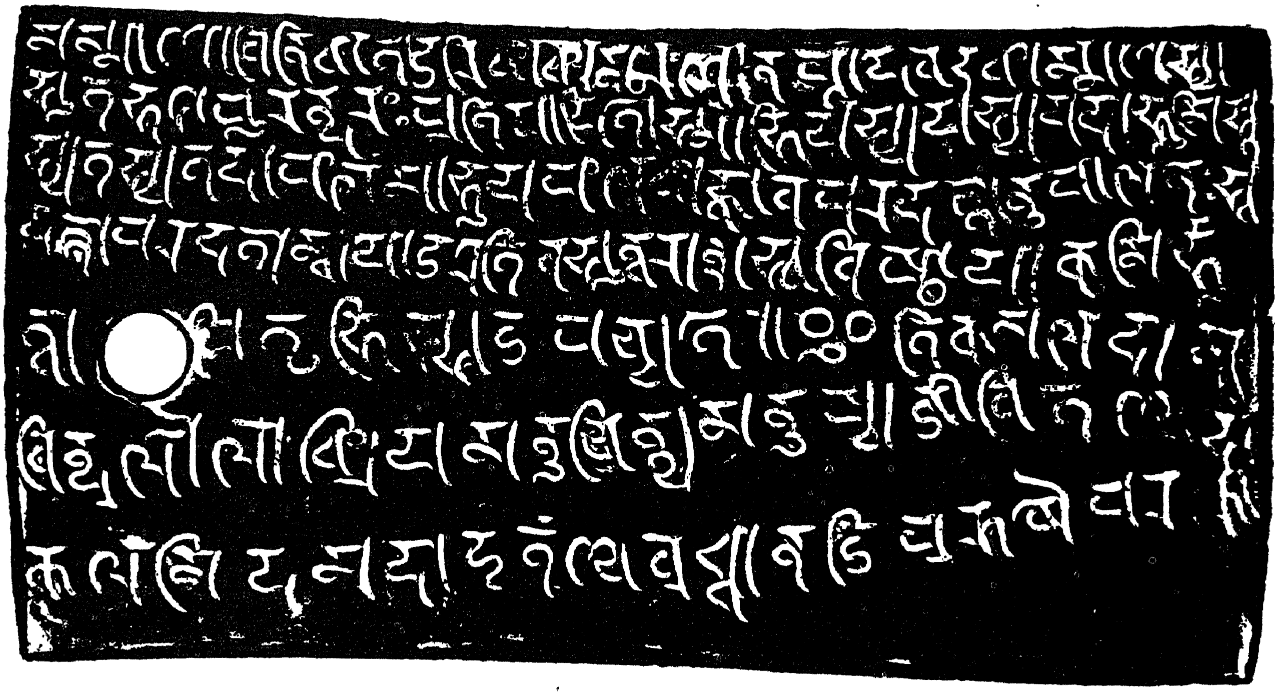
12
14
16
18

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SCALE. 9.

iib.

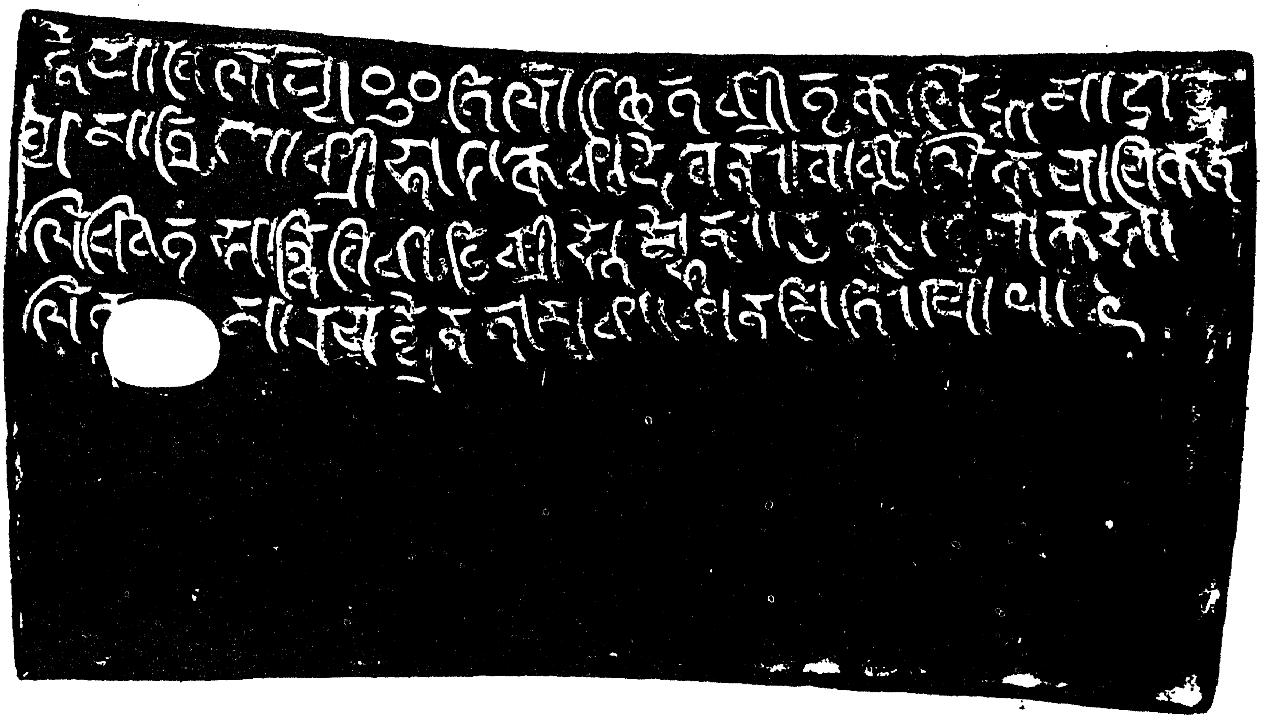
20 22 24 26



20 22 24 26

iii.

28 30



28 30



6 सरित्सो(त्तो)योर्म्मय: पान्तु व[: ॥२*][1] स्वस्ति विजयवञ्जुल्वकात् [।*]
[अ*]स्ति श्रि(श्री)वि-

7 जय[2]निलयप्रकटगुणगणग्रस्तसमस्तरिपुवर्ग(र्गं) आ(अ)नो(मो)घक-

8 लश(शो)नाम राजा निर्ड्डु(धू)तकलिकलुषकल्मष[:*] भञ्जामलकुल[तिल*]को

9 महाराजश्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य प्रपौ(पौ)त्र[:*] श्रीदिग्भञ्जदेवस्य न-

10 नप्तात्[3] श्रीशिलाभञ्जदेवस्य सुत[:*] परममाहेश्वरो मा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

11 [ता*]पितृपादानुध्यातो भञ्जामलकुलतिलको महाराजश्रीविद्या-

12 ध[र*]भञ्ज[दे]व[:*] कुशली माछाडखण्डविषये यथाकालाध्यासिकुडु(टु)-
म्बि(म्बि)न[:*]

13 सामन्तविषयपतिभोगिभोग्यादि[4] यथार्हिं(र्हं) मानयति वो(बो)[ध]यति स-

14 म[ा*]ज्ञापयति सर्व्वत: शिवमस्माकमन्यद्विदितमस्तु भवता(तां) एतद्वि-

15 ष[यस]म्व(म्ब)द्द(द्धो) मु(मू)लमाछाडग्रामीय(यं) ॥[5] चतुस्सीमापरिच्छिन्नो(न्नो)

16 मातापि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धये मा(आ)चन्द्रार्क्क(र्कं) यावत् स-
लिल-

17 धारापुरस्सरेण विधिना अकरत्वे[न*] वाजसनेयचरणाय रौहित-

18 सगोत्राय रोहित[ा*]ष्टकविश्वामित्रप्रवराय विश्वामित्रवत् [अ*]-

19 ष्टकवत् रोहितवत् अनुप्रवराय वरेञ्चि(ञ्चि)समन्ध(म्बद्ध)[6] तडिसमावि-
षय(ये)

Second Plate ; Second Side.

20 मम्माणाविनिर्गतहरिश[7] शर्म्मणो नप्ता(प्त्रे) देवडशर्म्मणस्य[8] :

21 सुतभट्टपुरन्दर:[9] प्रतिपादितोस्माभिर्य(:।*य)स्य यस्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्त-

22 स्यतस्य तदा फलं [।*] माभुय(भूद)फलशङ्का व[:*] परदत्तानुपालन:
(ने) [॥३*] स्व-

23 दत्ता(त्तां) परदता(त्ता)म्वा यो हरेति(त) वसुन्धरान्(म्) । स्व(स)
विष्ठाया(यां) क्रमिर्भु(र्भू)-

24 त्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥[४*] इति कमलद[ल*]ाम्वु(म्बु)-

25 वि(बि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] स-

26 कलमिदम(मु)दाहृतं(त)ञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषै[:*] परकी-

Third Plate.

27 र्त्तयो विलोप्य(प्या:) [॥५*][10] इति [॥*] लाञ्छितं श्रीतृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गमा(म)-
हा[दे]-

28 व्या मा(मं)त्रिणा श्रीभा(भ)ट्टकेश्व(शव)देवेन ॥ वार्गुलिकचाचिक(के)न

---

1 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

2 Read जयश्रीनिलय:.

3 Delete त् [as well as न at the commencement of the line.—Ed.]

4 Here some words appear to have been omitted through oversight. Apparently the correct reading was भागभोग्यादिजनपदांश्च.

5 Punctuation unnecessary.

6 [See foot-note No. 2 on p. 285 above.—Ed.]

7 Probably हर्ष.

8 [Delete स्य —Ed.]

9 Read सुताय भट्टपुरन्दराय.

10 Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

29 लिखितं साम्धिविग्टह्वि(ग्रहिक)श्रीस्ते(स्त)म्भेन ॥ उत्कीर्ण(र्ण)ञ्चाक्षसा(शा)-

30 लि[कु]मारचन्द्रेन(ण) ताम्ब्र(म्र)शाश(स)नमिति ॥ था ९ ॥ ९

K.—Antirigām Plates of Yaśabhañjadēva.

First Plate.

1 ओं[1] स्वस्ति [॥*] आसीद्राजाधिराजो निजभुजविजिताशेषवीरारिवर्ग्गः । स्वर्ग्गव्यापारभारप्र-

2 [मु]दितहृदयोद्यद्यशोजिष्णुतुल्यः ॥(।) रुद्रध्यानैकधीरो विनयगुणनिधिर्भूपतिर्दों(र्दं)-

3 वभंजः [।] साक्षान(न्न)क्ष्मीनिवासो वसतिरपि सतां चेतसः सान्द्रभावं ॥[2] [१*] आसीत्तस्यात्मजो[पि]

4 क्षितिपतिमहितो नीतिशास्त्रैकदक्षः [।] क्षोणीरक्षाविधानव्यवसितहृदयः पुण्य-रा[सि](शि)-

5 प्रचारः ॥(।) संग्रामे वैरिवीरप्रहरणनिपुणो भूपतिर्भोगपुञ्जः सर्व्वाका-राभिरामो

6 भुवि विदितयशा रायभंजः समन्तात् ॥[२*] एतस्माद्भुवि नैकविक्रमगुणः सौन्दर्य्य-

7 सारोदयो जातो राजशिरोमणिर्गुणनिधिः सार्थैकनामाभवत् । शास्त्रा-

8 स्त्र[व्य]वहारचारुच[तु]रः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभृतां व्यर्थान्क(र्थीक)र्त्तुमलं भुजानिति भुवि श्री-

9 वीरभंजो नृपः ॥[३*][3] आसीद्भञ्जकुलाब्धि(ब्धि)वर्द्धनविधुर्व्विद्याविनोदान्वितो जित्वाजौ

10 परिप[न्थि]पार्थिवचयनाथः[4] पृथिव्याश्चिरं ॥(।) पृथ्वीपालनलब्ध(ब्ध)पुण्य-निचयः कारुण्यसा-

11 रो[घभू]स्तत्सूनुर्व्विजयैकधामविदितः श्रीरायभञ्जः सुधीः ।[। ४*] तत्सू-नुर्जगदेकमल्लवि-

12 जयी चाक्षाङ्गत(ष्टाङ्गल)क्ष्मीयुतः क्ष्माभृन्मौलिविभूषणोज्व(ज्ज्व)लमणिव्यग्रांघ्रि-पद्मद्वयः ।

Second Plate; First Side.

13 राकेशद्विजहृन्द्ववन्दनपटुर्म्मन्दीकृतारिव्रजो भाति श्रीयस(श)भञ्जदेवनृपति-

14 र्द्धर्म्मैककर्म्मोद्यतः ॥[3] [५*] स्वस्ति श्रीसकलसुरगुरुद्विजकुलकमलकलि-

15 काविकासनार्ककल्पप्रत्यथि(र्थि)कदथ(र्थ)नसमथ(र्थ)महीमहनीयमहामहिमप्रशस्त-सम-

16 स्तखिञ्जलिदेशाधिपति श्रीयशभजं(भञ्ज)देवः कुशली । सकलसामन्तस-न्धिविग्रहधा-

17 [मा]मात्योपजीविजनस्ववंशसमुद्भवाशेषराजन्य[व]र्ग्गसकलखण्ड-

18 पालप्रभृतीन् वो(बो)धयत्यादिशति च मतमस्तु समस्तमेतद्भवतां । वोडा-

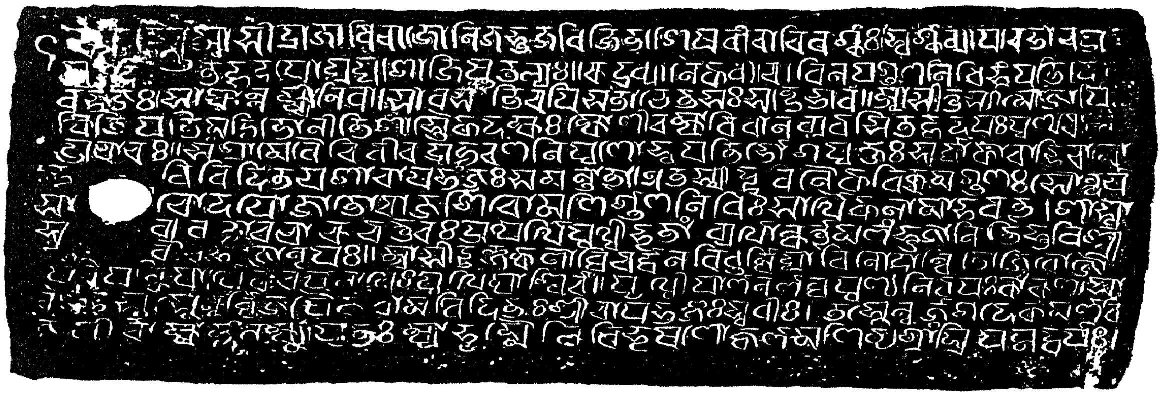
[1] Expressed by a symbol.
[2] Metre : *Sragdharā*.
[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[4] Read चयानाथः

Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants :

K—Antirigam Plates of Yasabhanjadeva.

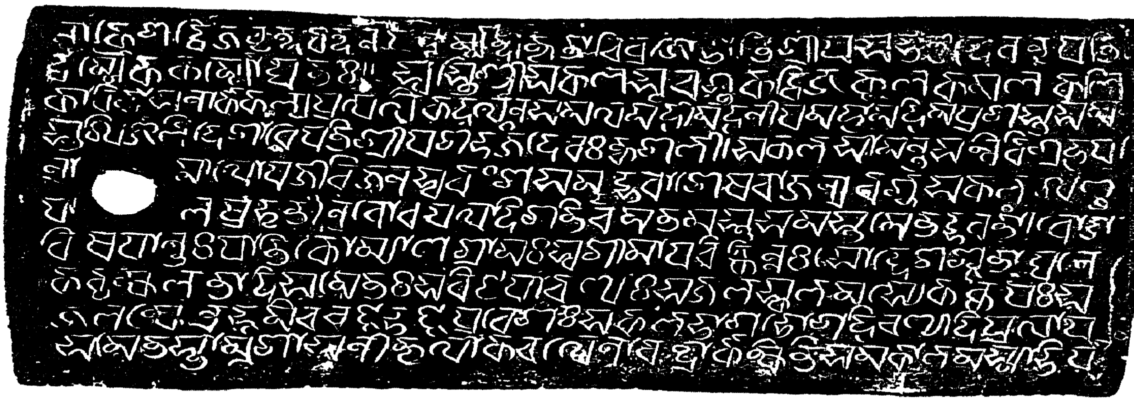
i.

2 4 6 8 10 12



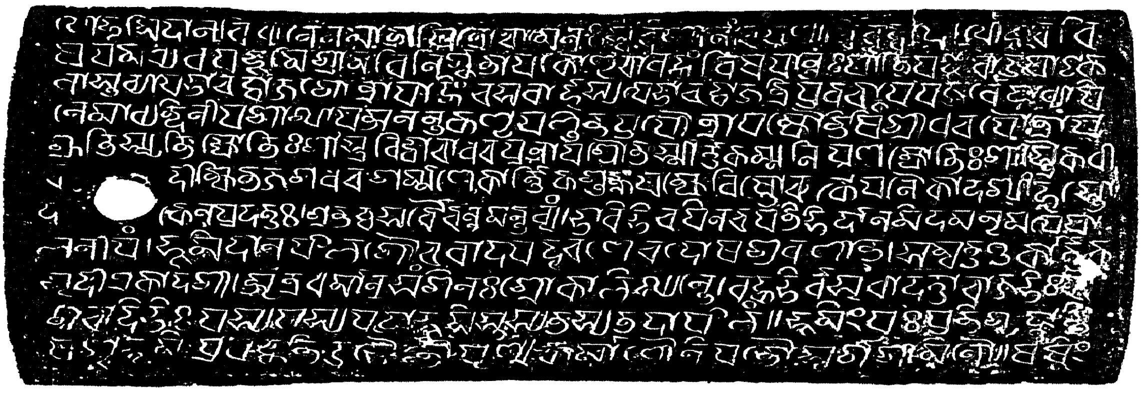
iia.

14 16 18 20 22



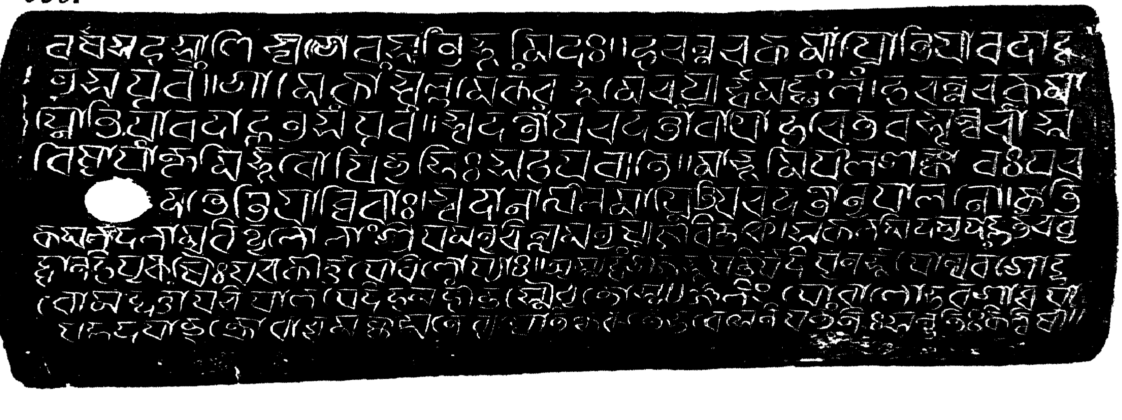
iib.

24 26 28 30 32



iii.

34 36 38 40 42



19 विषयान्तःपातिकोम्याणग्रामः स्वशी(सी)मापरिच्छिन्नः सोद्देशश्चतावने-
20 कद्वचलतादिसमेतः सविटपारण्यः सजलस्थलमत्स्यकच्छपः स-
21 जलस्तेत्रभूमिरचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः सकलभागभोगहिरण्यादिप्रत्याय-
22 समेतस्ताम्रशासनोक्तत्याकरत्वेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालमस्माभिर्य-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

23 था भूमिदानविधानेन मातापित्रोरात्मनः स्ववंशानां च पुण्यविवृद्धये । शोहारवि-
24 षयमध्यवपभूमिग्रामविनिर्गताय कोण्टरावङ्गु विषयान्तःपातिपट्टवाडपाटक-
25 वास्तव्याय भारद्वाजगोत्रायाङ्गिरसवा(बा)र्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजत्रिप्रवराय यजुर्वेदा-ध्यायि-
26 ने माध्यन्दिनीयशाखाय अनन्तकण्ठपण्डितप्रपौत्राय ज्यौतिषिक[1]श्रीधरपौत्राय
27 श्रुतिस्मृतिज्योतिःशास्त्रविद्याधरपुत्राय श्रौतस्मार्त्तकम्म(र्म्म)निपुण[ज्यो]तिःशा-स्त्रैकधी-
28 रदीक्षितजगधरशर्म्मणे कार्त्तिकशुक्लपक्षे विष्णोरुत्थ(त्था)यनैकादश्यां हस्तो-
29 दकेन प्रदत्तः(त्तं) । एतच्च सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि नरपतिभिर्दानमिदमनु-मत्य पा-
30 लनीयं । भूमिदानफलगौरवादपहरणे च दोषश्रवणात् । सम्वत्त(त्) ३ कार्त्तिक
31 सु(शु)दी(दि) एकादशी । अत्र धर्मानुसंशिनः(शंसिनः) श्लोका लिख्यन्ते । ब(ब)-हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः स-
32 गरादिभिः [।*] यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[६*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
33 यश्च भूमि(मिं) प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामि-नौ ॥[७*] षष्टिम्(ष्टिं)

Third Plate.

34 वर्षसहस्राणि स्व[र्गे] वसति भूमिदः ॥ हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदा[भू]-
35 तस(सं)प्लवं ॥[८*] गामेकां स्व[र्ण]मेकं च भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं । हरन्नरकमा-
36 प्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं ॥[९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] स
37 विष्टायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥[१०*] मा भूमि(द)फलशङ्का व: पर-
38 दत्तेति पार्थि(र्थि)वाः । स्वदानात्फलमाप्ने(प्नो)ति परदत्तानुपालने ॥[११*] [इ]ति
39 कमलदलाम्वु(म्बु)वि[बि]न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकल-मिदमुदाहृतं च बु(बु)-
40 द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[2] [१२*] अस्मद्वंशजभूपतिर्यदि पुनर्भू-वपोन्यवंशोद्भ-
41 वो मद्दत्तां परिपालयेदिह महीं तस्मै धृतोस्म्यञ्जलिम् [।*] यो वा लोभव-शाच्च पा-
42 पह(हृ)दयात् क्रोधाच्च मच्छासने व्याघातं कुरुते भवेत्स नियतं निःसन्ततिः किल्विषी ॥[3] [१३*]

[1] The letter ष is inserted above the line.
[2] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*
[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

APPENDIX.

Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Place whence issued.	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated.	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated.	REMARKS.
A. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff., and Nagendranath Vasu's *Mayūrbhañja Arch. Report*, Vol. I, pp. 135 ff.)	Jagati in the Baudh State.	......	(1) Kōntinthi (Kontinvi) = Kontuani, about 2 miles south of Baudh, situated in the *vishaya* of— (1*a*) Khātiyā whose head-quarters was apparently Khātiyā (which is untraceable and has probably merged into Machhia Khanda, a *pargana* of the Baudh State. Khātiyā was included in— (1*b*) Khiñjali-maṇḍala = the present Keonjhar State.	Residence— (1) Amvasarasarā = Ambasarabhiṭṭa (?) in Sonpur State, about 12 miles from Baudh. Emigrated from— (2) Apilōmulēri = ?	A. B. and C. mention Dhṛitipura as old capital.
B. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff.)	Landore in the Baudh State, now changed to Govindapur.	......	(2) Vāllāśriṅgā = Bālāsingā, about 2 miles from Baudh and situated on the confluence of the Mahānadī and Sālaṅki = Sālki in the Baudh State included in the— (2*a*) Khātiyā-*vishaya* = (1*a*) of— (2*b*) Khiñjali-maṇḍala = (1*b*).	Emigrated from— (3) Khaḍuvāpalī = ?	B. and C. speak of Ubhaya (both) Khiñjali-maṇḍala = Upper and Lower Keonjhar.
C. Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.)	Sonpur State	......	(3) Milupāḍi = ? of— (3*a*) Rōyarā-*vishaya* whose head-quarters Rōyarā is on the borders of the Sonpur State.	Emigrated from— (4) Ālāpagrāma = ?	
D. Bāmanghāṭi grant of Raṇabhañjadēva. (*J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, pp. 161 ff., and *Mayūrbhañja. Arch. Report*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff.)	Jamdapir of Bāmanghāṭi sub-division in the Mayūrbhañja State.	Khijjiṅga = Kiching of Mayūrbhañja State.	(4) Timaṇḍirā = Probably Teṇḍrā, S. W. of Bāmanghāṭi. (5) Nāṅkōlāḍa = ? (6) Jambupadraka = Probably Jamdā, 8 miles west of Bāmanghāṭi. (7) Pasannā = Pasanā, 7 miles N. W. of Bāmanghāṭi included in the *vishaya* of— (4*a*) Koraṇḍiyō whose head-quarters is represented by Koriñjiyā, 5 miles from Kiching and of—	......	D. and E. both mention Kshijjinga Koṭṭa or Khijjiṅga, *i.e.*, the fort Khijjinga (= Khiching, 90 miles from Baripadā), as the residence of the king. His original ancestor is stated to have been living in Koṭṭāśramatapōvana = Kuting, 32 miles from Baripadā.

			(4b) Dēvakuṇḍa whose head-quarters is represented by a place of the same name about 8 miles west of Bāmanghāṭi, 75 miles west of Baripadā, capital of the Mayūrbhañja State.		
E. Bāmanghāṭi grant of Rājabhañjadēva. (*J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, pp. 161 ff., and *Mayūr. Arch. Rep.*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.)	Jamdapir of Bāmanghāṭi subdn. of the Mayūrbhañja State.	Khijjinga = Kiching of the Mayūrbhañja State.	(8) Brāhmaṇavasti = Brahmanavās, 6 miles from Bāmanghāṭi in the Mayūrbhañja State situated in the *vishaya* of— (8a) Brāhmaṇavasti which is now represented by the Bāmanghāṭi sub-division.	......	
F. Orissa grant of Vidyādharabhañjadēva. (*J. B. A. S.*, LVI, Part I, p. 153, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271, and *Mayūr. Arch. Rep.*, Vol. I, pp. 149 ff.)	......	Vañjulvaka .	(9) Tuṇḍurāva = Tundurā village in the Askā taluka of the Ganjām District situated in the *vishaya* of— (9a) Ramalavva, whose head-quarters was apparently at Ravulabāḍo in the Askā taluka.	......	In all the grants from F. to K. Vañjulvaka is mentioned as the capital of the donors.
G. Gumsur grant of Nētṛibhañjadēva. (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 669 ff., and *Mayūr. Arch. Rep.*, Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.)	Gumsūr in the Ganjām District.	Ditto .	(10) Māchchhaḍagrāma = Māchhgaon in the Cuttack District situated in the *vishaya* of— (10a) Māchchhāḍa Khaṇḍa whose head-quarters was Māchhgaon.	......	
H. Ganjām grant of Nētṛibhañjadēva (just dealt with).	......	Ditto .	(11) [1]Rātaṅga = Rottongo in Gumsūr Taluk of Ganjām District situated in the *vishaya* of— (11a) Vāsudēva Khaṇḍa whose head-quarters was Vāsudēvapura, 4 miles from Rātaṅga.	......	
I. Ganjām grant of Nētṛibhañjadēva (just dealt with).	......	Ditto .	(12) Machhāḍagrāma = (10) in the *vishaya* of— (12a) Machhāḍa Khaṇḍa = (10a).	......	
J Ganjām grant of Vidyādharabhañjadēva (just dealt with).	......	Ditto .	(13) Māchhāḍagrāma = (10) situated in the *vishaya* of— (13a) Māchhāḍa Khaṇḍa = (10a).	Emigrated from— (5) Manmāṇā = Maṇḍāra(?) in the Gumsūr Taluk situated in the *vishaya* of— (5a) Taḍisamā or Taḍisami = Taḍasinga(?) in the Gumsūr Taluk, 20 miles north of Mandāra, included in the (5b) Varebdhi[2](province) = ?	

[1] See above, p. 285, f. n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. n. 2.

APPENDIX—*concld.*

Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Place whence issued.	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated.	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated.	REMARKS.
K. Antirigām grant of Yaśa-bhañjadēva (just dealt with).	Antirigām in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District.	Vañjulvaka ..	(14) Komyāna = Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District situated in the *vishaya* of— (14a) Vōḍā whose head-quarters was Boḍḍa Paṭṭi, 3 miles from Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District.	(6) Residence Paṭṭavāḍa-pāṭaka = Paṭaṭupuram in the Chatrapur Taluk situated in the *vishaya* of— (6a) Kontarāvaṅga whose head-quarters is Koṭa-yagaḍa in the Chatrapur Taluk, 8 miles from Paṭapaṭanam. (7) Vapabhūmigrāma = Boppangi in Gumsūr Taluk situated in the *vishaya* of— (7a) Thībāra = ?	Jaipuri is mentioned as conquered by this line of kings. It may be Jaipur Zamindari in the south.
L. Ṭāsapaikerā grant of Raṇa-bhañjadēva. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff.)	Binkā in the Sonpur State.	......	(15) Ṭāsapaikerā still existing included in— (15a) Uttarapalli = Uttaratīra or tract north of the Mahānadī.	Emigrated from (8) Bhaṭa Nirōla = (9) Residence Kāmāri = ?	Refers to Ubhaya-Khiñjali = Upper and Lower Keonjhar.
M. Baudh grant of Kanaka-bhañjadēva. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 356 ff.)	Baudh, capital of the State of the same name.	......	(16) Bāhulā = ? (17) Beṇḍaki = ? (18 Jamarāpura = ? (19) Simhipura = ? included in— (19a) Dharmapura tract and bounded on the east by Māharapura, on south and west by Kopāsimhā and on the north by Telanadī = Tel river.	Emigrated from— (10) Madhyadēśa = Tract between Bengal and Orissa— Residence. (11) Hastigrāma = ?	Refers to the Baudh State as the kingdom of the family.

N. Kumurukelā grant of Śatrubhañjadēva. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 429 ff.)	Kumurukelā of Sonpur State.	......	(20) Kumurukelā still existing in the Sonpur State and (21) Jaintāmurā=? included in— (20*a*) Khiñjali-maṇḍala = (1*b*). (20*b*) Uttarapalli district = (15*a*).	...... Emigrated from— (12) Vaṅgakuti =? Residence— (13) Gandhaṭapāṭi =?	Refers to Khijjinga-koṭṭa=Khiching.
O. Khaṇḍadeulī grant of Raṇa-bhañjadēva (*sic*) (Narēndra-bhañjadēva). (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 172 ff.)	Khaṇḍadeuli of Mayūr-bhañja State.	......	(22) Bonulā =? included in— (22*a*) Sidhāhimbā—*vishaya* and Uttarakhaṇḍa.	......	
P. Patna Museum grant of Raṇabhañjadēva. (*Ep. Ind.*, awaiting publication.)	......	......	(23) Vāhiravāḍa on the Mahānadī included in— (23*a*) Dakshiṇapali or the tract to the south of the Mahānadī.	......	Mentions Dhṛitipura as the old capital of the Ubhaya-Khiñjala.

NOTE.—With reference to the geographical places mentioned in the 4 records in hand it may be noted that Rottango, bereft of its Oriya pronunciation, would be regularly Rātaṅga, like Kodolibosonto, which is no other than Kadalibasanta included in the Kudala taluka of the same district. Rātaṅga was included in the Vāsudēvakhaṇḍa, whose reminiscence is left in Vāsudēvapur. Machhāḍagrāma, or Māchchhāḍagrāma of the Māchhāḍakhaṇḍa or Machhāḍakhaṇḍa, has been the subject of a gift in 3 charters, G., H. & J., twice by Nētṛibhañja and once by Vidyādharabhañja. This appears to indicate its great importance, as apparently the relatives of the donee's family were very anxious to get it back as often as his direct line failed. The name is very expressive, meaning, as it does, the village of fishes. It was at the same time situated in a district having the name "a fish tract". But I could not find a name answering to it in the lists of Ganjām district villages. There is, however, in the Cuttack district a port named Mācchagāon about 9 miles from the Devi estuary and about 40 miles from Gumsūr, which can well be our Māchhāḍagrāma and so I have identified it with that. Owing to the superabundance of fish in that tract, it was appropriately named Māchhāḍagrāma (the village of fishes) and it retains its name intact with the exception of the superfluous *ra* (the Oriya genitive sign) dropped.

The donee in J. came from Manmāṇā of the Taḍisamā or Taḍisamī-*vishaya*. The latter appears to be named after the Tāḍa or palm trees which abound in the Ganjām district. In the Gumsūr taluk there is a village Tārasingī and another named Maṇḍarā. It would therefore appear that the first represents the village from which the *vishaya* Taḍisami took its name and the second the corruption of Manmāṇā, something like the present Bhaṇḍārā representing the old Bhāṇārā (see Hiralal's *C. P. and Berar Inscriptions*, page 107). The charter K. gives a number of geographical names, several of which must be sought for in the Chatrapur taluka, where the plates were found in a field, while ploughing, indicating that they had not been carried about from place to place at any rate for several years past. The village granted was Komyāṇa likely to be corrupted into Konmyāṇa, which in the Oriya mouth would become Konomono or Konomonā, with which it has been dentified. The donee was a resident of Paṭṭapāda-*vāṭaka* which is apparently the present Paṭṭupur (or Paṭṭupuram). The donee's residence was included in the Kontarāvaṅga-*vishaya*, whose head-quarters appears to be represented by Konṭṭaya-gaḍa. The donee's family had emigrated from Vapabhūmi, which may be identical with Beppangi. The name of the *vishaya* read as Thīhāra is doubtful and it would therefore be useless to try to identify it.

[Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu would identify the Machhāḍagrāma or Māchhāḍagrāma, the Thīhārā, the Bhaṭa-Nirōla, and the Uttarāpatha villages of these grants with Mājhigām in the Berhampur, Tikkarapada in the Gumsūr, Nirla in the Aska and Uttarasilli in the Parlakimedi talukas of the Ganjām district respectively.—Ed.]

No. 30.—THE MUNGIR PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA: SAMVAT 33.

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

This charter was first published in the year 1788, in Vol. I of the *Asiatick Researches*, p. 123 ff. where a lithographic reproduction and an attempt at translation were presented. About that time the plate disappeared. In 1892 the late Professor Kielhorn republished the text with a corrected translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ff., on the basis of the edition in the *Asiatick Researches*; as will be seen, he accomplished the task with his wonted skill and success. But no trace of the original plate could be found.

Recently, while repairs were being made in Kenwood House, a dirty and discoloured metal plate inscribed with Indian characters was found hidden away between a beam and the roof. It was brought to me for identification, and I at once recognised it as the long-lost charter of Dēvapāladēva. Then Mr. Plenderleith, of the Science Laboratory attached to the British Museum, came to my aid and skilfully removed the accumulated grime and rust of many generations, so that it is now restored to its original condition, a fine and almost perfectly preserved specimen of medieval Indian metal-work. It seemed desirable to publish a photographic facsimile with an emended transcription of the text, and I have been permitted to do this by the kindness of the Right Honourable the Earl of Iveagh, G.C.V.O., Senior Trustee of the Kenwood Estate.

The **plate** is of thick copper, measuring 18¾ inches in height and 13⅞ inches in width. On the top of it is soldered a **seal**, 6¾ inches high and at the base 7⅝ inches wide; in the central panel of this is the well-known Sārnāth device, the *dharma-chakra* with two antelopes at the sides, under which is the royal name, *Śrī-Dēvapāladēvasya.* It is in excellent preservation: with the exception of a very few unimportant syllables, the characters are as cleanly cut as when the plate came from the engraver's hand. The **script** is typical of the region and date; the letters are about $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in height. It is needless to treat of the contents, as they are fully discussed in Kielhorn's paper.

The main part of this document, scil. from the beginning to *kārya iti*, l. 46, is duplicated in ll. 1-42 of the Nālandā plate published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff. The divergences are few and slight, and I have only noticed the more important.

TEXT.[1]

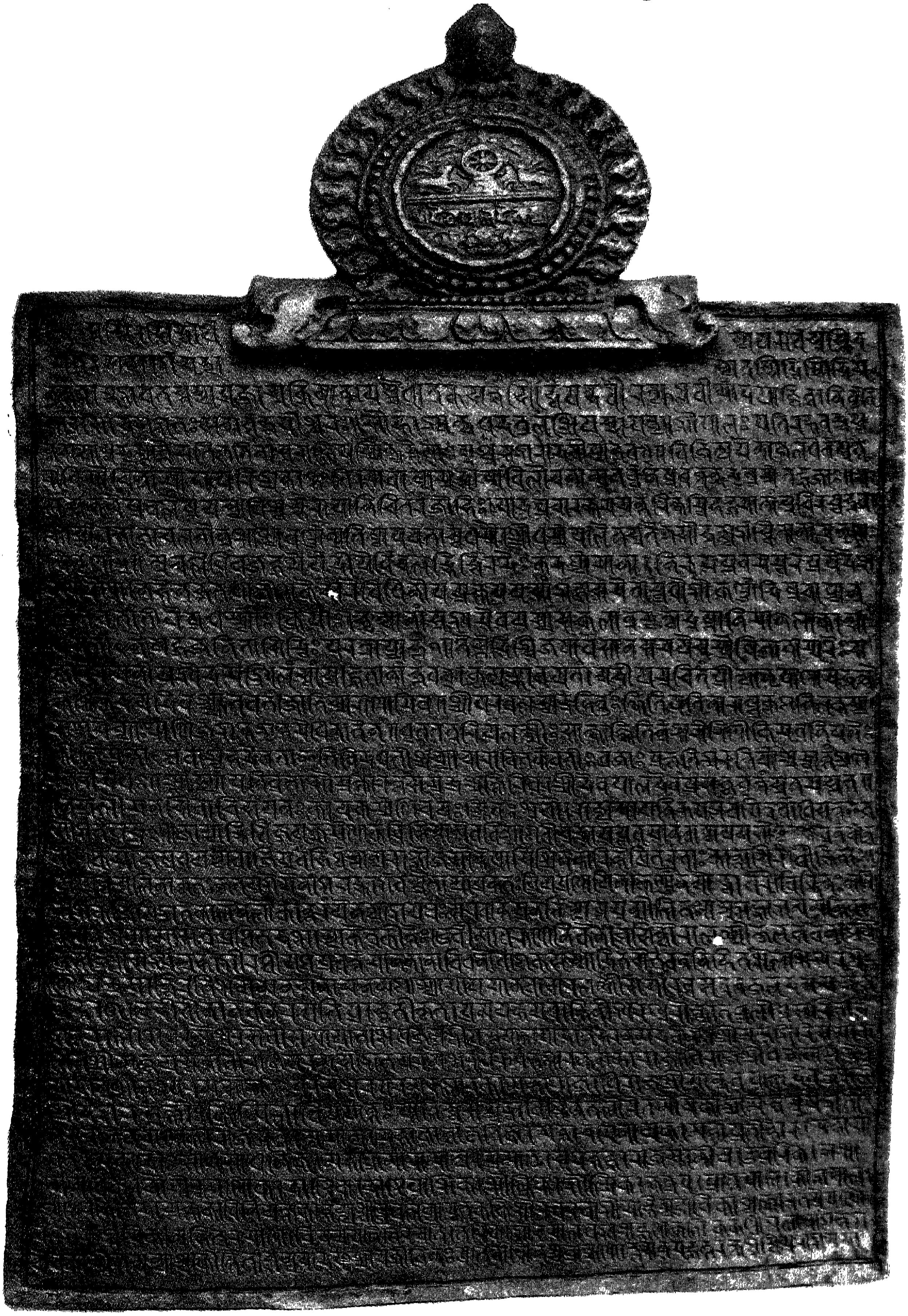
First Side.

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti | Siddhārthasya par-ārtha-susthira[3]-
2 matēḥ san-mārgam=abhyasyatas=siddhis=siddhim=a-
3 nuttarām=bhagavatas=tasya prajāsu kriyāt | yas=traidhātuka-sat[t*]va-siddhi-padavīr=atyugra-vīry-ōdayāj=jitvā nirvṛiti-
4 m=āsasāda sugataḥ san=sarvva-bhūm-īśvaraḥ[4] || [1*] Saubhāgyan=dadhad=atulaṁ śriyas=sapatnyā **Gōpālaḥ** patir=abhavad=vasu-
5 ndharāyāḥ | dṛishṭ-āntē sati kṛitināṁ surājñi yasmin=śraddhēyāḥ Pṛithu-Sagar-ādayō=py=abhūvan || [2*] Vijitya yēn=ā jaladhēr=vasundha-
6 rāṁ vimōchitā mōgha-parigrahā iti | sa-vāshpam=udvāshpa-vilōchanān=punar=vvanēshu va(ba)ndhūn=dadṛishu(śu)r=mmataṅga-jāḥ || [3*] Cha-
7 latsv=anantēshu va(ba)lēshu yasya viśvambharāyā nichitaṁ rajōbhiḥ | pāda-prachāra-kshamam=antariksham=vihaṅgamānāṁ suchiram=va(ba)bhūva || [4*]

[1] From the original plate.
[2] Denoted by a symbol.
[3] [The letter looks more like *ta* than *ra*—Ed.]
[4] The Nālandā plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318) has *sarv-ārtha-bhūm-īśvaraḥ*, which is probably right.

Mungir Plate of Devapala : the 33rd Year

Scale : One Third Linear of the Original



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

A.—Obverse

8 Śāstr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō=nuśāsya varṇṇān=pratishṭhāpayatā sva-dharmm | śrī-**Dharmmapālēna** sutēna sō=bhūt=svarga-sthitānām=anṛiṇaḥ

9 pitṝīṇām || [5*] Achalair=iva jaṅgamair=yadīyair=vichaladbhir=dviradaiḥ kadarthyamānā | nirupaplavam=amva(mba)raṁ prapēdē śa-

10 raṇaṁ rēṇu-nibhēna bhūta-dhātrī || [6*] Kēdārē vidhin=ōpayukta-payasāṁ Gaṅgā-samēt-āmvu(mbu)dhau Gōkarṇṇ-ādishu ch=āpy=anu-

11 shṭhitavatāṁ tīrthēshu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ | bhṛityānāṁ sukham=ēva yasya sakalān=uddh[ṛi*]tya dushṭān=imān lōkān=sā-

12 dhayatō'nushaṅga[1]-janitā siddhiḥ paratr=āpy=abhūt || [7*] Tais=tair=dig-vijay-āvasāna-samayē samprēshitānām=paraiḥ sa-

13 tkārair=apanīya khēdam=akhilaṁ svāṁ svāṅ=gatānāṁ bhuvam | kṛityam=bhāvaya. tāṁ yadīyam=uchitaṁ prītyā nṛipāṇām=abhūt=s-ō-

14 tkaṇṭhaṁ hṛidayaṁ divaś=chyutavatāṁ jāti-smarāṇām=iva || [8*] Śrī-**Parava(ba)-lasya** duhituḥ kshiti-patinā **Rāshṭrakūṭa**-tilakasya |

15 **Raṇṇādēvyāḥ** pāṇir=jagṛihē gṛiha-mēdhinā tēna || [9*] Dhṛita-tanur=iyaṁ Lakshmīḥ sākshāt=kshitir=nu śarīriṇī kim=avani-patēḥ

16 kīrttir=mūrttā'thavā[1] gṛiha-dēvatā [|*] iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchārā vitarkavatīḥ prajāḥ prakṛiti-gurubhir=yā śuddh-āntaṁ guṇai-

17 r=akarōd=adhaḥ || [10*] Ślāghyā pativrat=āsau muktā-ratnaṁ samudra-śuktir=iva śrī-**Dēvapāladēvaṁ** prasanna-vṛittaṁ[2] sutam=asūta || [11*]

18 Nirmmalō manasi vāchi saṁyataḥ kāya-karmmaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau rājyam=āpa nirupaplavaṁ pitur=vō(bō)dhi-sat[t*]va iva

19 saugataṁ padam || [12*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vijaya-kramēṇa karibhis=tām=ēva Vindhy-āṭavīm=uddāma-plavamāna-vāshpa-payasō dṛi[shṭāḥ] punar=vā(bā)ndha-

20 vāḥ | [|] Kamvō(mbō)jēshu cha yasya vāji-yuvabhir=dhvast-ānya-rāj-aujasō hēshā-miśrita-hāri-hēshita-ravāḥ kāntāś=chiraṁ vīkshitāḥ[3] || [13*]

21 Yaḥ pūrvvam=Va(Ba)linā kṛitaḥ kṛita-yugē yēn=āgamad=Bhārgavas=trētāyāṁ prahataḥ priya-praṇayinā Karṇṇēna yō dvāparē | vichchhinnaḥ kali-

22 nā Śaka-dvishi gatē kālēna lōk-āntaraṁ yēna tyāga-pathaḥ sa ēva hi punar=vispashṭam=unmīlitaḥ || [14*] A(Ā) Gaṅg-āgama-mahitā-

23 t-sapatna-śūnyām=ā Sētu-prathita-Daśāsya-kētu-kīrttēḥ | urvīm=ā Varuṇa-nikē[ta*]nāch-cha sindhōr=ā Lakshmī-kula-bhavanāch=cha yō

24 vu(bu)bhōja || [15*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrē-

25 ṇī-vibhramān=niratiśaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā - śyāmāyamāna - vāsara - Lakshmī-samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sa-

26 ndēhāt | udīchīn-ānēka-nara-pati-prābhṛitīkṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūlī-dhūsarita-di-

27 g-antarālāt | paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āśēsha-Jamvū(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāla-pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēḥ | śrī-**Mudgagiri**-samāvā-

---

[1] The elision of *a* is denoted by an *avagraha*.

[2] Kielhorn read *prasanna-vaktraṁ*, and this is supported by the Nālandā plate, l. 16. But our plate has distinctly *-vṛittaṁ*.

[3] Our plate has clearly *vīkshitāḥ*, as was read by Kielhorn; the Nālandā plate however has *chira-prīṇitāḥ*, l. 18).

28 sita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt parama-saugata-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-śrī-**Dharmapāladēva**-

29 pād-ānudhyātaḥ parama-saugataḥ paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ śrīmān=**Dēvapāladēvaḥ** kuśalī I

30 **Śrīnagara**-bhuktau **Krimilā**-vishay-āntaḥpāti-sva-saṁva(mba)ddh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta-**Mēshikā**-grāmē samupagatā-

31 na(n) sarvvān=ēva rāṇaka- | rāja-putra- | amātya- | mahākārttākṛitika- | mahā-daṇḍanāyaka- | mahā-pratīhāra- | mahā-sā-

32 manta- | mahādauḥsādhasādhanika- | mahā-kumār-āmātya- | pramātṛi- | sarabhaṅga- | rājasthānīya- | uparika- | dāśā-

33 parādhika- | chaurōddharaṇika- | dāṇḍika - | dāṇḍapāśika- | śaulkika- | gaulmika- | ksha-(kshē)trapa- | prāntapāla- | kōṭṭapāla- |

34 khaṇḍaraksha- | tad-āyuktaka- | viniyuktaka- | hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-[|*] kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvik-ādhyaksha- | dūta-praishaṇi-

35 ka- | gamāgamika- | abhityaramāṇa- | vishaya-pati- | tara-pati- | tarika- | Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇṇāṭa-Lā[ṭa]-chāṭa-bhaṭa-

36 sēvak-ādīna(n) anyāṁś=ch=ākīrttitān sva-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsinaś=cha vrā-(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-ā

Second Side.

37 [1]ndhraka-Chaṇḍāla-paryantān samājñ(ā)payati Viditam=a-

38 stu bhavatāṁ yath=ōparilikhita-**Mēshikā**-grāmaḥ sva-sī-

39 mā-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ s-āmra-madhūkaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-matsyaḥ sa-tṛiṇaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-daś-ā-

40 parādhaḥ sa-chaurōddharaṇaḥ parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍaḥ | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśō'kiñchit[2]-pragrāhyō rājakulīya-[3]pratyāya-samē-

41 tō bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-[ārkka]-kshiti-sama-kālaḥ[4] pūrvva-datta-bhukta-bhujyamāna-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dēya-varjjitō mayā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-

42 ṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē vēd-ā[rtha]-vidō yajvanō Bhaṭṭa-**Viśvarātasya** pautrāya vidy-āvadāta-chētasō Bhaṭṭa-śrī-**Varāharātasya** putrāya |

43 pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vidyā-pāraṁ-gatāya | Aupamanyava-sa-grō(gō)trāya | Āślāyana[5]-sa-vra(bra)hmachāriṇē | Bhaṭṭa-[pravara[6]]-**Vīhēkarāta-miśrāya**

44 śāsanīkṛitya pratipāditaḥ [|*] Yatō bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ēva bhūmēr=dāna-phala-gauravād=apaharaṇē mahā-naraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha dānam=i-

45 dam=anumōdya pā[la]nīyaṁ prativāsibhiḥ kshētrakarais=ch=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā samuchita-kara-hiraṇy-ādēy-ādi-sarvva-pratyāy-ōpana-

46 yaḥ ka(ā)rya iti | **[Sa]ṁvat 33 Mārga-dinē 21** | Tathā cha dharm-ānuśāsa(sa)na-ślōkāḥ | Sarvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān

---

[1] [The symbol seems to read *ndra*.—Ed.]

[2] The elided *a* is denoted by an *avagraha*.

[3] [Like the Nālandā plate, this charter clearly gives *samasta* before *pratyāya*. Kielhorn was doubtful about the reading of this word. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, *f. n.* 34.—Ed.]

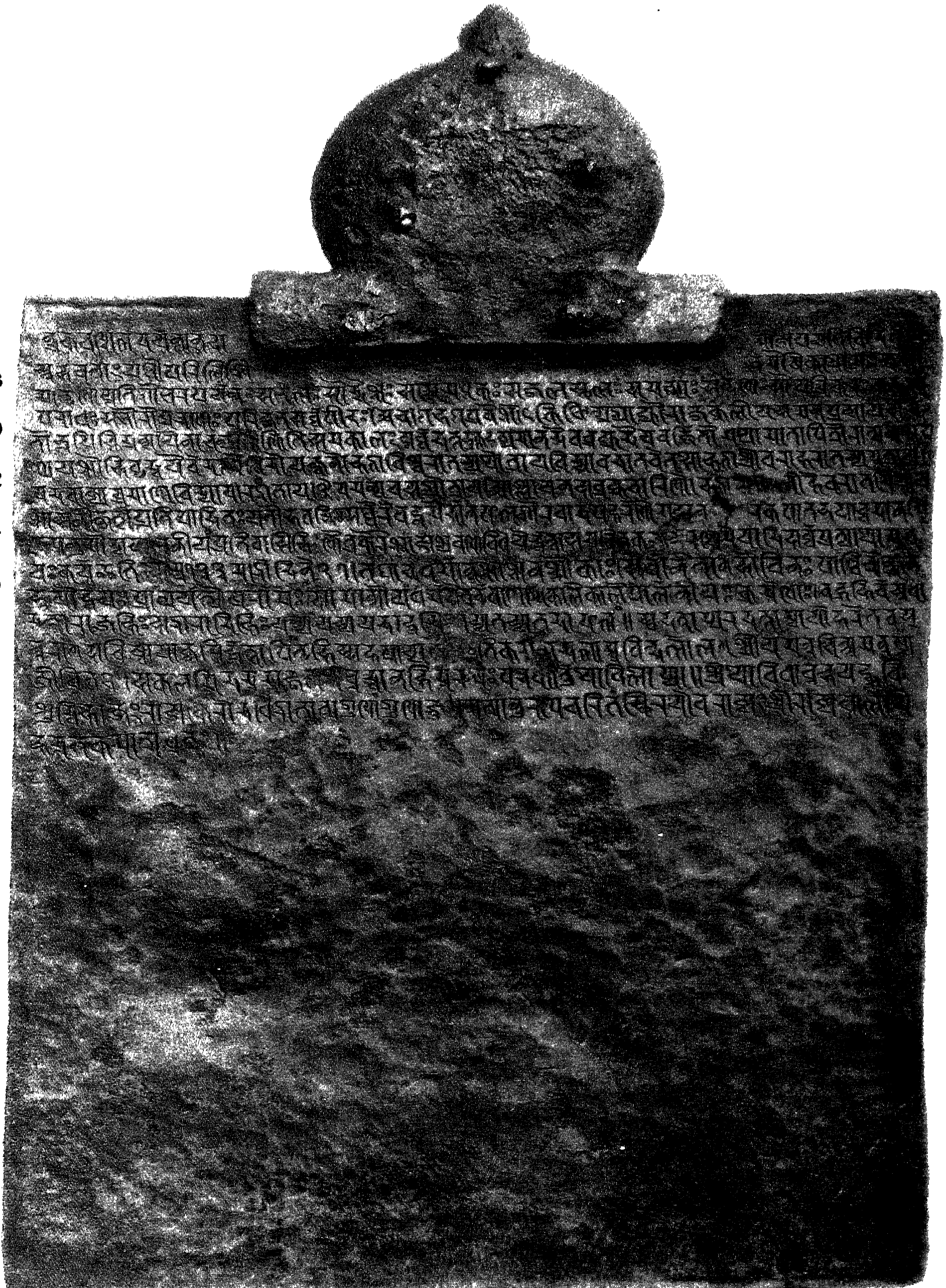
[4] [I think the text reads *kālaṁ* as it does in the Nālandā plate, l. 36, cf. other nasal symbols for instance in ll. 38 and 51.—Ed.]

[5] Read *Āśvalāyana*.

[6] So read in previous editions: the letters are no longer legible.

Mungir Plate of Devapala : the 33rd Year

Scale : One Third Linear of the Original



B.—Reverse

47 bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ [|*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur= nṛipāṇām(ṁ) kālē kālē pālanīyaḥ kramēṇaḥ[1] || [16*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā

48 dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmiḥ(s=)tasyatasya tadā phalaṁ || [17*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasu-

49 ndharān(ṁ)[2] [|*] sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha [3]pachyat[ē] [|| 18*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlan(lāṁ)[2] śrī(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-

50 jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddh[v*]ā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ*] || [19*] Srēyō-vidhāv=ubhayañśa-[4]vi-

51 śuddhi-bhājaṁ rāj=ātka(ka)rōd=adhigat-ātma-guṇaṁ guṇa-jñaḥ | ātm-ānurūpa-char:-taṁ sthira-yauvarājyaṁ śrī-**Rājyapālam**=i-

52 ha dūtakam=ātma-putraṁ || [20*]

No. 31.—TEKKALI PLATES OF DANARNAVA'S SON INDRAVARMAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of this inscription[5] were kindly made over to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Sri L. N. Deb, Esq., Yubraj of **Tekkali** in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. These are "**three copper-plates,** each measuring about 5½" in breadth and 2¾" in height, and strung on a **ring** of the same metal. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner face, and the third plate bears only one line of writing on the outer face. The plates do not appear to have had raised rims. The ring is 3" in diameter and is fixed in a circular **seal** measuring ⅞" in diameter, on which is engraved the worn figure of a standing **bull** with raised hump, facing the proper left. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 60 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of very good preservation. The **alphabet** resembles that of other early grants of the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga. The letters त and न have the same shape as in the majority of them,[6] while in one of the grants of Indravarman[7] the त closely resembles the न. The *jihvāmūlīya* is employed in line 18, and the *upadhmānīya* five times. A final form of *m* occurs in line 27. The group र्व्व is written correctly in line 10, but is expressed by र्व्न in lines 3 and 31. In line 30 occur the **numerical symbol** 100 and the two **decimal figures** 5 and 4. The **language** of the inscription is on the whole very correct Sanskrit prose, with three verses 'sung by Vyāsa', quoted in lines 25-29. Line 14 contains a few Dravidian words (*amba-achchi-pōṭi*).

The **date** of this inscription (l. 30 is the year **100 54**=154 ; *i.e.* the first of the three figures is expressed by the numerical symbol '100', and the two remaining figures are decimals. This **fresh date** induced me to re-examine the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, which I had originally read as 100 80 3.[8] Kielhorn noted already that the middle figure is certainly not the numerical symbol '80', but the decimal '8'.[9] The third figure of the year does not resemble the usual form of '3'; but, as the date is recorded also in words, it must be meant for '3'. Bühler solved this little problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining

[1] Read *kramēṇa*.

[2] [I think we can read it as म्—Ed.]

[3] [The original wrongly gives *pāchyatē*—Ed.]

[4] Read *ubhaya-vaṁśa-*.

[5] See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924, p. 10, App. A, No. 1, and p. 97, para. 2.

[6] See *e.g.* above, Vol. XIV, p. 361 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123 ; above, Vol. III, p. 121.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 120.

[8] Above, Vol. III, p. 133.

[9] Above, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 91, note 7.

the figure '3' of these plates as an abbreviation of *lōka*, 'the (three) worlds'.[1] Hence the year is in reality **100 83** = 183. The day of the same grant consists of the *decimal* figure '2' followed by a cipher (0) = **20**. If we now re-examine the date of the Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava,[2] the year turns out to be (not 100 40 9, but) **100 37** = 137, and the day **20 0** = 20; and the year of one of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman is not 100 40 6,[3] but **100 38** = 138, and its day is **10ḥ** (still expressed by a numerical symbol). If we go back to the other Chicacole plates of Indravarman,[4] we find that both the second figure of the year and the first figure of the day are expressed by numerical symbols: **100 20 8** = 128, and **10 5** = 15. Subsequently to 100 83 = 183, the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava,[5] even the *first* figure ceases to be represented by a numerical symbol and is expressed by a decimal in **195**, the year of the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava.[6] The day of the same grant is **5ḥ**[7] (changed unnecessarily by the editor into [illegible]). I may be excused for having gone into such details, because this digression will in future induce editors, including myself, to be more careful and methodical in handling the dates of the Eastern Gāṅgas.

I shall now recapitulate the years of some of the earlier Gāṅga grants, at the end of which the names of certain officers are mentioned.

No. I. Urlām plates of Hastivarman, surnamed Rājasiṁha or Raṇabhīta (above, Vol. XVII, p. 333). Year **80 0** = 80, in words and figures. Written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra.

No. II. Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman, surnamed Rājasiṁha (above, Vol. III, p. 129). Year **80 7** = 87, in words and figures. Written by the same officer.

No. III. Parlā-Kimeḍi plates of Indravarman, surnamed Rājasiṁha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134). Year **90 1** = 91, in words and figures. Written by the same officer.

No. IV. Chicacole plates of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121). Year **100 20 8** = 128, in figures alone. Engraved by Āditya-Mañchin,[8] son of Vinayachandra.

No. V. Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava (above, Vol. XIV, p. 362). Year **100 37** = 137, in figures alone. Engraved by Khaṇḍichandra, son of Āditya-Bhōgika.

No. VI. Tekkali plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava (the subjoined grant). Year **100 54** = 154, in figures alone. Engraved by the same officer.

No. VII. Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava (above, Vol. III, p. 133). Year **100 83** = 183, in words and figures. Engraved by Sarvachandra, son of Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōgika.

From the preceding list it follows that Nos. I—III were written by Vinayachandra. No. IV was engraved by his son Āditya, Nos. V and VI by Khaṇḍichandra, son of Āditya, and No. VII by Sarvachandra, son of Khaṇḍichandra. In this manner, the names of these menials become an important confirmation of the correctness of the dates of their masters. Moreover, No. V was written by the *Sarvādhikṛita* **Śāmbapurōpādhyāya**, son of the *Hastyadhyaksha* **Dharmachandra** (ll. 29-31). In lines 29-32 of the subjoined grant (No. VI of the above list), the latter is stated to have been written by the same officer.

[1] *Indian Palæography*, translated by Fleet, p. 78.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 362.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123. In column XV of the Table of Numerals in Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, the symbol '40' must be transferred to the line '3'.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 133.

[6] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 215.

[7] Cf. 10ḥ in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123.

[8] Like *Bhōgika* in Nos. V—VII, *Mañchin* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhōi*, 'a palankeen-bearer'; cf. above, Vol. XIII, p. 215, text line 30. Brown's *English-Telugu Dictionary* has the form *Bōyi*.

The executor (*ājñā*) of this grant was the *Mahāmahattara* **Hariśarman** (l. 29 f.). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named **Skandaśarman** (l. 17), who lived at **Garakhōnna** (l. 15). The royal donor was **Dānārṇava's** son, the **Kaliṅga** king **Indravarman** of the **Gāṅga family,** who issued this edict from his residence of **Kaliṅganagara.** He seems to have made the grant for the spiritual merit of his mother **Achchipōṭi** (l. 14). The grant was made **at an eclipse of the sun** (l. 15) in the year **154** (of the Gāṅga era) (l. 30). It consisted of a field at the village of **Tuṅgannā** (l. 11) or Tuṅgana (l. 21) in the district of **Rūpyavatī** (l. 11).

I am unable to identify either the village granted or its boundaries (ll. 18-22). But the **Rūpyavatī**-*vishaya* (l. 11) may be connected with the [Rū]pāvarttani-*vishaya*[1] which contained the village of Sellāda. For, according to Mr. G. Ramadas,[2] this village belongs to the Tekkali Tāluk, and the subjoined grant is preserved at Tekkali.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति [।।*] सर्व्वर्तुसुखरमणीयाद्विजयश्रीनिवासात्कलिङ्गन-
2 गरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगु-
3 रोस्सकलभुवननिर्म्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्ण्ण-[5]
4 स्वामिनश्चरणकमलयुगलप्रणामाद्विगतकलिकल-
5 ङ्को गाङ्गामलकुलतिलको नयविनयसम्पदामाधार[:] स्वासि-
6 धारापरिस्पन्दाधिगतसकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यᳶप्रविततचतुरुदधि-
7 सलिलतरङ्गमेखलावनितलामलयशा:[6] अनेकसमर-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 संघट्टविजयजनितजयशब्दप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसाम-
9 न्तचूडामणिप्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्जरञ्जितचरणं[7]ᳶपरममा-
10 हेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातश्श्रीमद्दानार्ण्णवसूनुश्श्रीमान्महा-
11 राजेन्द्रवर्म्मा रूप्यवतीविषये तुङ्गन्नाग्रामे सर्व्वसमवेतान्कुटु-
12 म्बिनस्समाज्ञापयत्यस्ति[8] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्मिन्ग्रामे हल-
13 स्य भूमिर्ब्रह्मदेयदण्डमानमिता सर्व्वकरभरैᳶपरिहृत्याच-
14 न्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठाङ्कृत्वा अम्बअच्चिपोटिभट्टारिकायाᳶपुण्याभिवृ-
15 द्धये सूर्य्योपरागे सलिलपूर्व्वकं गरखोन्नवास्तव्याय शाण्डि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

16 ल्यसगोत्राय वाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे वेदवेदाङ्गपारगा-
17 य स्कन्दशर्म्मणे सम्प्रत्ता [।*] तदेवं विदित्वास्य स्वकीयां भूमिं भुञ्जानस्य न

---

[1] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1919, p. 14, Appendix A, No. 6.

[2] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

[3] From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read गोकर्ण्णं.

[6] Read °यशा.

[7] Read °चरणᳶप°.

[8] The word अस्ति is superfluous. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 123, note 50; above, Vol. III, p. 132, note 4; Vol. XIII, p. 214, note 2.

18 केनचिद्वाबाधक्कार्य्यः [।*] सीमालिङ्गान्यप्यस्य चेत्रस्य प्रदक्षिणक्र-
19 मेण बोद्धव्यानि [।*] पूर्व्वेण विद्युद्गङ्गा [।*] दक्षिणेण[1] पुरुषच्छा-
20 यया पाषाणपङ्क्तिः [।*] पश्चिमेन अक्कंखाटकसीमान्ता: [।*] उत्त-
21 रेणापि सैव विद्युद्गङ्गा [।*] तुङ्गनतडाकोदकमध्ये[त*]त्त्वेतं काराखु-
22 ण्डा:[2] आःह्मणपलान्धाच[3] निर्गत्य प्रविशति यावत्पश्यति [।*] भविष्य-
23 तश्च राज्ञ⨯प्रज्ञापयति [।*] धर्म्मक्रमविक्रमाणामन्यतम-

Third Plate ; First Side.

24 योगादवाप्य महीमनुशासद्भिरयन्दानधर्म्मोनुपालनीयो व्या-
25 सगीताश्चात्र श्लोका भवन्ति [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*]
26 यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं [॥ १*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
27 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु-
28 पालनम् [॥ २*] [4]षष्ठिवर्ष्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आ-
29 च्चेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ ३*] आज्ञा महामहत्त-
30 रहरिशर्म्मा [।*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरा[:*] १०० ५४ [।*] लिखित-
31 मिदं शासनं श्वरत्यक्ष्यचधर्म्मचन्द्रसूनुना सर्व्वाधिकृतेन श[ा*]क्यपुरो-[5]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

32 पाध्यायेनोत्कीर्णमादित्यभोगकसूनुना[6] खण्डचन्द्रेणेति[7] [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12.) From the residence of **Kaliṅganagara** (l. 1 f.), the worshipper of the god **Gōkarṇa-svāmin** (l. 3 f.) on the **Mahēndra mountain** (l. 2), the **ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṅgas** (l. 5), who has obtained the sovereignty over the whole of **Kaliṅga** (l. 6), the fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, the son of the glorious **Dānārṇava,** the glorious *Mahārāja* **Indravarman,** commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all (others), at the village of **Tuṅgannā** in the **Rūpyavatī** district (*vishaya*) (ll. 9-12).

(Ll. 12-17.) "Be it known to you that (one) plough (*hala*) of land in this village, measured by the rod (used for) *brāhmadēyas,* exempting (it) from the burden of all taxes, making (it) to last as long as the moon and the sun, has been granted, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (my) mother, the lady **Achchipōṭi,**[8] **at an eclipse of the sun,** with previous (libations of) water, to **Skandaśarman,** who resides at **Garakhonna** (and) belongs to the *gōtra* of the Śāṇḍilyas, a student of the Vājasanēya (*charaṇa*), who has mastered the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas."

---

[1] Read दक्षिणेन.

[2] Read °खण्ड्या.

[3] Read perhaps °पालन्याद्.

[4] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

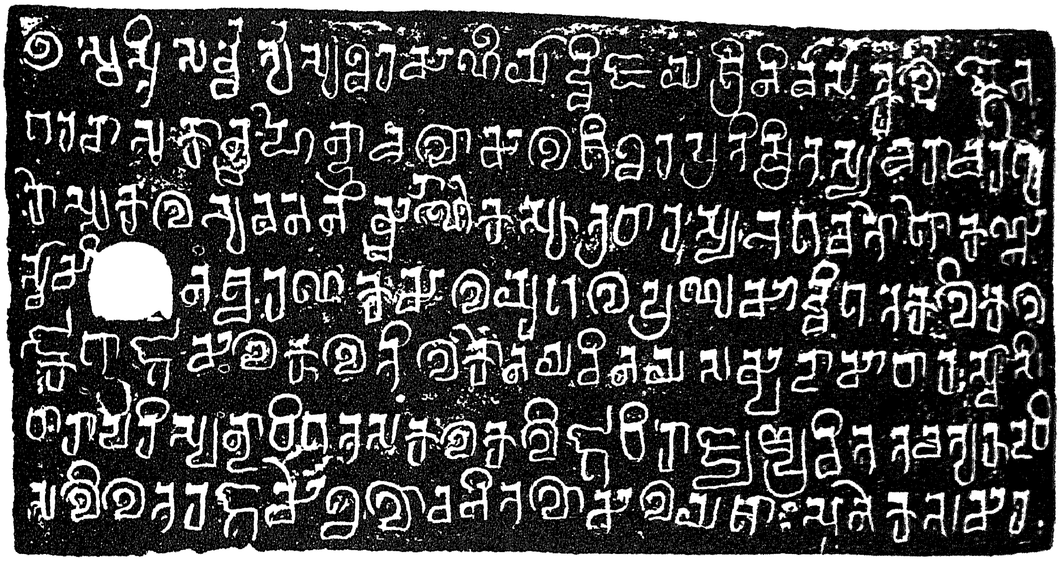
[5] See above, Vol. XIV, p. 362, text line 30.

[6] Read °त्कीर्णमादित्यभोगिक°.

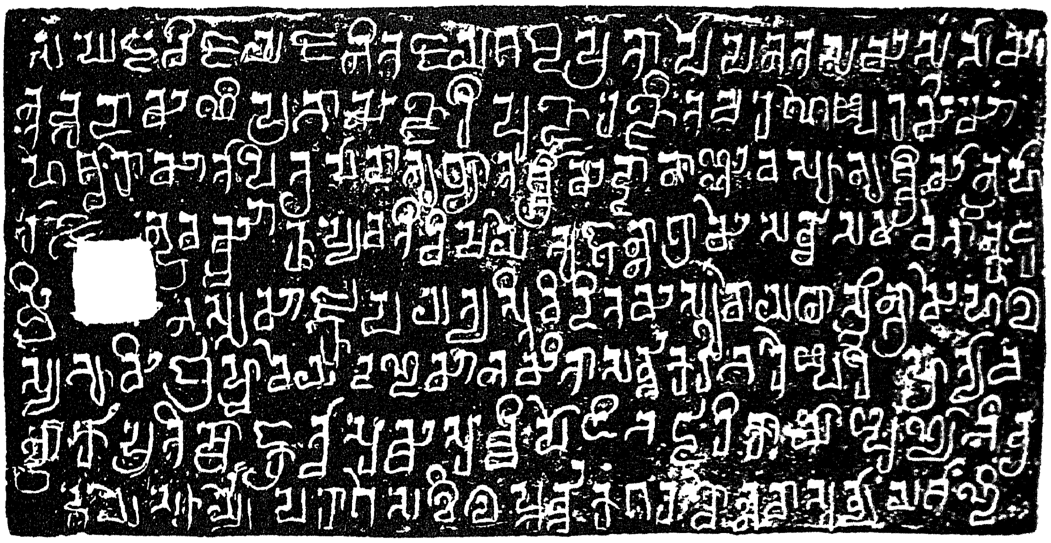
[7] This line ends with a punctuation.

[8] *amba* (= Sanskrit *ambā*) in Telugu means 'a mother', *achchi* in Kanarese the same, and *bōṭi* according to Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* 'a damsel'.

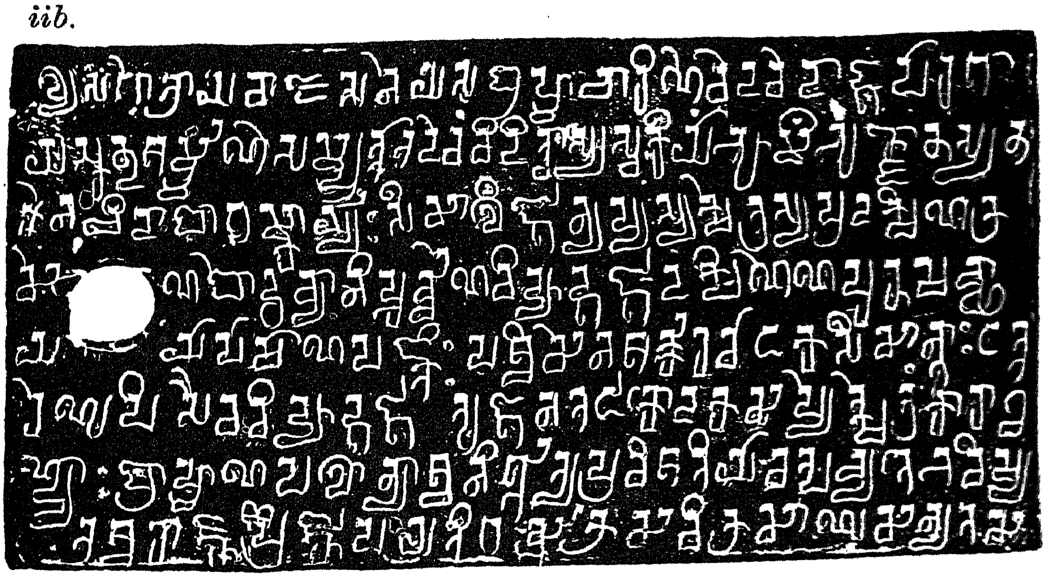
i.



iia.

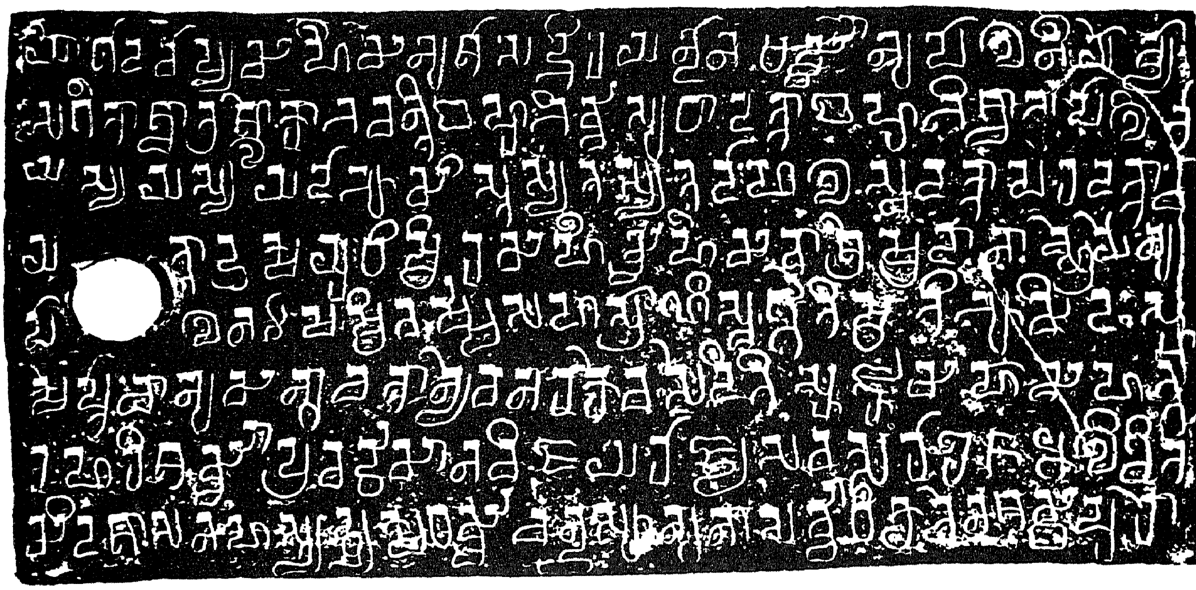


iib.



HIRANANDA SASTRI. SCALE FULL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iiia.



iiib.



SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



ENLARGED NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

(Ll. 18-22.) And the marks of the boundaries of this field are to be known in the order from right to le To the east, the **Vidyudgaṅgā.** To the south, a row of boulders for (a distance which ıals) the shadow of a man.[1] To the west, the boundaries of **Śarkaravāṭaka.** And to the nort the same **Vidyudgaṅgā.** And the water of the tank (*taḍāka*) of **Tuṅgana,**[2] flowing out of t *Kārākhaṇḍī* and *Brāhmaṇapālanī* (canals ?), enters this field until (the crop) ripens."

[Ll. 24-28 contain three verses 'sung by **Vyāsa**'.]

(Ll. 29-31.) "The executor (*ājñā*) (was) the *Mahāmahattara* **Hariśarman. 100** (and) **54 years of the kingdom of increasing victory** (had then passed). This edict (*śāsana*) (was) written by the *Sarvādhikṛita* **Ś[ā]mbapurōpādhyāya**, the son of the *Hastyadhyaksha* **Dharmachandra**, (and) engraved by **Khaṇḍichandra**, son of **Āditya-Bhōg[i]ka.**"

No. 32.—TEKKALI PLATES OF RAJENDRAVARMAN'S SON DEVENDRAVARMAN.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

These plates belong to Sri Gopinath Deb, Esq., Second Prince of **Tekkali** in the **Gaṇjām** District of the Madras Presidency. Ink-impressions of them were kindly forwarded to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. These are "**three copper-plates**, each measuring about $6\frac{1}{4}''$ high and $2\frac{3}{4}''$ broad, and strung on a **ring** of the same metal. The first plate bears writing only on the inner face. All the inscribed faces appear to have had raised rims, which are now worn out. The ring is about $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and is fixed in a circular **seal** measuring $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears the figure of a seated **bull,** facing the proper left. Below the bull is a lotus, of which only three petals are now visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 85 tolas."

The writing on the plates is fairly well preserved and distinct, except where it has been wilfully tampered with by some person who erased and changed certain topographical and personal names which the inscription must have contained originally. The **alphabet** closely resembles that of the Alamaṇḍa plates of the year 304.[3] The language is very barbarous **Sanskrit** prose, with two equally faulty verses 'sung by **Vyāsa**', which are quoted in lines 24-27.

The inscription[4] records the grant of a village by the worshipper of the god **Gōkarṇa-svāmin** (l. 5) on the **Mahēndra mountain** (l. 2 f.) and the **ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas,**—the *Mahārāja* **Dēvēndravarman,** who was the son of the *Mahārāja* **Rājēndravarman** (ll. 12-14). He addressed this edict from his residence of **Kaliṅganagara** (l. 2) to the ryots inhabiting a village whose name has been later on erased and replaced by the word *Ne[y]ino* in Nāgarī characters (l. 14). The name of the district in which this village was included has also been tampered with, but may have been originally **[Rū]pavarttanī.**[5] The name of the Brāhmaṇa donee seems to have been erased, but he was apparently a 'good poet' (*su-kavi*) and the son of a 'great doorkeeper' (*mahāpratīhāra*, l. 17). The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 20-23) has also been tampered with and cannot be restored in full.

---

[1] Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 134, note 1, and Vol. XIV, p. 363, *passim*.

[2] This name was spelled *Tuṅganṇā* in line 11.

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 18.

[4] See *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, p. 10, App. A, No. 2, and p. 97, para. 2.

[5] Cf. above, p. 309.

Line 28 f. contains the **date** of the inscription. If the compound [*śata*]-*mayē* is explained as a clerical error for *śata-trayē*, it may be translated by: **"In the year three-hundred and ten of the kingdom of growing victory of the Gaṅga race."** Dēvēndravarman, whose subjoined grant is dated in the year 310, might then have been a second son and successor of that Rājēndravarman whose first son, Anantavarman, issued the Alamaṇḍa -plates of the year 304.[1] The two names of the writer (l. 30) and of the goldsmith (*akshaśālin*) who engraved the edict (l. 31) remain doubtful and suspicious.

It will be seen that at present this whole document is of very small practical value. But I am publishing it with the hope that, in the light of future discoveries, it may still prove of some use in unravelling the tangled web of the Gāṅga genealogy and chronology.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 [3][Ōṁ] [|*] Svasy=Amara-pur-ânukāriṇa[ḥ*] sarva-rtu-sukha-ra]-[4]
2 maṇi(ṇ)yā i=vijayā(ya)vata[ḥ*] **Kaliṅganagara**-vāsakān=**Mahē-**
3 **ndrāchal**-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] sa-
4 kala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāṅka-chu(chū)-
5 ḍāmaṇēr=bhagavatō **Gōkarna(rṇa)-sv[ā]minaś**=charaṇa-kamala-
6 yugala-praṇāmād=vigata-Kaliṅkalaṅkō=[5]nō(nē)k-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 hava-sa[ṁ*]kshōbha-janita-jaya-śavdā(bdaḥ) pratāp-āvanata-sama-
8 sta-sāmanta-chakra-chu(chū)ḍāmaṇi-prabhā-mañjari(rī)-puñja-rañja(ñji)ta-
9 vara-charaṇa[ḥ*] sita-kumuda-ku[ṁ*]d-ēndēdvāvadāta-[6]di-
10 [dgē]śa-[7]vinirggata-yashō(śō)-dhvast-ārāti-kulāchalō naya-
11 vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshanya[8]-śaury-audārya-satya-tyā-
12 g-ādi-guṇa-sa[ṁ*]pad-ādhāra-bhu(bhū)tō **Gaṅg-āmala-kula-ti-**

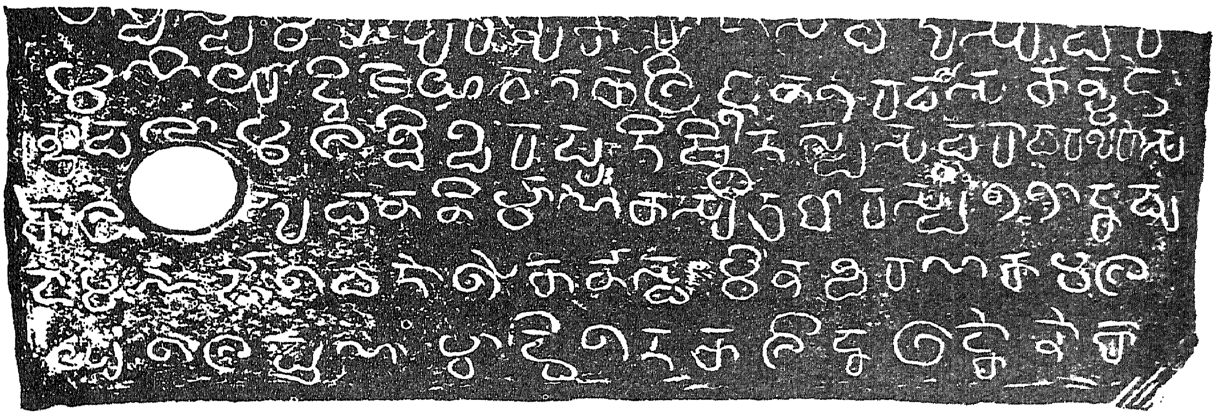
Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 **laka(kō)** mahārāja-śri(śrī)-**Rājēndrava[r]mma**-su(sū)nu[r]=mahārāja-
14 śri(śrī)-**Dēvēndrava[r]m[ā*]** kuśali(lī) . . **pavarttany[āṁ]**[9] **Ni[y]ino**-[10]grā-
15 ma-nivāsina[ḥ*] kuṭu[miṁna][ḥ*][11] samājñāpayati [||*] Vidi-
16 tam=astu vō [bhavatāṁ][12] grāma . . . .

[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 18. [See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, p. 97, para. 2, and the genealogical table on p 98.—Ed.]
[2] From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.
[3] Expressed by a symbol. For *svasy=* read *svasty=*.
[4] The tops of the letters of this line are cut away.
[5] Read *-Kali-kalaṅkō=*.
[6] Read *-ēndv-avadāta-*.
[7] Read *-dig-dēśa-* and cf. above, Vol. III, p. 223, text line 7.
[8] Read *-dākshiṇya-*.
[9] One or two letters at the beginning of this word have been erased and corrected. The original reading may have been *Rūpa°*.
[10] The name *Ni[y]ino* has been substituted by a second hand. The vowel of the first and second syllables is a Nāgarī *i*, while this vowel is in every other instance expressed by a curve above the consonant.
[11] Read *kuṭumbinaḥ*.
[12] The bracketed word is engraved on an erasure.

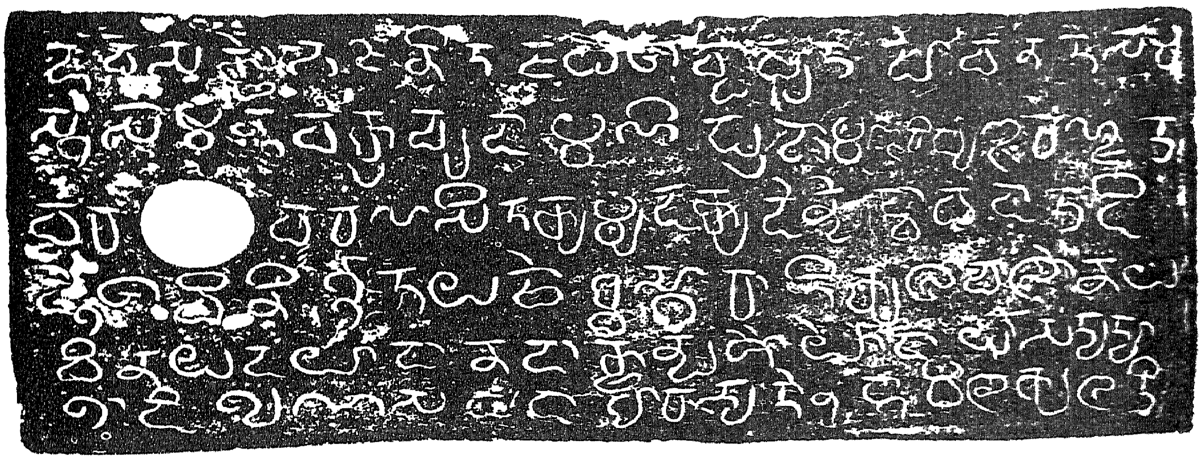
i

2, 4, 6



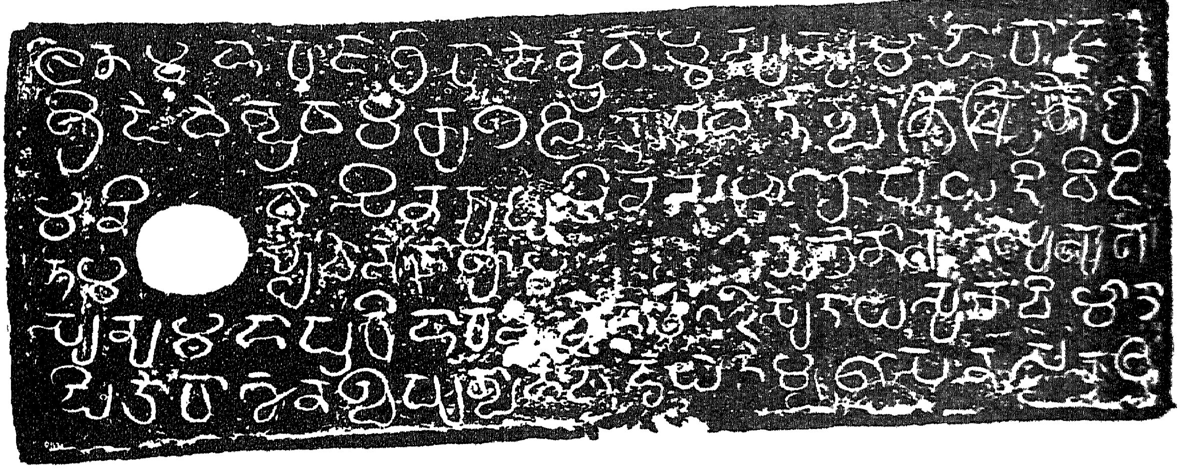
iia.

8, 10, 12



iib.

14, 16, 18



SCALE FOUR-FIFTHS.

iiia.

20 22 24



iiib.

26 28 30



SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



(ENLARGED, NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE.)

17 su(sū)nu-mahāpratīhāra[1] . . [śarmaṇa][ḥ*] sutāya su-kavi[2] mātā-

18 pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny(ṇy)-ābhivṛiddhayē t[ā]mv[ra]-śāsana[3] sakala-

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 kara-bharai(ra)-parityāgēna chandr-āditya-paryanta[ṁ*] prada-

20 tō(ttō) mayā [||*] Atra si(sī)mā-liṅg[ā*]ni likhyantē [||*] Grāmasya pūrvva-di-

21 śā(śi) vyāghra[ḥ*][4] tatō [gartā[5] nyag-gatā ?] dakshiṇēna vāpyā [va]na-rāji[ḥ*] ga[rtā]

22 tatō dakshiṇa-paśchima-[kō] . . . . [ga]rtā tatō(ta) uta(tta)rē-

23 ṇa tintalikā-[6]vṛi[ksha][ḥ*] [va]na-[rāji]kā [||*] Atra **Vyāsa-**

24 gi(gī)tā[ḥ]* [ślō]kā bhavanti [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datā(ttā) r[ā*]jabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ā-

25 di[bh]i[ḥ* |] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-tasya tath[ā](dā) phala[m || 1*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

26 Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dātām=vā[7] yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[m |*] sa vi-

27 shṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pachyatē pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha [|| 2*]

28 **Gaṅga-va[ṅśa]-[8][pra]varddham[ā*]na-vijaya-rāja(jya)-**

29 **saṁvatsarā-[9][śata]-mayē[10] daś-ōttarē** [|*] Li[khi*]tam=i-

30 daṁ śāsana[ṁ*] ra..[s]in[āṁ][11] śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Sarvva[chandrē]na(ṇa) (?) [|*]

31 Utki(tkī)rṇa[ṁ*] ch=ākshaś[ā]l[i]n[ā] śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Khaṇḍi[malēpā][12] [||*]

No. 33.—PENUKAPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA II.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D. ; Halle (Saale).

Ink-impressions of the plates which bear the subjoined inscription[13] were kindly sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Mr. K. Nagesvara Rao, editor of the *Andhra-Patrikā*, **Madras**. These are " **three copper-plates**, each measuring 2½″ by 7⅛″, and strung on a **ring** of the same metal. The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner face. The ring is 2½″ in diameter and is fixed in a circular **seal** measuring 1¼″ in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Sarvvasiddhi*[14] in Chalukya characters. Above this legend are the figures of a crescent and two stars, and below it a full-blown lotus-flower. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 45 tolas."

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of good preservation. But some lines near the edges of the plates are damaged by corrosion, especially the two bottom lines of plate

---

1 The syllable *tī* looks like *dhī*.

2 Read perhaps *su-kavayē*.

3 Read *tāmra-śāsanēna*.

4 This might be the name of some tree.

5 Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 134, and note 2.

6 Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 20, note 6.

7 Read *-dattāṁ vā*.

8 Read *-vaṁśa-*.

9 Read *-saṁvatsara-*.

10 Read perhaps *-śata-trayē*, as suggested in my introductory remarks, and cf. *-śata-dvayē*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 27.

11 Read *rahasyēna* and cf. above, Vol. III, p. 21, note 1.

12 Read perhaps °*mallēna*. *Khaṇḍi-śrī-sāmanta* occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 26 f.

13 See *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, App. A. No. 4 and p. 98, para. 3.

14 Accordingly, *Sarvasiddhi* must have been a surname of the donor, Jayasiṁha II, just as it is known to have been one of Jayasiṁha I; see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55, notes 3 and 4.

ii, *a*, where some letters near the end have become illegible. The **alphabet** resembles that of the Chendalūr plates of (the granter's father) Sarvalōkāśraya (Maṅgiyuvarāja).[1] A final form of *m* occurs in lines 19, 21, 23, 28 and 30. In *Chaḷikya* (l. 4) and *yugaḷa* (l. 7), *l* is replaced by *ḷ*, which letter is also employed in the Telugu genitive *Bōḷa* (ll. 16, 19). The Telugu letter *ṛ* is used in lines 9, 12 and 14. The **language** is Sanskrit prose, with four verses quoted on plate iii, *a*. The Telugu word *pōvu*, 'going,' occurs in the description of the boundaries of the grant (l. 17).

The inscription on the plates records a gift of land by the *Mahārāja* **Sakalalōkāśraya Jayasiṁha-Vallabha** (l. 8 f.), who was the son of the *Mahārāja* **Sarvalōkāśraya** (l. 5 f.) and the grandson of the *Mahārāja* **Vishṇuvardhana** 'who adorned the family of the **Chaḷikyas**' (l. 4 f.). The Jayasiṁha of this grant must be identical with the Eastern Chalukya king **Jayasiṁha II**, who is known to have been the eldest son and the successor of Sarvalōkāśraya (Maṅgiyuvarāja) and the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana (II); and the subjoined grant is the **first** of Jayasiṁha II which has hitherto come to light.

In line 9 the king "commands all as follows: Be it known to you (that) by us ——." This passage was probably copied from old office records and is left incomplete. It is repeated with modifications and completed in lines 12-17, where the king "commands as follows all ryots inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of **Karma-rāshṭra**: (Be it known to you that)[2] **on the full-moon (tithi) of Jyaishṭha, at the time of Saṁkrānti**, at the occasion of gifts of land (*bhūmi-dāna*), at the request of **Gobbaḍi**, in the village named **Peṇukapaṛu** in **Karma-rāshṭra**,[3]—a field (*kshētra*) in the north-eastern direction of this village has been given (by us).[4] The limit of this field to the east (is) the *Niḍugaṭṭa-taṭāka* (tank); the limit to the south (is) the end of the *Pūsa-Bōḷa-kshētra*;[5] the limit to the west (is) the road going to ....; the limit to the north (is) the limit of **Mashakha**."[6] After a short *lacuna* at the end of line 17 the description of the boundaries is continued; but it is difficult to say whether it refers to the same field as before, or to another. This description ends with the words (l. 20 f.): 'To the east of the *Tāla-taṭāka*, in the southern half, a rice-field measuring four (*nivartanas* ?) and ending in the east;[7] on the north-eastern side of the village (the field lies) between hills (?).' The fact that the king granted the field is then stated once more in the first person singular, 'I gave away' (*prādām*, l. 23). The inscription ends with the usual threats and imprecations in prose (ll. 23-26) and in four verses (ll. 26-31). Between the third and fourth verses (l. 30) we are informed that the executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant was **Niravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Pṛithivīgāmuṇḍin.** This officer was evidently named after his sovereign's surname, Sakalalōkāśraya (l. 8). The last portion of his title, *gāmuṇḍin*, is probably connected with *gāmuṇḍa*, a *tadbhava* of *grāmakūṭa*; cf. above, Vol. VII, p. 183. His actual name may have been Gobbaḍi (l. 14).

The description of the donee, **Eṛa-Drōṇaśarman** (l. 12), is sandwiched between the two versions of the passage which records the king's order (l. 9 and l. 12 ff.). He was a Brāhmaṇa of **Vaṅgipaṛu** (l. 9) and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, Taittirīya (*charaṇa*) and Āpastamba-*sūtra* (l. 10). His father and grandfather were Dēvaśarman (l. 11) and Guñjadēvaśarman (l. 10 respectively).

---

[1] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

[2] These words are supplied from line 9.

[3] In line 12 this name is represented by the words 'in your district' (*bhavad-vishayē*), which, where they actually stand, are out of their proper place.

[4] The words 'by us' are supplied from line 9.

[5] *i.e.*, probably, 'the field (belonging to) Pūsa-Bōḷu.' For *Bōḷu* see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 2, and cf. *J[e]ḍḍa-Bōḷa-kshētra* in line 19 of this inscription.

[6] This seems to be the name of a village.

[7] The expression *prāg-apavargam* occurs also in the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*, II, 2, 3, 22.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

18 ṭākaḥ tasy=ōttar-āparasyān=diśi [|*] tasya pūrvvatō=vadhiḥ kūpaḥ [|*] dakshiṇatō=vadhiḥ [taṭāka]ḥ [|*] paśchimata

19 uttarataś=cha J[e]ḍḍa-Bōḷa-kshētr-āntō=vadhiḥ [|*] Asya kshētrasya kūpa-dvayam [|*] Taṭāka ē-

20 kaḥ kūpaḥ [|*] Tāla-taṭākasya pūrvvataḥ dakshiṇ-ārddhē vrīhi-kshētraṁ chatushṭaya parimā-

21 ṇaṁ prāg-apavarggaṁ cha [|*] Grāmasy=ōttara-pūrvva-dēśē girāvakāśam[1] [||*] Ētaśchatur[2]-avadhi-

22 paryyantaṁ kshētrān=[3]dharmma-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētam=udaka-[4]pū-

23 rvvakaṁ brahmadēyīkṛitya prādām [||*] Asya sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētasya kshētrasya yō

24 bādhāṁ karōti saḥ[5] **Vāraṇāśyāṁ** sahasra-brahmahaty[ā*]-pātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [||*]

25 Yō=smach-chhāsanam=atikr[ā]mēt=sa pāpaḥ śāri(rī)ran=daṇḍam=arhati sō-pi pa[ṁ]cha-mahā-

Third Plate.

26 pātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [||*] Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ [||*] Bh[ū]m[i]-dānāt=param=dānan=na bh[ū]tan=na bha-

27 vishyati [|*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpē(pa)n=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [|| 1*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāṁ vā

28 yō rē[6] harēta vasundharām [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 2*]

29 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya-yasya yadā

30 bhūmis=tasya-tasya tadā phalam [|| 3*] Ājñaptir=**Nniravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Pṛithivī-gāmuṇḍī** [||*]

31 Vindhy-āṭavi(vī)shv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsina[ḥ |*] kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē brahmadēy-āpahārakāḥ [|| 4*]

No. 34.—THE KODAVALI ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF CHANDASATI ; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

Going in a north-westerly direction from **Piṭhāpuram**, a station on the East Coast Railway, for a distance of about 9 miles along the Sāmalkōṭa-Kattipūḍi road, the village of **Koḍavali** is sighted. It is situated not very far from the right side of the road. Proceeding thence for nearly two miles again in a north-westerly direction one reaches the foot of a range of hills

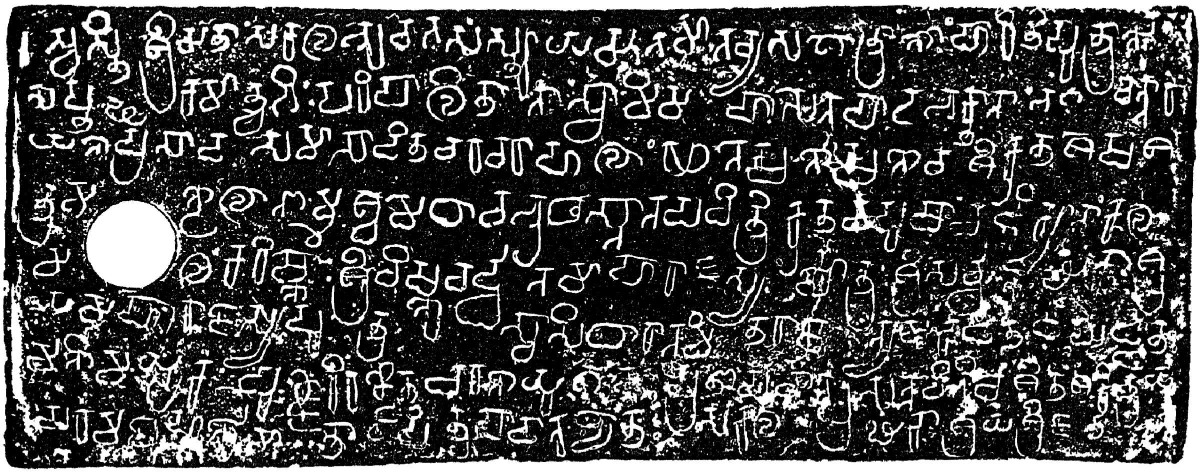
---

[1] Read perhaps *giry-avakāśam*. [2] Read *Ētach-chatur-*. [3] Read *kshētran=*.

[4] The writer had originally written *=ukadaka*; but he has himself cancelled the first *ka* by adding a horizontal line at the top of it.

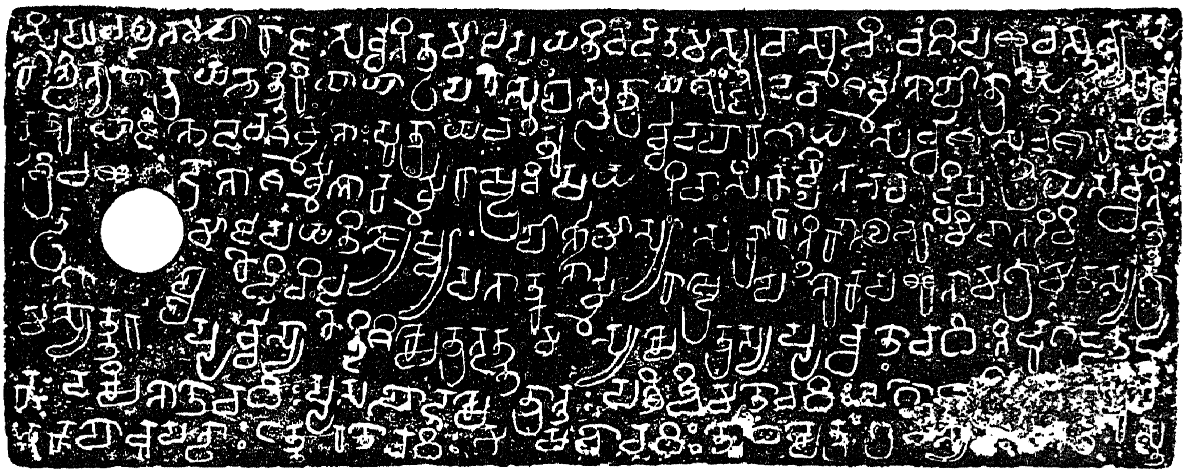
[5] Read *sa*. [6] Cancel this syllable.

i.



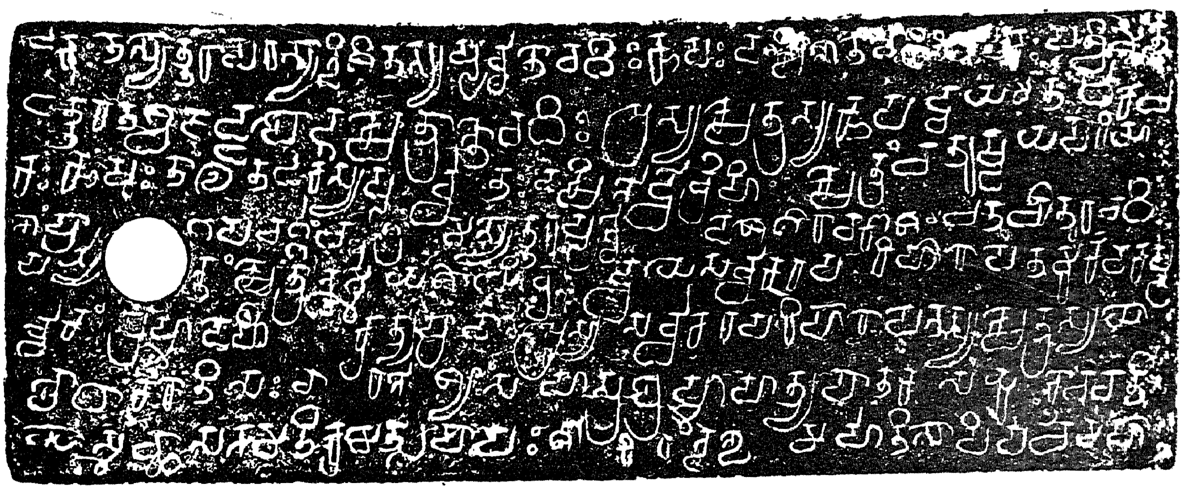
2 4 6 8

iia.



10 12 14 16

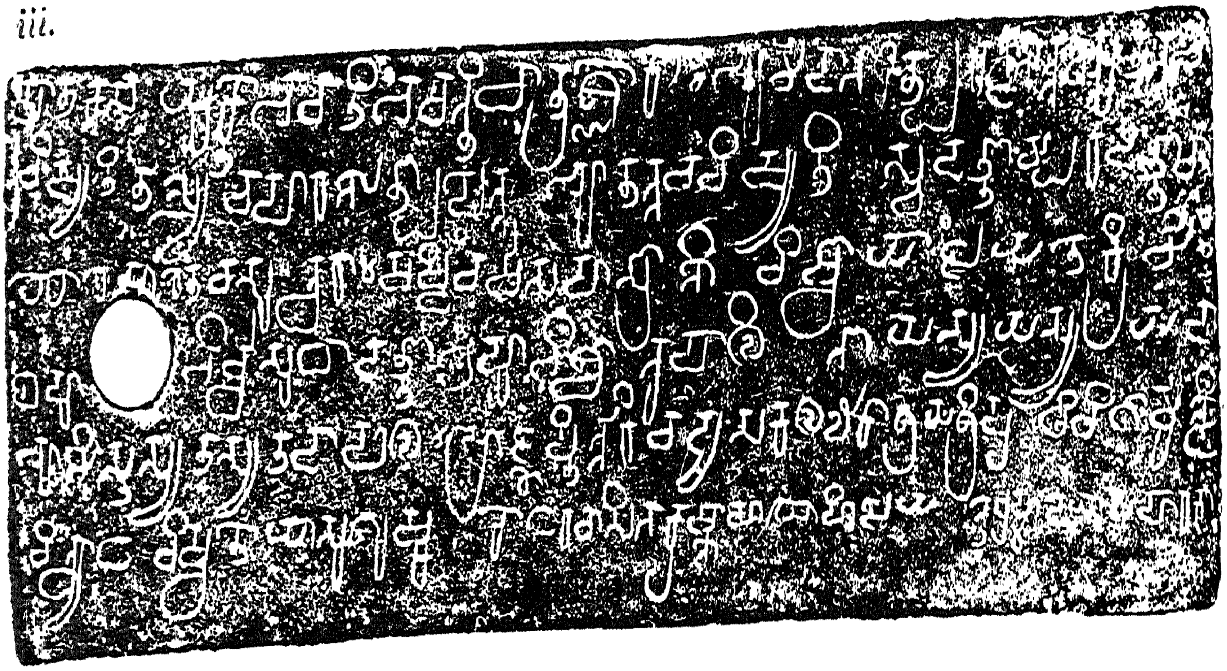
iib.



18 20 22 24

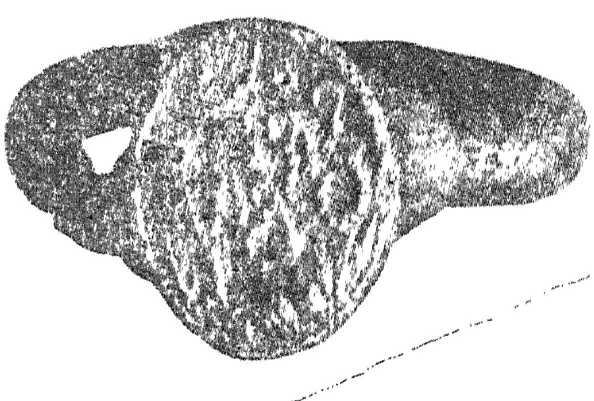
iii.

26 28 30



26 28 30

SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



ACTUAL SIZE.

covered with thin forest vegetation. From here the place called "**Ḍhanam-ḍibbā**"[1]—'the treasure-mound'— is reached by a gravelly foot-path running along the slope of the hill, which appears to have been once provided with steps of rubble stone. Struggling two or three furlongs along this unwelcome path we come to the crown of the hillock and to the mound 'Dhanam-ḍibbā' on it. Here are found the remains of what looks like a **Buddhist** *stūpa* consisting mostly of large-sized bricks and sometimes unhewn stone.[2] On the southern side of the mound are seen also portions of a structure built of cut and dressed stone. The four **rock cut wells** on the south and west sides of the mound, 4 to 5 feet square and 6 to 7 feet deep, are of peculiar interest and seem to have been used once for storing water for the use of the occupants of the Buddhist monastery, as the mound may prove to be when excavations are properly carried out.

On the north wall of one of the wells on the western side of the mound measuring 5′ 8½ long by 5′ 5¼″ broad and 7′ 2″ deep, is engraved in 6 lines the **Āndhra** inscription, edited below, in **Brāhmī** characters of about the 3rd century A.D. This inscription which was published in 1908 by Dr. Konow in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXII, p. 591 f. has been noticed as No. 1341 by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in Vol. X, above. As remarked by Dr. Sten Konow in the Director-General of Archæology's *Annual Survey Report* for 1907-08, p. 225, this is the only lithic record hitherto discovered of the **Āndhra** king **Chaḍasāta**, who is already known to us from a number of coins found in the Kistna and the Godavari districts. My friend Mr. C. R. Krishnama Acharlu, B.A., of the Madras Epigraphical Department has also spent some hours with me in reading the inscription directly from the stone; and the text given below is the joint production of both of us. The accompanying facsimile plate is reproduced from an inked estampage prepared under my direct supervision. The inscription thus deciphered will be seen to differ much from the published text of Dr. Sten Konow. The object of the record, for instance, was not the establishment of the earth-dwelling (*bhumi vesa*) of an unnamed minister (*amacha*), but was the establishment of the gift (*dhama*) of a *khaṁgu* (rock-cut well ?) by the minister **Sasa** of **Khaḍḍavali**—the ancient form of the present village name Koḍavali.[3]

The name of the king occurs in l. 3 as **Chaṁḍasāti**, the lingual *ḍ* being possibly also read as a dental *d*. But it is to be noted that the long vertical stem which is required to distinguish a dental *d* (cf. *di* in l. 4) is missing here; again *ḍa* may be compared with *Khaḍḍa* in l. 4. The form *Chadasātisa*[4] occurs clearly on one of the coins published by Rapson. So also on the Koḍavali rock the *i* of *ti* is faintly seen and is practically certain. Possibly *sāti* is a Prākrit form of *Svāti* and *Chaṁḍasāti* has accordingly to be interpreted as *Chaṇḍasvāti*. In the table of later Āndhra kings given opposite p. 218 of his *Early History of India* (third edition) by V. A. Smith, the name-ending *sāti* occurs only in the case of No. 22 Śiva-svāti. But the *Matsya-Purāṇa* gives many other names ending in *svāti* or *svātikarṇa*, such as Mēghasvāti, Kuntalasvāti, Sundarasvātikarṇa, etc.[5] It may be incidentally noted also that the name-ending *svātikarṇa* is more

[1] Compare Dhana Bāḍu near Jaggayyapēṭa; Burgess's "*Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*," p. 107.

[2] Mr. Rea who discovered it for the first time has referred to it in his report for 1907-08, p. 8. He says that at the foot of the hills are the remains of a fort which, however, I was not able to identify.

[3] If, however, the reading भुमिवेस(भूमिवेश्म) of the learned Doctor is accepted, I would observe a striking coincidence in the term भुमिगृह which occurs twice in the Sundarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (T. R. K.'s Edition, Chapters XII. 14 and XV, 4) where, in both instances, the commentator Gōvindarāja explains the term as underground cellars of Rāvaṇa's Palace and Pleasure-garden भूमीबिलगृहाः. The context also shows that these were primarily meant for hiding objects from the view of the enemy. The same may have been he case with these so-called Rock-cut Wells of the Piṭhāpuram forest which surely must have formed part of the Daṇḍaka-forest and as such must have been once haunted by wicked Rākshasas.

[4] On a second coin figured as G. P. I. in Pl. VI of the Coins of the Āndhra dynasty by Rapson, the reading is *Chaṁdasāt[a]sa* with an *anusvāra* marked to the left of *cha* as in the Koḍavali rock inscription.

[5] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 164.

likely to have been the origin of the later Sâtakarṇi than the fanciful *śata-karṇa* 'the hundred-eared.'[1] But Dr. Konow neither accepts *sāta* as an abbreviation of *Śātakarṇi* nor does he read *sāti* (=*svāti*). He prefers to have the name Chaḍasāta (=Chaṁḍasāta) without explaining the name-ending *sāta*.

The date of the record in ll. 3 and 4 has been read by Dr. Sten Konow as " *savachare 10 3(?) he pa 3 diva dasame* " whereas my reading is " *raji vachhare 2*[2] *ma 1 he pa 2 di 1*." The reading *ma 1* after the regnal year is difficult to explain. If this were preceded by *he*, instead of being followed by it, it would have yielded the meaning *hēmantamāsa* 1, as we find in a very large number of similar dates coming from Northern India ; but, *he* is required before *pa* ; for otherwise the latter could not be explained. Besides, the dated Southern Brāhmī inscriptions as catalogued by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* give only the *paksha* of the season and in no case the month (*māsa*) as the northern dates do. I can only suggest that in this record both the *month* and the *paksha* are given and the word *he* which is an abbreviation for the season *hēmanta* is placed after *ma 1* while it should have preceded it, and thus arrive at the probable interpretation of the date as " the first day of the second fortnight of the first month of the winter-season." If this interpretation is right, the details of the date would correspond to *Mārgaśīrsha bahuḷa prathamā*, somewhere in **December 210 A.D., the second year of Chaṁḍa-svāti.**

TEXT.[3]

1 Sidhaṁ[4] [|*] Rañ[ō] **Vāsiṭhī-**
2 **putasa** [5]**sami-siri-**
3 **Chaṁḍasāt[i][sa]** [ra]ji-vachhare 2
4 **ma 1 he pa 2 d[i] 1 Khaḍḍa[va]li-**
5 amacha-**Sa[sa]mi** khagu-dhama
6 ṭhāpita [||*]

Notes on letters.

L. 1. *si* — The letter *sa* throughout is written with a loop at the left bottom corner whence it is started. This loop, in certain cases, is almost closed, whereas in certain others it is half open. The *si* which begins the inscription is one of the former type, though it is a little deformed looking as though the loop were written twice.

dhaṁ — The position of the *anusvāra* attached to *dha* is worthy of notice. It is on the left side of the letter and not on its right top corner.

ñō — The *ō* mark is very faint.

ṭhī — The long *ī* is indicated by two horns as in Kshatrapa inscriptions (Bühler's *Tables* III, 9).

L. 2. *ta* — The development of a loop in this letter is to be noted as in the Nasik inscription No. 20. (See Bühler's *Tables* III, 13). Possibly, there was a secondary *ta* below the letter thus making the word *puttasa*.

---

[1] The word *Nūṟṟuvar-Kaṇṇar* which occurs in the Tamiḻ poem *Śilappadikāram*, has been translated by some, as, 'the hundred-eared' and taken to be the equivalent of Śatakarṇi (or Sâtakarṇi).

[2] The three thick horizontal marks one above the other each denoting the numeral 'one' are visible. But as the third topmost mark is above the level of the line and not vertically above the other two, I am inclined to read the symbol as '2' and not '3'.

[3] Direct from the stone.

[4] Spaces are left in the original after the complete words :—*Sidham*, *rañō*, etc., as shown in the text. After *Sami-siri-Chaṁḍasātisa* in l. 3 and after *Sasami* in l. 5, where we should have expected a space, it is wanting. The same system of separating words by spaces is found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla, the Myākadoni inscription of Puḷumāvi (above Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 155) and the Hīrahaḍagalli inscription of Śiva-Skanda-varman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 6.

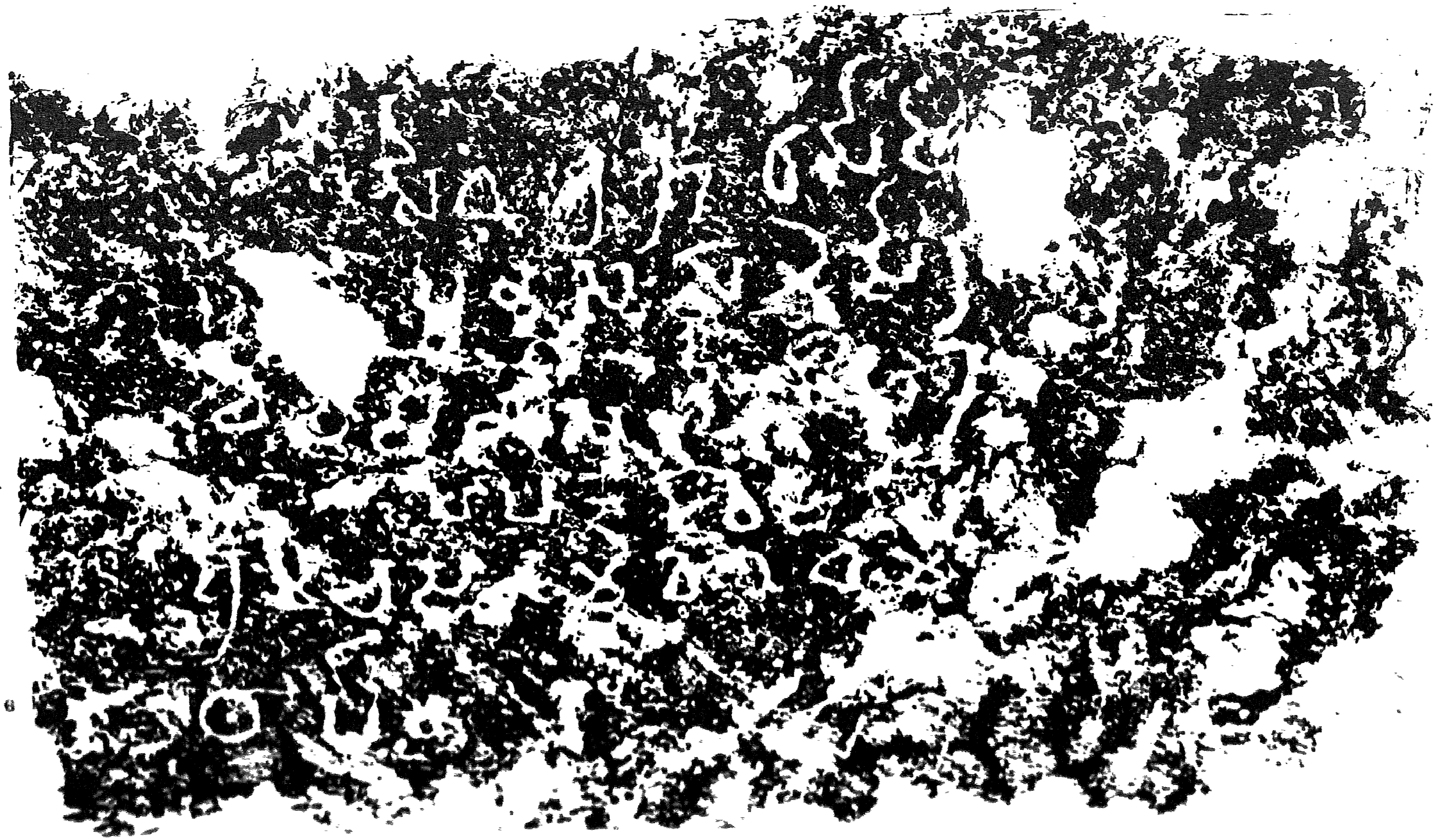
[5] [The plate gives *sā*.—Ed.]

KODAVALI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDASATI ; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN.

2

4

6



H. Krishna Sastri

SCALE ·2

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

L. 3. *Chaṁ*—The *anusvāra* is clearly marked on the left top of the letter as in *dhaṁ* in l. 1.

After Chaṁḍasātisa, Dr. Sten Konow read *savachhare.* But to me it appears as if there is space enough for two letters between the *sa* of *Chaṁḍasātisa* and *vachhare.* Perhaps some word like *raji* has to be read. There are no doubt traces of a *sa* to justify the reading *savachhare.*

L. 4. The first letter is *ma* and not the symbol (∝) for 10 as interpreted by Dr. Sten Konow ; nor is the following symbol, 3.

The *i* mark of *di* runs into the bottom of *ra* of *raji* in line 3 above, thus making the latter look somewhat deformed and crooked unlike the other *ra*-letters in the inscription.

The letter between *ḍḍa* and *li* is completely damaged and no traces are seen. It could have been a *ma* or a *va.* As, however, the present village name *Koḍavali* to which there is a sure reference here is spelt with a *v*, I would prefer taking the damaged letter as *va* and not a *ma.*

L. 5. The letter after *kha* (which Dr. Sten Konow read as *ve*) is like a *śu* ; but, since what looks like the stroke within does not go right across to meet the opposite side, I read it as *gu.* The meaning in either case is not clear.

TRANSLATION.

Success ; In the reign of king **Vāsiṭhīputa** [1]**Sami-siri-Chaṁḍa-sāti, in the year 2, month 1, the winter fortnight 2 (and) day 1,** was established the charity (*i.e.,* the gift) of a *khaṁgu*(?) by the minister **Sasa** (Śaśa) of **Khaḍḍavali.**

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. Sten Konow to whom I had submitted the galley proof of this paper for remarks has thus kindly written to Mr. Hirananda Sastri :—

* * * *

L. 3. I agree with him that *-sātisa* is possible, but I can not read any such thing as *raji.* The apparent dots to the right of *-re* are found in a part of the stone which is left open in the other lines, and I cannot read them as = or ≡ . They seem to me to be of the same kind as the other smaller or greater marks found in this part of the stone.

L. 4. I am quite unable to see a *ma* in the first *akshara,* and I still think that it must be 10. But I accept his reading of the following sign as —. At all events, it is very probable. Mr. Krishna Sastri has himself pointed to the great difficulty resulting from his reading. So far as I know, there is no instance of the mentioning of the month, when the date is given in seasonal *pakshas,* and it would be absolutely unwarranted. It may also be doubted that the year began in the south with *hēmanta.* The reading of the figure after *pa* as = seems probable, to judge from the plate. After *di* there is hardly room for —, but I admit the possibility of the reading. I have grave doubts about *Khaḍḍavali,* but the coincidence of the modern name is in its favour. The double *ḍḍ* is suspicious.

L. 5. I cannot understand how *amachasasami* can mean *by* the minister Sasa. And it seems to me that the first word ends with *amachasa.* It is possible that the preceding *aksharas* contain the minister's name. The ensuing *akshara* looks to me more like *bhū* than *sa.* With regard to *Khagu* I have little to say. *Kha* is not certain. In favour of *ga* or *gu* speaks the use of *s* for *ś* in *śiri.* But the letter looks more like *śa* or *śu.*

The remarks which I have been able to offer are, you will see, rather negative. But I cannot just now give more time to the question, being too much occupied with other work.

* * * * * *

[1] [See f. n. 5 on the opposite page—Ed.]

No. 35.—BETMA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.; RAJKOT.

Though the name of the Paramāra king Bhōja of Dhārā is well known to scholars, epigraphical records of his reign are rather rare. So far only two grants of this king have been discovered: one of V. S. 1078 in Ujjain[1] and the other of V. S. 1076 (Māgha, śu. di. 5) in Bānswārā[2]. The copper-plate grant dealt with here is thus the third known record[3] of his reign

The plates were discovered, about two years ago, by a peasant while ploughing his field near a village called **Beṭmā**, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India. They subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Manekchand Jati of Indore, who takes interest in antiquities. When I had been to Indore sometime ago I found them with him. Through the kindness of the late Rao Bahadur Dr. Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar, Home Member, Holkar State, and of Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent, Historical Department, Dhār, I have been able to edit the inscription here for the first time.

The plates, which are two in number, are held together by two thick copper rings in the usual way. They measure 13 inches in length and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth and are in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border a flying figure of **Garuḍa** as is usually seen in the Paramāra grants. The **sign manual** of the king is affixed at the end of either plate. It is to be noted that in none of the known grants of Bhōjadēva the name of the writer of the grant is given.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālwā, as known to us from the other records of the period, *e.g.* the Bānswārā plates of the same king. The consonant ब is expressed by व throughout. In fact, there is nothing to distinguish between the letters व, ब and ध. श is wrongly replaced by स in सिरसा (l. 1), कौसिक (l. 14), यसस्कराणि (l. 21) and in परयस: (l. 23). Similarly स is wrongly replaced by श in शाशनेनो° (l. 16) and in शकला° (l. 25). A consonant following *r* is generally doubled, *e.g.* in सर्ग्गाय (l. 1), समभ्यर्च्च्य (l. 7), धर्म्म: (l. 9), विनिर्ग्गत (l. 12), वहुभिर्व्वसुधा (l. 19), etc. र at the end of a conjunct consonant is generally expressed in this inscription by the full letter added below the first consonant (*e.g. tra* ll. 8, 14 and 15, *dra* l. 5, *bhra* ll. 8, 9, *gra* l. 9, etc.), and not by a stroke turned to the left as we generally find. The letter *kṛi* in the two cases where it occurs (ll. 1 and 16) is written imperfectly, the left portion of the letter *ka* being omitted. The document is drawn up in **Sanskrit** prose mixed with verses.

Except for the following four points, our grant is practically identical with the Bānswārā grant of the same king issued in the same year :—

(1) Though the year in both the grants is the same, the months are different. The Beṭmā grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, while the Bānswārā grant is dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. It is to be seen, however, which is the earlier of the two grants. If we consider the year as beginning with the month Chaitra, the Beṭmā grant may be the earlier one. If, however, the year

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, No. 18, p. 181.

[3] Mr. K. N. Dikshit informs me that another record of the reign of Bhōja dated Saṁvat 1091 (1034-5 A.D.) has been traced on an image of Sarasvatī which has found its way to the British Museum. I also find that the Tilakwāḍā plates of V. S. 1103 published by the late Mr. Kuḍālkar in the *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, most probably belong to the reign of this Bhōja. One more copper-plate grant of Bhōjadēva has recently been discovered at Kalyan in the Nāsik District. See *A. S. R.*, 1921-22, p. 118.

began with the month Kārttika, as is the present usage in Mālwā and Gujarāt, then it must be looked upon as the later of the two. We have reasons to hold that the latter supposition is correct for, as has been already pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,[1] in the grant of Bhōjadēva of V. S. 1078, the expression अष्टसप्तत्यधिकसाहस्रिकसम्वत्सरे माघासिततृतीयायाम् *i.e.* on the third day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1078, occurs in the middle of the grant and probably gives the date when the donation was made. At the end of the grant the date of its issue is given as the 14th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra of Saṁvat 1078. If Māgha of 1078 preceded Chaitra of 1078, the year must have commenced from some month previous to Māgha and ended subsequent to Chaitra. We can, therefore, assume that the Saṁvat year began then as now in the month of Kārttika. The Bānswārā grant which is dated in the month Māgha of V. S. 1076 (Jan. 1020 A.D.) is, therefore, earlier than the Beṭmā grant which is dated in the month Bhādrapada of the same year, *i.e.* 1076 (Sept. 1020 A.D.).

(2) The occasions when the two grants of Bānswārā and Beṭmā were made are different. In the former grant it is given as कोंकणविजयपर्व्वणि while in the latter it is given as कोंकणग्रहणविजयपर्व्वणि. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the Bānswārā grant[2], translated this historically important expression as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Koṁkaṇa.' But it is to be noted that the period intervening between these two grants, which record almost an identical expression, is only seven months and ten days. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same grant[3] I think gives a better translation of the expression as "on the festival day (*parvaṇi*) in consequence of the conquest of Koṁkaṇa." The expression in the Bānswārā grant means that 'Bhōja conquered Koṅkaṇa' and that in the Beṭmā grant means perhaps 'that he occupied it.' In the Balagāṁve inscription[4] of the time of the Chālukya Jayasiṁha, dated Śaka 941 (December 1019 A.D.), it is stated that Jayasiṁha had 'put to flight the confederacy of Māḷava'. From this we can conclude that in the contest for power between the Mālwā Paramāras and the Deccan Chālukyas that was going on for years together, in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., both the parties were successful by turns. Soon after his accession, Bhōja must have invaded the Deccan to avenge the execution of his uncle Vākpati-Muñja by the Chālukya king Tailapa, and he probably succeeded in defeating and killing Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V.[5] When Jayasiṁha came to the throne in 1015 A.D. he must have retaliated by inflicting a crushing defeat on Bhōja and his confederacy sometime before December 1019 A.D. Bhōja apparently did not take long to recover. He invaded the territory of Jayasiṁha and conquered Koṅkaṇa, in January 1020 A.D., which was finally annexed to his empire sometime before September 1020 A.D. From the Miraj plates [6] it seems that Bhōja could not retain his possession for long as Jayasiṁha reconquered Koṅkaṇa before the year 1024 A.D. (Śaka 946) and took into his possession 'the wealth of the Lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas'.

(3) The grantee in the present inscription is a Brāhmaṇa named **Paṇḍita Dēlha**, son of Bhaṭṭa Ṭhaṭṭhasika of the Kauśika-*gōtra* with the three *pravaras* Aghamarshaṇa, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. He hailed from **Sthāṇvīśvara**, but his ancestors had come from the village **Viśālagrāma**.

(4) The property granted to the Brāhmaṇa consisted of a village named **Nālataḍāga**, one of the seventeen villages in the **Nyāyapadra** subdivision.

---

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 181. [In the words *Kōṁkaṇ-ādhīśvarāṇāṁ sarvvasvaṁ gṛihītvā* occurring in the Miraj plates (see *supra*, Vol. XII, p. 313, l. 66) the root *grah* is used in the sense of taking possession.—Ed.]

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 117.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 314.

As regards the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it is to be said that Sthāṇvīśvara is no doubt the Thānesar of modern times situated in the Karnāl District of the Punjāb. The Nyāyapadra (subdivision) of the grant may be the town Nāpad in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore; and the gift village Nālataḍāga is probably represented by the modern Nār (Nāl) in the same district. Satrāṭi approaches very easily to our Saptadaśaka meaning a group of seventeen villages which expression may have been afterwards wrongly construed to denote a village. The only difficulty in this identification is that this place is at a long distance from Beṭmā where the grant was discovered.

The remaining places I am unable to identify at present.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [।।*] ज[य]ति व्योमकेशोसौ[3] यः सर्गाय [4]विभर्ति तां । ऐंदवीं सिरसा[5] लेखां [6]जगद्वीजांकुराकृतिम् ।।[१*] तन्वन्तु वः

2 स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [।*] कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ।।[२*] परमभट्टारकमहा-

3 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

4 श्रीवा[क्प]⁷तिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपा-

5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ।। न्याय-पद्रसप्त-

6 दशकान्तःपातिनालतडागे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्ब्रा[8]ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासि-पट्टकिलजनपदादीं-

7 श्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितम् ।। यथास्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य

8 संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।।

9 प्राणास्तृ[9]णाग्रजलविंदुसमा नराणां (।) धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ।।[३*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्र-

10 धाराधारामिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलम् ।।[४*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं

---

[1] From the original plates. [2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] If we compare this grant with the other of the same year and with the third of V. S. 1078 we shall find that the *prishṭhamātrās* are used anywhere the writer liked.

[4] Read बिभर्त्ति.

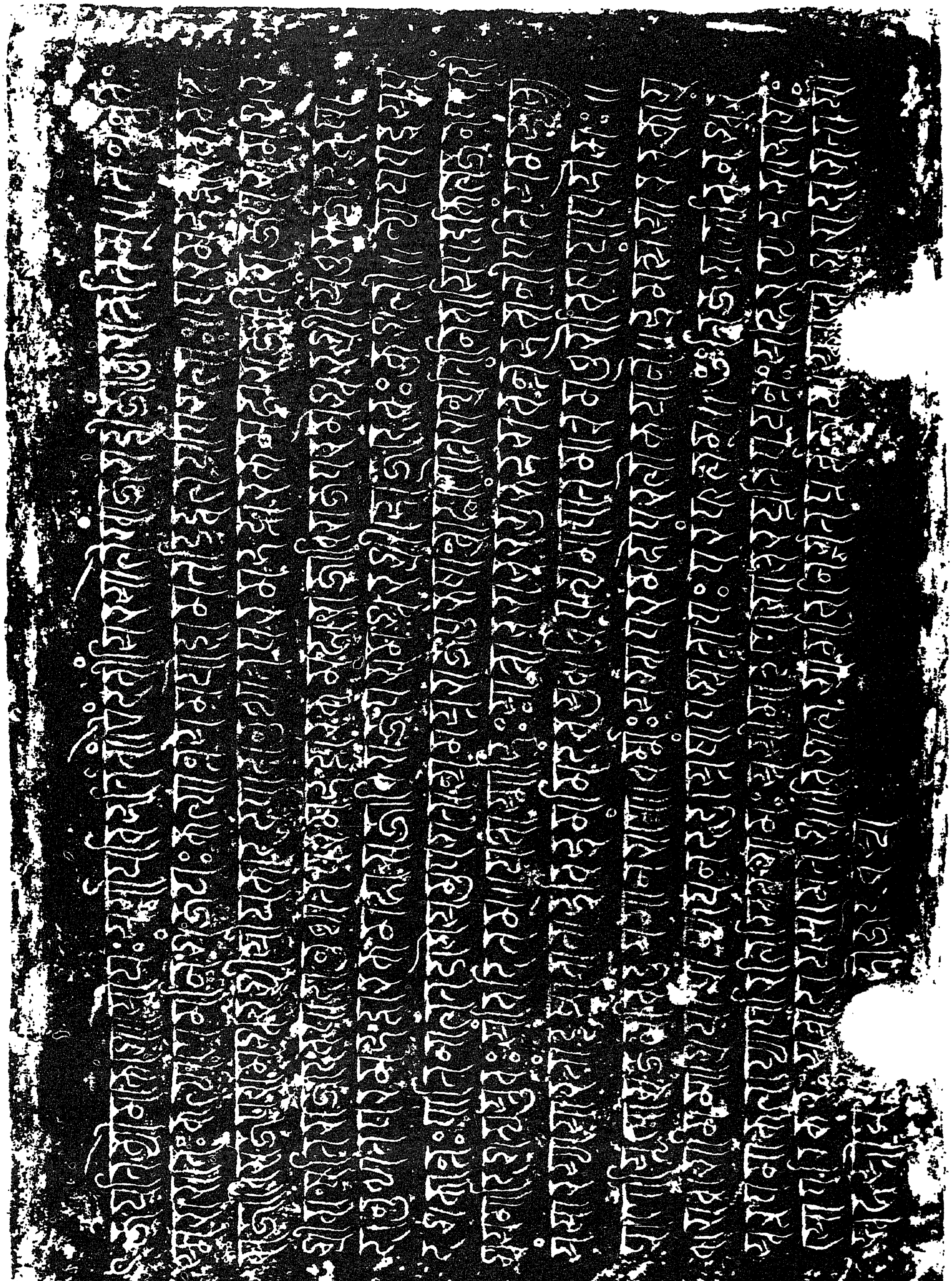
[5] Read शिरसा.

[6] Read जगद्वीजांकुरा°.

[7] The left hand portion of the letter *ka* is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. *Cf.* similar forms in ll. 2 and 7 of the Bānswārā grant.

[8] Read ब्राह्मणो°. [9] Read °स्तृणाग्र...... बिंदु°.

I



2 4 6 8 10 12

II



11 स्वरू[1]पमाकलय्योपरिलिखितग्राम: स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्य्यन्त: सहिरण्यभागभोग:

12 सोपरिकर: सर्व्वादायसमेतश्च [2]॥ विशालग्रामविनिर्ग्गतपूर्व्व[जा]य । स्थाण्वीश्व-
 रादागताय[3] ।

13 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [।*]

Second Plate.

14 [4]कौसिकसगोत्राय । अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रकौसिके[4]तित्रि:[5]प्रवराय । माध्यंदिनशा-
 खाय । भट्ट-

15 ठक्कसिकसुताय । पंडितदेल्हाय । कोंकणग्रहणविजयपर्व्वणि । मातापित्रो-
 रात्मनश्च पुण्यय-

16 शोभिवृद्धये । अदृष्टफलमं[गो]कृत्य चंद्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया
 भक्त्या [6]शाशनेनोदक-

17 पूर्व्वं प्रतिपादित इति ॥ तन्मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिक-
 माज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-

18 र्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेंतव्य[7] । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वुध्वा [8] अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै[9]-
 रपि भाविभो-

19 क्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मा[10]दायोयमनुमन्तव्य: पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च ॥ [11]वहुभिर्व्वसुधा
 भुक्ता राजभि:

20 सगरादिभिर्य(भि: । य)स्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[५*] यानीह
 दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि

21 धर्म्मार्थ्ययसस्क[12]राणि ।(।) निर्म्माल्यवान्ति[13]प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु:
 पुनराददीत ॥[६*] अस्मत्कु-

22 लक्रमसुदारमुदाहरद्भिरण्यैश्च[14] दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं ।[।] लक्ष्म्यास्तडिक्चालव-
 वुद्दचञ्च[15]-

---

1 The vowel mark *ū* is added to र below it as is done for instance in the case of कू.

2 It will be seen that these strokes as many others following this are unnecessarily engraved.

3 This line is continued on the second plate.

4 Read कौशि°.

5 Read °त्रिप्रवराय.

6 Read शासनेनो°.

7 Read समुपनेतव्य·.

8 Read वुद्ध्वा.

9 Read °रन्यैरपि.

10 Read धर्म्मदायो° [not necessary —Ed.].

11 Read वहुभि°.

12 Read यशस्कराणि.

13 Read °वान्त°. [वान्ति is also correct, see above, Vol. XI, p. 183, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 202.—Ed.]

14 Read °रन्यैश्च.

15 Read °सडित्सलिलवुद्वुदचञ्च°.

23 लाया: दानं फलं परयस:[1] परिपालनं च ।[।७*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविन: पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भू-

24 यो याचते रामभद्र: ।[।] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल-नीयो भवद्भि: ॥[८*]

25 इति कमलदलांवु[2]विंदुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । [3]शकलमिद-मुदाहृ-

26 तं च वुध्वा[4] न हि पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[:*] [॥ ९*] इति ॥ सम्वत् १०७६ भाद्रपद शु दि १५ स्वय-

27 माज्ञा ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्री: ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Ōṁ Victorious is this Vyōmakēśa (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang.

(L. 2) May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid, brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning of the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare!

(Ll. 3-6) The illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva**, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sīyakadēva**, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount,—issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmaṇas, the Paṭels, and (other) townsmen, and others, assembled at **Nālataḍāga**, included in the group of **Nyāyapadra Seventeen**, (thus) :—

(L. 7) Be it known to you that we, seeing the worthlessness of the wordly life,

(L. 8) (that) the sovereignty over the earth is as shifting as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of objects is pleasing only for a moment, the life of a man is like a drop of water (hanging) on the point of a blade of grass, and *Dharma* alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world,

(L. 9) (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of the wordly life have repentance as their only reward,

(Ll. 10—16) thus ascertaining the momentary nature of the wordly life and choosing to abide by the unknown rewards for meritorious deeds, we have, on the joyful occasion (of celebrating) the subjugation of **Koṅkaṇa**, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of our parents and of ourselves, the above-said village has been bestowed upon **Paṇḍita Delha**, son of Bhaṭṭa Ṭhaṭṭhasika of the Kauśika-*gōtra* with the three *pravaras*—(*viz*) Aghamarshaṇa, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyan dina-*śākhā*, who had come from **Sthāṇvīśvara**, (but) whose ancestors had migrated from **Viśālagrāma** with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income,

[1] Read परयश:°.

[2] Read °दलांबु°.

[3] Read सकल°.

[4] Read बुद्धा°.

with the sundry taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth endure.

(L. 17) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this (Brāhmaṇa) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him.

(L. 18) Similarly, considering that the merit of such a charitable deed is common (to all) the succeeding kings, whether of our family or of any other, should acquiesce in the charitable grant given by us and uphold it. For it is said—

[Ll. 19-25 contain four of the customary benedictory verses.]

(L. 26) In the year 1076 on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. (This is) our own order.

(L. 27) Good luck (and) great prosperity! The sign manual of Śrī—Bhōjadēva.

No. 36.—UNPUBLISHED VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHAITYA CAVE AT KARLE.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

In the beginning of November 1923, the Chowkidar of the caves at Kārle while washing pillars and figures in the Chaitya hall, came across some new inscriptions and brought them to the notice of the Assistant Engineer, Bombay Road Subdivision. That officer communicated the news of the discovery through the Executive Engineer, Poona District, to the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who secured good impressions of all of them. These inscriptions are twelve in number and generally in a very good state of preservation, though all of them are not equally well inscribed, as is the case with some of the Kārle inscriptions so ably handled by M. Senart.[1] About the letters it might be remarked that they are of the slightly cursive variety adopted in the Nāsik inscription, No. 20 (Bühler's *Tafel*, III, col. XIII), with the tailed *ka*, the hooked *da* and the crude *ma*. Though some of the technical terms used in these records are rather obscure and the places mentioned in them, *viz.* Gōṇēkāka, Umēhanākaṭa and Dhēnukākaṭa, have not been located with certainty, yet they are of special interest, for they help us in showing the extent of the outlying parts from which the caves attracted donating pilgrims.

My reading of these inscriptions is based on the impressions reproduced below. My inscription No. VII is identical with No. VII of Senart, but the other eleven are entirely different; and to these latter a fragment of another inscription found near the caves has also been added. Pillars in the right and left rows have been numbered with reference to their position toward the visitor.

No. I. Fifth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Umēhanākaṭā Yavanasa
2. Viṭasa[m*]gatānaṁ(1) dānaṁ thabhŏ.

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 47 ff.

Remarks.

(1) '*Viṭasaṁgata*' means an 'assembly of actors' but appears to be a proper name here. The use of the plural "*Viṭasaṁgatānaṁ*" with the singular "*Yavanasa*" is explained by M. Senart[1] in translating his No. 7.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the **Yavana Viṭasaṁgata** from **Umēhanākaṭa.**

No. II. Eighth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. **Gōṇēkākasa Dhamula-upāsēkasaṁ(1)-**
2. dēyadha[ṁ]ma(2) thaṁvō(3)

Remarks.

(1) The *anusvāra* is redundant.

(2) Mark the crude outline of '*da*' and '*ma*' in this.

(3) '*Vō*' seems to have been carved out for '*bhō*'.

This record does not appear to have been engraved by a practised hand, and compares very unfavourably with the other records in point of neatness and fixity of outline.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the pious gift of the lay worshipper **Dhamula** of **Gōṇēkāka.**

No. III. Eleventh pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā**
2. **Vāniya-gāma-**
3. sa thabhō dānaṁ

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the "**Community of Traders**" from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. IV. Thirteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Ya[va]nasa(1) Dhamadha-**
2. yānaṁ thabhō dānaṁ

Remark.

(1) The right side of the loop of '*va*' in '*Yavanasa*' is broken, but its outline is clearly perceptible from the reverse side of the impression.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the **Yavana Dhamadhaya** from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. V. Fourteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Rōhamitēna** Chu[la]-
2. pētukasa(1) **Agilasa** athā-(2)
3. ya thabhō kārito

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-54.

Remarks.

(1) '*Chulapētukasa*' agrees with '*Agilasa*', and seems to be an epithet describing *Agila* though its meaning is not clear.

Upper part of the perpendicular stroke of '*la*' is broken, but its outline is visible from relief on reverse of the impression.

(2) It appears that the lower horizontal stroke of '*tha*' to the right was in process of engraving when the engraver discovered that he was placing it much lower than its proper position, and consequently left it unfinished and crude.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar was caused to be made by **Rōhamita** from **Dhēnukākaṭa**, for the sake of **Agila**, a resident of **Chulapētu(?)**.

No. VI. Fifteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Chulayakhan[āṁ]**
2. **[Ya]vaṇasa thabhō dāna** 卐

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the **Yavana Chulayakha** from **Dhēnukākaṭa**.

No. VII. Fourth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Yavaṇasa**
2. **Sihadhayāna[ṁ*] thaṁbhō dānaṁ**

N.B.—This inscription is identical with No. 7 of M. Senart, carved on the top of the third pillar in the left row, and he renders it thus :—

TRANSLATION.

'(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the **Yavana Sihadhaya** from **Dhēnukākaṭa**'.

No. VIII. Sixth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Sōmilana-**
2. **kasa dāna thabhō**

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of **Sōmilanaka** from **Dhēnukākaṭa**.

No. IX. Eighth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Gōla-vāniya-(1)**
2. **saputasa Isalakasa[ṁ](2) thabhō(3)**
3. **[dā]naṁ(4)**

Remarks.

(1) '*Gōla-vāniya*' might mean a 'trader in myrrh', but appears to mean the 'trader Gōla' here.

(2) Read **Isalakasa**, the *anusvāra* is superfluous.

(3) The *anusvāra* in *thaṁbhō* is perhaps to be seen from relief on reverse of the impression, but is not certain.

(4) In line 3 it appears as if '*da*' was being inscribed and then left and carved out again immediately after.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of **Isalaka**, son of the trader **Gōla**, from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. X. Ninth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukākaṭā Yavanasa**
2. **Yasavadhanāna[ṁ]**
3. **thabhō dāna[m*]**

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the **Yavana Yasavadhana** from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. XI. Tenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

[Dh]ēnukākaṭā [Ma]ha[ma]tā(1) ghariniya

Remark.

(1) The outline of the 3rd letter in this word is not clear, it may be '*ma*' or '*va*.'

TRANSLATION.

(Of) **Mahamatā**, wife of . . . . . from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. XII. Thirteenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. **Dhēnukāṭā(1) gahapati[nō] Āsēkasa natiyē**
2. **Dhamada(ē)vayā dānaṁ.**
3. **thabhō**

Remark.

(1) Read **Dhēnukākaṭā**; '*ka*' is left out through oversight on the part of the engraver.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of **Dharmadēvī**, a relation of the householder **Āsēka** from **Dhēnukākaṭa.**

No. XIII. An inscribed piece of stone found near the caves.

TEXT.

. . . . [kha]sa Śēga(1) putrasa

Remark.

(1) These two letters forming a proper name are not quite clear. The outline of the first is misleading, but careful scrutiny of relief on reverse of the impression leads me to think that it is either '*śē*' or '*gē*' while the second appears to be '*ga*'; the accretion of an altogether new outline proceeding from its top along the left being merely a development of the crack in stone.

TRANSLATION.

Of . . . Kha the son of Śēga?

No. 37.—INSCRIPTION ON A VISHNU IMAGE FROM DEOPANI.

BY K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.

This inscription of four lines occurs on the side of a stone image of **Vishṇu**, which was found, along with another partially broken and obliterated image of **Durgā**, in the jungle close to the **Deopani** river (Sibsāgar District, Assam) between the 26th and 27th miles on the Golaghat-Dimapur road. As the locality is frequented by wild elephants, to whom the present damaged condition of the images is due, the Vishṇu image has been removed by me to Gauhāti and deposited for safe custody in the rooms of the Kāmrūp Anusandhān Samiti. The place was visited by Dr. Bloch in 1904-05, who describes the image as follows in the *Annual Report of the Eastern Circle* :—' The second or smaller image 2 feet 6 inches high is a standing Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa with two hands only (the other two hands on the proper right have been lost) wearing the usual crown and having the *Śrīvatsa* mark on his breast. On the left outer face is an inscription in four lines, the end of which is broken. The broken piece could not be found.' About the inscription, he further writes : 'The inscription consists of three verses of **Sanskrit** poetry, evidently full of orthographical and grammatical blunders and for this reason difficult to read. The first two verses seem to be in honour of Śiva and the third refers to the putting up of a statue of Nārāyaṇa by some person whose name was on the missing piece of stone. It is of no historical interest. Judging from the characters, it belongs to about the 12th century A.D.' As Dr. Bloch's estimate of the age of the inscription is rather wide of the mark, sufficient attention was not drawn to the importance of this image. The **characters** are similar to the inscription of Harjjara on a rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra near Tezpur, which is dated in the year 510 of the Gupta Era. The present inscription can be safely attributed to the 9th century A.D. on palæographical grounds, and as the statue is the only early example of an inscribed image yet known in Upper Assam, it is a landmark in the history of Art in Assam. On grounds of style and execution, the image could easily have been ascribed to the late Gupta or early Pāla period in Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the thick lower lip, the expression of the face, the ear-ornament, the band around the crown, the Brahmanical thread and the close-fitting garment, the style of the Gadā and the Vanamālā, and the Kaustubha and Śrīvatsa symbols, which are all indications of an earlier age not far removed from the late Gupta period. It is worthy of note that the position of Deopani is intermediate between Dimapur and Kasomari Pathar where still exist the remains of the peculiar culture associated with the Kacharis in the shape of monoliths described as 'sword-blade,' 'chess-man,' 'V-shaped' and 'buffalo-horned' columns.

The **characters** are acute-angled and belong to the Eastern variety prevalent in the **ninth century** A. D. over the larger portion of Northern India.

The inscription, as was pointed out by the late Dr. Bloch long ago, is full of orthographical blunders and was apparently written very carelessly. A number of letters have been lost at the end of each line, except the fourth. Calculating on the basis of completing the first two *ślōkas*, we find that at least 15 letters must have been lost in the first line and 11 in the second. Owing to the incompleteness of the record and inaccuracy of the scribe, it is not possible to give a connected account of the contents of the inscription. The opening benedictory verse must be taken as referring to Śiva, as it mentions the serpent-girdle, bull emblem and the moon. The purport of the second verse, which probably commences in the second line and ends in the third, is very obscure. The end of the last line seems to refer to a stone image of the divine Nārāyaṇa. The text is edited from two impressions prepared at my instance.

TEXT.

1 Ōm[1] [|*] Hava[2]ṁtu tōchh[3]yaṁ uragēndra-sūtraṁ vṛisha-dhvajaṁ sōma-jaga(t)-prakāśam | ma . . . .

2 Bhagav[4]atis=tu Śūrjja || Satv[5]as=tu Dēvi bhuvi [6]mārtti-lōkē snānē . . . .

3 ṅka-śūdro dvija-varṇṇa[7]-nāri-sēvyas=tu dēvi bhagavatis=tu Śūrjja || pi * * *

4 nā[ma]pa ḍhava[8]dī (?) | Bhagavatō Nārāyaṇa [sya*] śailī pratima[9] bhaktyantaṁ[10] ||

No. 38.—POLONNARUVA INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYABAHU I.

BY S. PARANAVITANA, OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone slab lying to the west of *Vihāra* No. 1, about 50 feet north-east of the Latāmaṇḍāpaya in **Polonnaruva**, the mediæval capital of the kings of Ceylon. It was first discovered and brought to notice by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., the late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, who sent inked estampages of it, for examination, to the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1913, has discussed the historical importance of this record. An account of the inscription, with a translation of it, has also been published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon* for the year 1911-12. The text of the inscription has recently been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Vol. IV (No. 1396). The present article is prepared with the help of an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and of another kindly supplied by the Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon. I am much indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Correct *bhavantu* or *Bhavaṁ tri.* The metre seems to be *upajāti* although the first *akshara* of the second line does not conform to the scanning. [What is meant here is probably Bhavaṁ Tṛi(Tri)-ṇētraṁ.—Ed.]

[3] Possibly this is to be corrected '*lōkyām*' or '*lōchyaṁ*'.

[4] This expression is repeated at the end of the third verse, in line 3. The correct reading is possibly '*Bhagavatī tu Sūryaḥ*' or '*Bhagavāṁs=tu Sūryah.*'

[5] The metre is probably *upajāti*, but the fifth *akshara* is short instead of long. [The original reads Satv-āstu.—Ed.]

[6] Apparently *martyalōkē* is intended.

[7] [The original has *varnna*.—Ed.]

[8] *va* is written below the line.

[9] Correct *Pratimā*.

[10] Correct *bhaktānām* (?). [The original reads *bhaktyārnnāḥ*.—Ed.]

DEOPANI VISHNU-IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

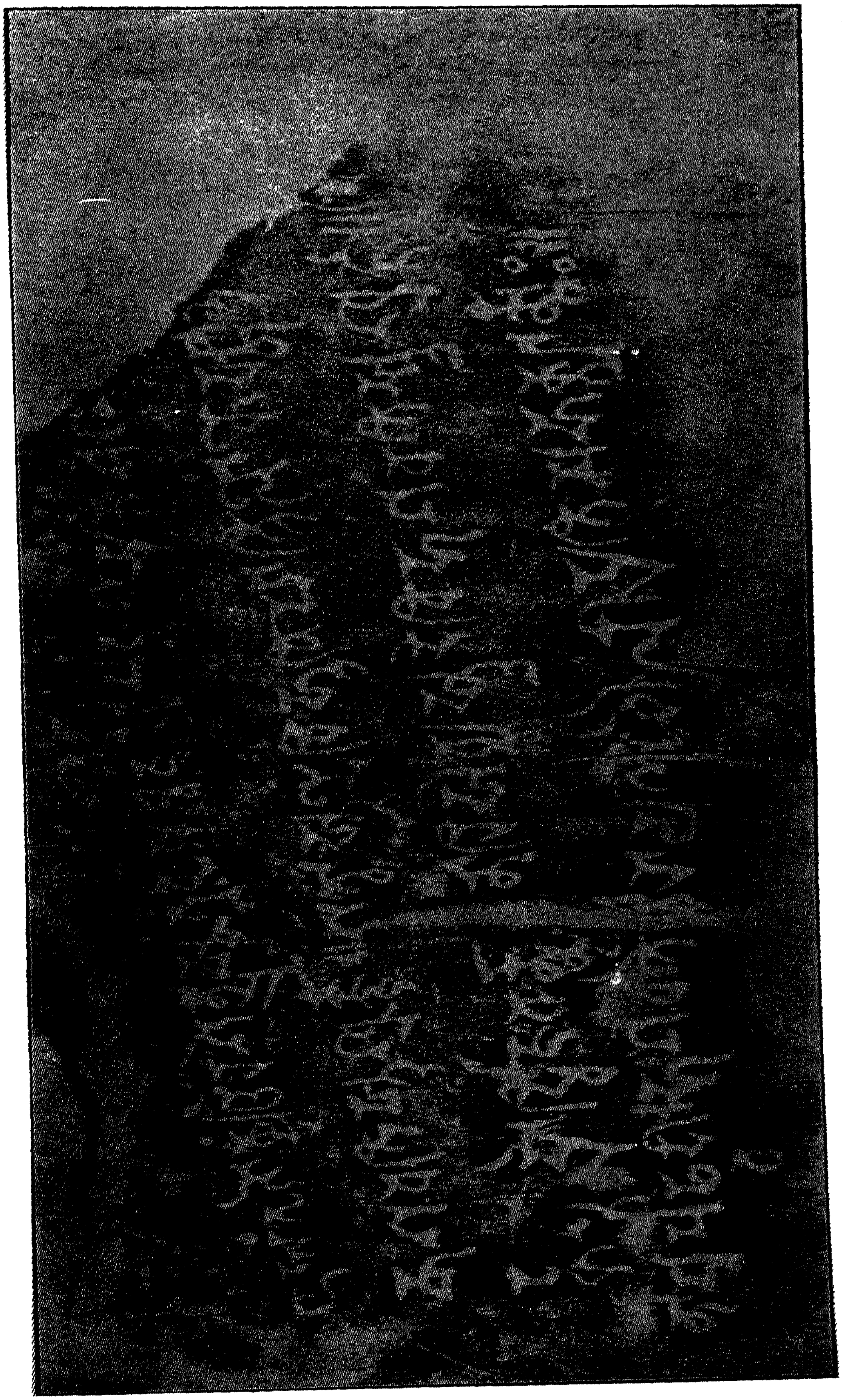


Photo.-engraved & printed by Survey of India, Calcutta, 1925.

SCALE ·6.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

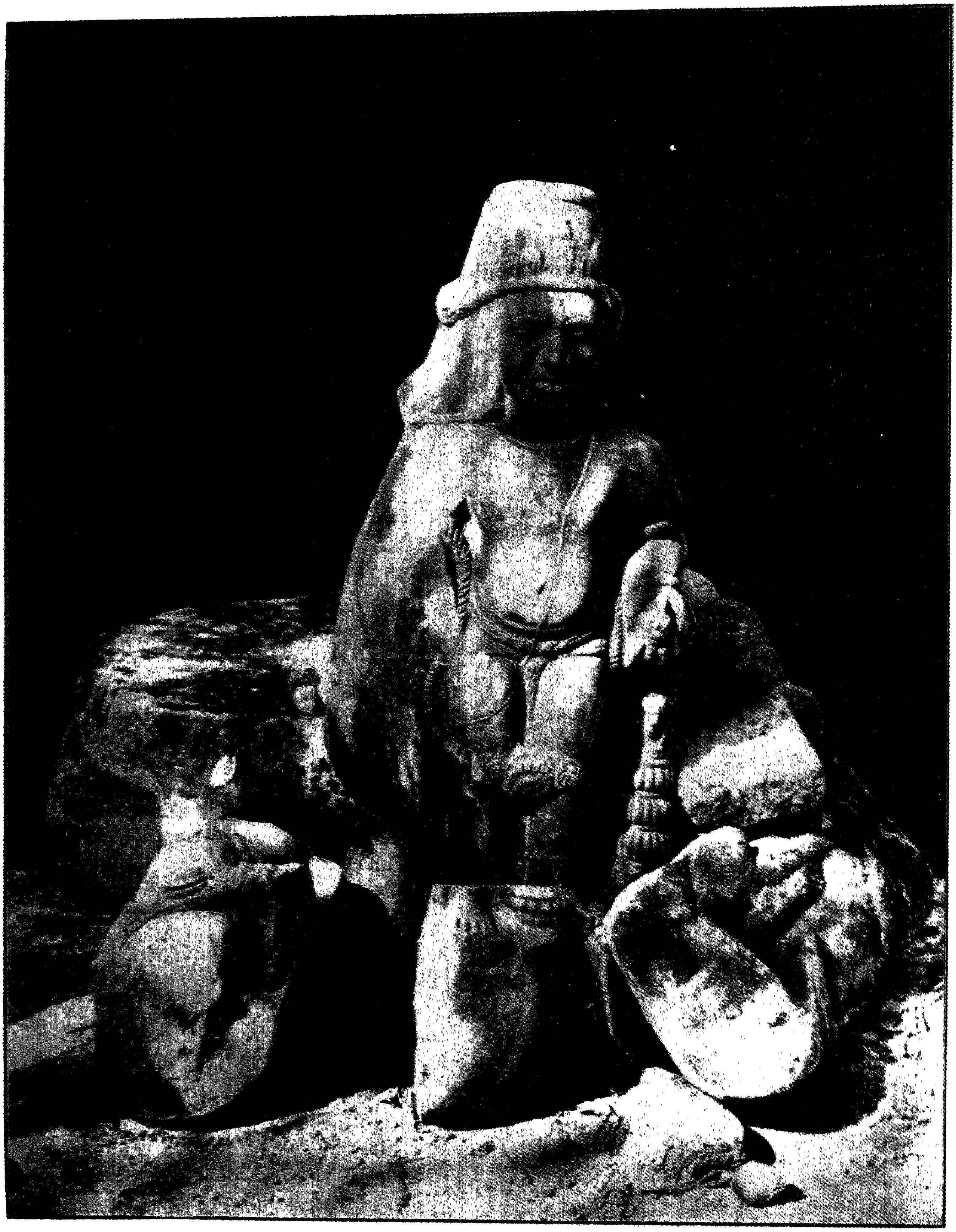


IMAGE OF VISHNU AT DEOPANI, DISTRICT SIBSAGÂR, ASSAM.
From a photograph.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for many suggestions, and for the kind encouragement given to me in preparing this paper.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 8′ 2″ by 2′ 6″. There are 49 lines of writing on it. The stone had been planed and ruled before the letters were engraved. The writing, which has been well executed, is in a fairly good state of preservation—the average size of the letters being about 1 inch in height. The **characters** used in the record are Grantha and Tamiḻ. They agree, on the whole, with those of the Tamiḻ inscriptions of the contemporary Chōḷa kings on the mainland of South India. The following facts, however, are noteworthy. The *puḷḷi* or *virāma* sign, which is generally not used in most of the Tamiḻ inscriptions in the South India of the mediæval age, is here invariably indicated by a small vertical stroke, written over the letter, *e.g.* in *vaḻi vanda* (l. 7). The *anusvāra* is generally written over the letter, at its top. The first five lines consist of a **Sanskrit** verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, and the rest of the inscription is in **Tamiḻ** prose, where, however, there is a great admixture of Sanskrit words. In the Sanskrit portion the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in one place, *i.e.* °*kārshīt*+*śrī* (l. 2). It is interesting to note that, in the Tamiḻ passage, the following **old Sinhalese words** are used with **Tamiḻ inflexions** in some cases :—

L. 16. *Senevirat* (Skt. *Sēnāpati-rāja*), Commander-in-Chief.

L. 17. *Pulanari* (Skt. *Pulasti-nagara*), the name of a city.

L. 20. *daḷadā* (Skt. *daṁshṭrā-dhātu*), Tooth Relic.

L. 27. *Mugalan* (Skt. *Maudgalyāyana*), the name of a Buddhist monk.

No **date** is given in the inscription ; but it mentions king **Vijayabāhu I**, and states that he reigned for 55 years and celebrated his 73rd birthday festival. According to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, the duration of his reign was only 55 years. Therefore, it is evident that this record was inscribed after his death. According to the chronology adopted by Wijesinha, the translator of the *Mahāvaṁśa*, Vijayabāhu reigned from A.D. 1065 to 1120.[1]

The inscription opens with an eulogistic account of king *śrī*—**Saṅghabōdhivarman** *alias* **Vijayabāhudēva**. It says that he belonged to the Solar race and that he had to conquer many enemies before he entered **Anurādhapura**, where he was crowned king of Ceylon, at the instance of the *Saṅgha* (*i.e.* the Buddhist monks), for the protection of the religion of the Buddha. It is also stated that he invited monks from **Arumana**,[2] and purified the *saṅgha* of the three *nikāyas* (fraternities),[3] to whom he gave three *tulābhāras* (*i.e.* weight of gold equal to that of his own person). Having brought the whole of the island of Ceylon under his dominion, he reigned for

---

[1] According to the latest version of this part of the chronology of Ceylon, the dates, connected with the principal events of Vijayabāhu's career, are as follows :—

His birth, in A.D. 1040.

He freed Rōhaṇa of enemies and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was seventeen years old, in A.D. 1058.

In the 15th year of his Rōhaṇa rule, *i.e.* the 33rd year of his age, he entered Anurādhapura and became the ruler of all Ceylon, in A.D. 1075. His death, after the 73rd birthday which was the 56th year of his Rōhaṇa rule or the 41st year of his Polonnaruwa rule, in A.D. 1114.

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, p. 207.

[2] Arumana (Sinhalese Aramaṇa) is a corruption of the Pāḷi word Rāmañña, which was the name by which Lower Burma was known in ancient times. Rev. Foulkes tries to locate the Aramaṇa country on the Coromandel Coast, somewhere between the Chōḷa and the Kaliṅga countries, in the dominions of the old Pallavas (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 126).

[3] The three *nikāyas* or fraternities, into which the Buddhist Church in Ceylon was divided, were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri, and Jētavana sects.

55 years, and passed his 73rd birthday (*tirunakshatram*).[1] It next mentions the building of a shrine for the **Tooth Relic of Buddha** in the monastery of **Uturoḷmuḷa** which was a part of the **Abhayagiri-vihāra** by a General named **Dēva**, at the command of the king. We are next introduced to the royal preceptor **Vyāriṇi Mugalan**, who is described to have been well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, and who was a high dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon at this period. This hierarch, as our inscription informs us, convened a meeting of the chief ministers of the state, and inviting the **Vēḷaikkāṟa** forces to their presence, exhorted them to protect the temple of the Tooth. The Vēḷaikkāṟas, who consisted of the three divisions of the **Mahātantra**, the **Vaḷañjiyar**, and the **Nagarattār**, agreed to do so, and re-named the temple as *Mūṉṟu-kai-tiru-Vēḷaikkāṟaṉ-Daḷadāy-perum-paḷḷi*, and concerted the necessary arrangements for the protection of the shrine. They bound themselves not only to protect the temple, its lands, its serfs, property, etc., but also to keep it in proper repair and to do everything necessary for its proper maintenance. The inscription also gives a list of the various tribes which formed the Vēḷaikkāṟas and ends with an imprecation on those who act against the rules laid down therein.

The account given in this inscription of king *śrī*-Saṅghabōdhi Vijayabāhu agrees in every detail with that given in the *Mahāvaṁśa* of Vijayabāhu I. So there is no doubt about the identity of the king mentioned in our record. The statement that he had to conquer many enemies before he could establish his authority, is, no doubt, a reference to the long wars that he had to wage against the **Chōḷa** invaders and the petty chieftains of Ceylon who ruled in the southern part of the island. Perhaps it might not be out of place, in this connection, to give a brief account of the state of the country before the accession of Vijayabāhu to the throne, and a short sketch of his career, as stated in the *Mahāvaṁśa* (Chapters LVIII to LX). At the beginning of the eleventh century, in the reign of **Rājarāja I**, the Chōḷas invaded Ceylon and annexed the northern part of the island to their dominions, taking **Mahinda V**, the then king of Ceylon, as a prisoner, to the Chōḷa country. From this time, up to the end of the reign of the Chōḷa king **Adhirājēndradēva**, Ceylon acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōḷas.[2] During this period Ceylon was in a state of utter confusion. The Sinhalese princes, driven to the mountainous districts of the South, were always fighting amongst themselves, when the Chōḷas were not at their doors. When the country was in this distracted state, a young scion of the ancient Sinhalese royal family, named **Kīrti**, raised the standard of war, and after a considerable amount of fighting, made himself the master of the **Rōhaṇa** country, the southern part of Ceylon, and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was only seventeen years of age. After making his position secure in the principality of which he was the chief, he started on a campaign to rid the island of foreign domination. The time chosen by him for this enterprise was an opportune one. The campaign of Vijayabāhu against the Chōḷas falls into the period immediately before the accession of **Kulōttuṅga I** to the

[1] *Tirunakshatram* means the 'sacred asterism.' It seems as if the Sinhalese kings of old celebrated a special festival annually, on the day of the constellation under which they were born. I am informed by Mr. K. V. Subhrahmanya Aiyar, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that such a custom still prevails in the royal family of Travancore, and that the princes of Travancore are named after the constellations under which they are born. The *Mahāvaṁśa* also gives instances in which persons were named after the constellation of their birth, *e.g.* Tishya and Pushya. [The *janma-nāma* or birth name of a Hindu child is given after the *janma-nakshatra* or the constellation of nativity.—Ed.]

[2] Inscriptions of Rājarāja I are found in Ceylon, and in one of the records of the Tanjore temple it is stated that the income of several villages in Ceylon was dedicated to that shrine. Rājēndra-Chōḷa I also says in his inscriptions that he conquered the whole island. Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva, the successors of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, both conducted campaigns in Ceylon, in which several princes of the island are said to have perished. An inscription of Adhirājēndra is also found at Polonnaruva. No inscription, however, of any Chōḷa successor of Adhirājēndra is found on the island of Ceylon.

Chōḷa throne. This was a period of Civil War in the Chōḷa country, and, consequently, the Chōḷas were not able to send sufficient forces to Ceylon to quell the rising there against their authority. In one of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga at **Tirukkaḻukkunṟam**,[1] he says that he sent several expeditions to Ceylon, but does not mention any definite results gained by them. These were most probably, the armies which, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, were sent by the Chōḷa king to fight against Vijayabāhu. After a long and protracted campaign, Vijayabāhu succeeded in driving the Chōḷas out of Ceylon, and made himself the master of the whole island.

During the Chōḷa occupation, the Buddhist religion had suffered greatly. In fact, when Vijayabāhu came to the throne, he found that there were no ordained monks in the island, who would help him in the work of reviving the religion of the land. Therefore, he sent an embassy to the king of Aramaṇa, requesting him to send properly ordained monks to Ceylon. The king of Aramaṇa at this time was **Anuruddha**, from whom Vijayabāhu received substantial support in his struggle against the Chōḷas. The Burmese king sent several properly ordained monks to the island, and they revived the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, and helped Vijayabāhu to restore Buddhism to its pristine glory and splendour. Our inscription alludes to this event, and, moreover, states that he purified the *saṅgha* of the three *nikāyas* (fraternities), and gave three *tulābhāras* to them. The Ceylon chronicles do not mention this fact, though they give a long account of the king's benefactions to the religious establishments, and his various works of public utility.

The Commander-in-Chief Dēva, who, at the instance of the king, built a shrine for the Tooth Relic, is not known to us from other sources. The monastery of Uturoḷmuḷa, within the precincts of which the Temple of the Tooth Relic was built, and which was itself a part of the Abhayagiri-vihāra[2] at Polonnaruva, must be the same as the monastery of Uttarōḷa which was built by Māṇa, one of the predecessors of Vijayabāhu I, for his elder brother who had entered the priesthood.[3] It is also stated in the *Mahāvaṁśa* that the king entrusted the guard of the Tooth Relic to him. The Buddhist monk Mugalan, who took an active part in getting the consent of the *Vēḷaikkāṟas* to protect the temple, is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any of the Ceylon chronicles.

The next point to be discussed is, who these Vēḷaikkāṟas were, and what their position was in Ceylon, at the time when this inscription was set up. The Vēḷaikkāṟas are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁśa* as having formed a part of the army of the Sinhalese kings of this period. It is stated that towards the latter part of Vijayabāhu's reign, there was a revolt of these troops, when he was making preparations for undertaking an expedition to South India against the Chōḷa king. This rising of the Vēḷaikkāṟas was put down with considerable difficulty, and as a consequence of it, the projected campaign against the Chōḷas had to be given up.[4] Later on, in the reign of Vijayabāhu's grandson, **Gajabāhu II**, they again figure in the history of Ceylon. There[5], it is said, that Gajabāhu's rival, **Parākramabāhu** I, tried to win them over to his side. A few years later, we find the Vēḷaikkāṟas in alliance with the Kēraḷas and the people of Rōhaṇa, rising in rebellion against the authority of Parākramabāhu I.[6] These accounts, coupled with the fact that their aid was considered effective for the protection of one of the most cherished national treasures of the Sinhalese people, go to prove that the Vēḷaikkāṟas were, at this period, a very powerful community.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 282.
[2] This *vihāra* was distinct from the monastery of the same name at the old capital, Anurādhapura.
[3] *Mahāvaṁśa*, Chapter LVII.
[4] *Ibid.*, Chapter LX.
[5] *Ibid.*, Chapter LXIII.
[6] *Ibid.*, Chapter LXXIV.

The inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja I and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, on the walls of the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore, make mention of several Vēḷaikkāṛa regiments. The origin of the word *vēḷaikkāṛa* has not yet been conclusively proved. Different scholars have given different interpretations of the word. Dr. Hultzsch has rendered *vēḷaikkāra-paḍaigaḷ* as 'the troop of servants'.[1] The late Rai Bahadur Venkayya was of opinion that it was a corruption of the word *vēḷaikkāra*, and comments as follows :—"At any rate, the origin of the term is obscure, and must be left to future research. It is possible they were no mercenaries in the Chōḷa country at the beginning of the 11th century. If a conjecture may be offered, I would say they were perhaps volunteers who enlisted themselves when the occasion (*vēḷai*) for their services arose. In later times when their services were not required in the Tamil Country, they probably migrated to Ceylon, during the period of interregnum, when there were frequent Chōḷa invasions against the island. Eventually they probably developed into mercenaries."[2] Mr. Krishna Sastri, in his remarks upon this inscription, says of the Vēḷaikkāṛas, " Whatever the Vēḷaikkāṛas may have been in their religious creed, it is clear from what is stated in the inscription that they included all working classes, and were apparently of Indian origin who immigrated into Ceylon with the merchants whom they served."[3] The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao's opinion as to who the Vēḷaikkāṛas were was quite different from any of the views set forth above. He says that they were not mercenaries, but " persons who had pledged themselves to do certain duties, failing which, they would voluntarily undergo certain penalties, which, in most cases, was death." He has quoted two passages from Tamil literature, one from the commentary of Periyavāchchapiḷḷai on Nammāḷvar's *Tirumoḷi* which explains the word *pū-vēḷaikkāṛa* as " those who, when they see the king being without flower(-garlands) at the time when he ought to wear them, had vowed to stab themselves and die." The other extract is from the commentary of the *Śivavachanabhūshaṇam*, where the Vēḷaikkāṛas are said to be " the servants of the king who chastise those who prove traitorous to him."[4]

In this inscription they are termed ' the Vēḷaikkāṛas of the three hands ' (*mūṉṛu-kai*). In No. 602 of 1912, another inscription from Ceylon, *mūṉṛu-kai-tiru-vēḷaikkāṛaṉ* appears as the surname of a certain Adhikaraṇa Sāraṇaṉ, and in No. 610 of the same year, also from Ceylon, *mūṉṛu-kai* is referred to as the name by which a particular community was known.[5] In an inscription of the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, in the Bhaktavatsalēśvara temple at Shērmādēvī, *mūṉṛu-kai-mahāsēṉai* are represented as protecting certain charitable endowments made to that temple.[6] A Tamil inscription at Dangūr, in Mysore, too, refers to the Vēḷaikkāṛas of the right hand.[7] It seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or ' hands ' to which the Vēḷaikkāṛas were divided, consisted of the **Mahātantra**, the **Vaḷañjiyar**, and the **Nagarattār**. Out of these terms, Mahātantra is not found elsewhere, and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance. The terms Vaḷañjiyar and Nagarattār are of frequent use in the South Indian inscriptions of this period. They are there represented to have been a wealthy and influential body of merchants. In Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions* there are three records from Balligami, which refer to the corporation of merchants known as the Vaḷañjiyar. In one of them the members are styled " protectors of the *vīra-baṇañja* rights."[8] In the second they are called

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 10.

[3] *Epigraphical Report* of Madras for 1913, p. 102.

[4] The above is from an article by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, a reprint of which was found among some of his papers which are in the library of the Government Epigraphist for India. I have not been able to find out the journal to which the article was contributed.

[5] *Ep. Rep.* for 1913, p. 101.

[6] No. 189 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1895.

[7] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1920, p. 31.

[8] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 73.

baṇajigas,[1] whilst the third inscription calls the members of the guild "the protectors of the *vīra-baṇañja-dharma*."[2] Two inscriptions from Shikarpūr Taluq (Nos. 94 and 118), published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII,[3] describe these merchants in great detail. An inscription has been found at Ānaulundāva, a village near Polonnaruva, which begins with almost the same phrases as are used in describing the Vaḷañjiyar merchants in the Kanarese inscriptions from Mysore. This inscription being only a fragment, the word *vaḷañjiyar* does not actually occur in it; but the phraseology used in it shows, beyond doubt, that it must have been a record of the same Corporation of Merchants.[4] In the inscription No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1923, mention is made of the Vaḷañjiyar of South Ceylon (*Ten-Ilaṅgai-vaḷañjiyar*). They are there represented as making donations to a Vishṇu temple.[5] As regards the derivation of this word, the late Mr. Venkayya says :—" In Kanarese *baṇajiga* is still used to denote a class of merchants. In Telugu the word *balija* or *balijiga* has the same meaning. It is therefore probable that the words *vaḷañjiyam*, *vaḷañjiyar*, *balañji*, *baṇañji*, *baṇajiga* and *baḷija* are cognate, and derived from the Sanskrit *vaṇij*."[6] The **Nagarattārs**, who are mentioned in this inscription along with the Vaḷañjiyars, were also an influential community of merchants, who, at the time that we are speaking of, had their mercantile establishments not only all over South India and Ceylon, but also in Burma and other parts of Further India.[7] The Nagarattārs comprised within their ranks another class of merchants called the **Nānādēśī**. An inscription of **Queen Līlāvatī** of Ceylon, who reigned in the first decade of the 13th century, mentions the Nānādēśī merchants as having made some donations to an alms-house at Anurādhapura.[8] As the Vaḷañjiyars are said to have been the leaders (*mūdādai*) of the Vēḷaikkāṟa troops, it might be conjectured that the latter migrated to Ceylon with the Vaḷañjiyar whom they served. The Vaḷañjiyars and the Nagarattārs are at present represented by the **Baṇajiga** and **Nagaratta** communities of the Kanarese country.[9]

The different sub-sects, into which the Vēḷaikkāṟas were further divided, were the Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai, Śiṟudanam, Piḷḷaigaḷdanam, Vaḍugar, Malaiyāḷar, Parivārakkondam, and others. Out of these Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgaimean the 'Right hand' and the 'Left hand' castes respectively. From an early time the inhabitants of South India were thus divided. The Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1913 contains the following interesting account as regards the origin of the Iḍaṅgai :— " While in order to kill demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kāśyapa, we were made to appear from the *agni-kuṇḍa* (*i.e.* the sacrificial fire pit), and while we were protecting the said sacrifice, Chakravartin Arindama honoured the officiating sage priests by carrying them in a car, and led them to a Brāhmaṇa Colony (newly founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the backside of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually, with these Brāhmaṇa sages, we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruveḷḷarai, etc. We received the clan name Iḍaṅgai, because the sages (while they got down their cars) were supported by us on their left side." In the same inscription it is said that there were ninety-eight sub-sects of the Iḍaṅgai. Their insignia are given thus :—" It is also understood that only those, who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the *insignia*(?) of horn, bugle and parasol, shall belong to our class. Those who have

[1] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] P. 114 and p. 156.

[4] This inscription runs as follows :—

(1) Samasta-bhuvanāgra-pañca-śata-vīra-śāsanam=āli(ṅgita Lakṣmī)-

(2) (yā) lakṣaṇa (vakṣa-) sthala bhuvana-parākrama Śrī-Vāsudēva Kuṇḍalā mūla-(pūrtti-bha).

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, p. 236

[5] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 106. [6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 296. [7] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1913, p. 102.

[8] *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 179. [9] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1913, p. 102.

to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols, the feather of the crane and the loose hanging hair."[1]

The term *Śirudanam* appears in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, as a title given to military officers. Among the regiments mentioned in the inscriptions of the same place we find two named "*Śirudanattu-vaḍuga-kkāvalar* and *Śirudanattu-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāṟa-ppaḍaigaḷ*." The true significance of this term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultzsch explains the terms *śirudanam* and *perudanam* as the 'small treasury' and the 'big treasury', and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury, small or big. The titles are sometimes explained as referring to the followers of the king during his minority and majority. In all probability *śirudanam* and *perudanam* were purely honorary titles conferred on officers, as well as private individuals, according to the status held by them in official position or in society.[2]

The Vaḍugar (Northerners) might have been immigrants from the Telugu Country. The Malaiyāḷar, most probably, were settlers from the Malabar Coast. On the occasion of the rebellion of the people of Rōhaṇa against Parākramabāhu I, as already mentioned, the Kēraḷas took the side of the insurgents. There are also other references to the Kēraḷa soldiers in the *Mahāvaṁśa*. The term Malaiyāḷar, therefore, must have been applied to the people from the Kēraḷa country.

The inscription is silent as to the reason why the protection of the Vēḷaikkāṟas was sought for the Tooth Relic. If this inscription was engraved only after the death of Vijayabāhu I, it must have been owing to the state of anarchy which prevailed after that event.

Out of the **places** mentioned in this record, **Anurādhapura** is the well-known capital of the ancient Sinhalese kings. **Arumana** has already been identified with Rāmaññadēsa, *i.e.* Lower Burma. **Pulanari**, also called Vijayarājapura in the inscription, evidently after King Vijayabāhu I, is the same as Poionnaruwa (Pulastipura[3]), and was the mediæval Sinhalese Capital. In Chōḷa inscriptions found in Ceylon this city is also called Jananāthamaṅgalam. There are extensive ruins of the many monasteries, palaces and other public buildings with which it was adorned in the days of its splendour.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrīḥ [||*] **Laṁkāyāṁ Jina**-danta-dhātu-bhavanaṁ yad=**Dēva-**
2 **sēnādhipō**=kārshīt śrī-**Vijayādibāhunṛivar**-ādēś[ā]-
3 t **Pulastēḥ purē** [|*] **Vēḷaikkāṟa**-samā[hṛitā]n tad=api ta-
4 t-paryyanta-dēvālayān Vēḷaikkāṟa-balāni pā-
5 ntu[4] nitarām=ā-kalpa-sandhēr=bhuvi [||*] Namō **Buddhāya** [||*]
6 Śrī-Laṁkā-dvīpattu **Sūrya-vaṁśattu Ikshvāku**[vi]-
7 n vaḷi-vanda anēka-śatru-vijayam paṇṇi **Anur[ā]-**
8 **dhapuram** pukku Buddha-śāsanaṁ rakshikka vēṇḍi sa-
9 ṁgha-niyōgattāl tiru-muḍi-śūḍi **Arumanattilni-**
10 **ṉṟum** saṅgattārai aḷaippittu mūṉṟu nikāya-
11 ttu saṅgha-śuddhi paṇṇuvittu mūṉṟu tulābhāram
12 mūṉṟu nikāyattukku kuḍuttu daśa-rāja-dharmattāl
13 aiñbatt-ayy-āṇḍu **Ilaṅgai**-muḻudum oru-kuḍai-ni[ḻa]-
14 ṟṟi=ttiruv-irājyañ-cheyd-aruḷi eḻupattu mūv-āṇḍu tiru-na-
15 kshatrañ=cheluttina Kō-śrī-**Saṅghabōdhi-vatmar**=āṇa chakravartti-
16 gaḷ śrī-**Vijayabāhudēvar**=anuvāgal **Dē[va]-sēnevirattar-**

[1] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1913, p 109.

[2] *Ibid* for 1913, p. 97.

[3] **This is a name in which atleast we see the Puranic allusion to Pulasti Brahmā, an ancestor of Rāvaṇa, the giant king of Ceylon.**

[4] *S. I. I.* Texts Vol. IV, No. 1396 reads *yāntu*.

17 kku niyōgittu=**Ppulanariy**-āṉa Vijayarājapurattu eḍup-
18 pitta Mūlasthānam-āgiya **Abhayagiri-mahā-vihārattu** agr-ā-
19 yatanam-āṉa[1] Uttoruḷmūḷaiyil mūv-ulagukkuñ=chikāmaṇi-
20 y-āgiya **Daḷadā-Pātra-dhātu-svāmidēvargaḷukku** nitya=vāsa-bhavana-
21 m-āṉa pratham-ābhishēgattukku maṅgala-gṛiham-āṉa āṭṭāṇḍu-
22 dōrun=tiru-nayana-mōksham paṇṇi añjaṉa nīṟukkum
23 kaṇṇālañ=cheyyum maṅgala-mahā-śilāmaya-Buddha-
24 dēvarkku gandhakuṭiy-āṉa **Daḷadāy-pperum-baḷḷi** uṅga-
25 ḷ rakshay-āga vēṇḍum=eṉṟu sakaḷa-śāstr-āgama-śīl-ā-
26 chāra-sampannar-āṉa Rāja-guru Uturuḷmuḷaiyil **Vyāriṇi Mu-**
27 **galan Mahāsthavirar** rāj-āmatyarōḍuṅ=kūḍa eḻundaruḷiy=i-
28 rundu eṅgaḷai aḻaittu aruḷi-chcheydamaiyil Mā-tantirat-
29 tōṅ=kūḍi eṅgaḷukku mūtādaigaḷ-āy-uḷḷa **Valañjeyaraiyum** e-
30 ṅgaḷōḍu kūḍivarum=**Nagarattār**-uḷḷiṭṭōraiyuṁ=kūṭṭi Mūṉṟu-
31 kai-ttiru-Vēḷaikkāṟaṉ Daḷadāy-pperum-baḷḷiy-eṉṟu
32 tiru-nāmañ=chātti eṅgaḷ=aṟam-āy eṅgaḷ kāval-āy niṟka-
33 vēṇḍum=eṉṟu aṟaṅ-gāvalukku paḍai-ppaḍaiyāl[2] ōr[ō]-
34 śēvagaraiyum ōrō-vēli nilamum=iṭṭu=kkuḍuttu i-p-
35 paḷḷi nōkkiṉa ūrgaḷum parivāramum paṇḍāramum abha-
36 yam-pukkāraiyum paṭṭuṅ=keṭṭuṅ=kākkak=kaḍavōm=āga-
37 vum aḻivupaṭṭ-iḍaṅgaḷ[3] aḻivu śōrndum eṅgaḷ anva-
38 yam=uḷḷadaṉaiyum=eññāṉṟum=idukku vēṇḍuvaṉav-e-
39 llāñ=cheyvōm=āgavum paṇṇiṉa inda vyavasthai chandr-ā-
40 dityavarai niṟpad-āga=kkaiy-viṉāv=ēṟṟi=chchembiluṅ=kalli-
41 lum veṭṭuvittu=kkuḍuttōm Valaṅgai Iḍaṅgai Śi-
42 rudanam Piḷḷaigaḷdanam Vaḍugar Malaiyāḷar Parivārak=
43 kondam pala-kalaṉaiyum-uḷḷiṭṭa tiru-Veḷaikkāṟa-
44 rōm [||*] Ippaḍi tirambuvāṉum tiramba=chcholluvāṉu-
45 m tiramba chchammadippāṉum Mā-tantirattukku=ppiḷaitta
46 paḍai-ppagaiyan pañcha-mahā-pātakañ-cheydāṉum tēvar-
47 pūdar-mā-tavattōrkku=kkuḍuttaṉa koḷḷuṁ koḍum-
48 pāviyum Buddha-Dharmma-Saṅgha-ratnaṅgaḷukku=ppiḷaittā-
49 ṉum pugun=naragam puguvāṉ [||*] Aṟa=maṟavaṟka [|*] Svasti Śrīḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-5.) May the **Vēḷaikkāṟa** forces well protect, till the juncture of another *kalpa*, on this earth, that shrine of the Tooth Relic of **Jina** (Buddha), which **Dēva**, the Commander-in-Chief, had built in the city of **Pulasti** in **Laṅkā** (Ceylon), at the command of the glorious king **Vijaya-bāhu**, and the other shrines of the gods (*situated*) near that (*shrine*), which the Vēḷaikkāṟas have brought together under their protection. Obeisance to the Buddha.

(Ll. 6-24.) The glorious king **Saṅghabōdhivarman** *alias* **Chakravartin Śrī-Vijayabāhu-dēva**, who appeared in the lineage of Ikshvāku of the **Solar race** in the prosperous island of Laṅkā ; who, having conquered many enemies, entered the city of **Anurādhapura,** and wore the beautiful crown at the request of the *saṅgha* for protecting the Order (*i.e.* the religion) of the Buddha ; who, inviting monks from **Arumana,** caused the purification of the *saṅgha* of the three

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts) Vol. IV. p. 492 reads *agravadanam-āṉa.*
[2] *Ibid.* reads [*u*]*ḍaippaḍaiyāl.*
[3] *Ibid.* reads *aḻivupaṭṭaḍaṅgaḷ.*

fraternities (*nikāyas*) and gave three *tulābhāras*[1] to the three fraternities; who, bringing the whole of Laṅkā under the shade of one umbrella, had been pleased to reign for fifty-five years with the ten principles of regal duty[2] and celebrated seventy-three birthday festivities (*tiru-nakshatram*), gave orders to Nuvaragal[3] Dēvasenevirattar, and caused to be built within (*the precincts of*) Ut ruḷmūḷa, which was the principal shrine of the great monastery of **Abhayagiri** the **Mūlasthāna** (*i.e.* important seat of monks) in the city of **Pulanari** *alias* **Vijayarājapura**, the great temple of the Tooth Relic (*daḷa-dāy-pperumpaḷḷi*), the permanent abode of the venerated Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic (*daḷadā-pātra-dhātu-svāmi-dēvargaḷ*), the crest jewel of the three worlds, an auspicious house for the first inauguration ceremony, a *gandhakuṭi*[4] for the great stone image of **Buddhadēva** to whom annually is held the festival of opening the eyes and fixing collyrium thereon.

(Ll. 25-39.) As the **Mahāsthavira Vyāriṇi**[5] **Mugalan**, the royal preceptor, well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, of good conduct and behaviour, who, being gloriously seated in the **Uturuḷmuḷa** (monastery) along with the ministers of the king was pleased to call us to his presence and said "The great temple of the Tooth Relic should be under your protection," we, of the **Mahātantra,** having called together the **Vaḷañjiyar,** who are our leaders, and the **Nagarattār** and others, who always accompany us, gave it the sacred name of "*Mūnṟu-kai-tiru-vēḷaikkāṟan Daḷadāy-pperumpaḷḷi*" (*i.e.* the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vēḷaikkāṟas of the three hands), and to make it remain as our charity and under our protection, assigned for the protection of this charity one servant and one *vēli* of land (*for his maintenance*), from each regiment; and bound ourselves to protect the villages under the supervision of this temple (*paḷḷi*), its servants and treasures, as well as the men seeking its shelter, even though (*we may*) suffer ruin or loss; and to always provide for all the requirements of this (*temple*), so long as our community continues to exist, repairing such parts (*of the temple*) as get dilapidated.

(Ll. 39-44.) In order that the agreement thus given may last as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure), we, the exalted Vēḷaikkāṟas, consisting of the Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai, Śirudanam, Piḷḷaigaḷdanam, Vaḍugar, Malaiyāḷar, Parivārakkondam and various other classes of workmen (*palakalaṇai*), attested it (*i.e.* the agreement) with our own hands, and caused it to be engraved on copper and stone.

(Ll. 44-49.) Whose acts against this, or acquiesces in doing wrong to this, shall enter the hell wherein fall those enemies of the (*Vēḷaikkāṟa*) regiments, who have wronged the **Mahātantra,** those who have committed the five great sins,[6] those heinous sinners who have robbed what have been given to gods, *bhūtas*, and the great ascetics, and those who have wronged the (*three*) gems, (*to wit*), *the Buddha, the Dharma*, and *the Saṅgha*. Forget not charity! Hail! Prosperity!

---

[1] *Tulābhāra* is weighing one's self against gold or other precious substances and giving away the same in charity.

[2] The ten principles of regal duty as explained in Pali books are, charity (*dāna*), piety (*sīla*), liberality (*parichchāga*), rectitude (*ajjavam*), gentleness (*majjava*), religious austerity (*tapaṁ*), freedom from wrath (*akkōdhō*), humanity (*avihiṁsā*), forbearance (*khanti*), and the state of having no enmity (*avirōdhatā*).

[3] The correct reading *Nuvaragal* in place of *anuvāgal* is due to Codrington.

[4] *Gandhakuṭi* (perfumed chamber) was the name given to the part of the *vihāra* occupied by the Buddha himself, when he was alive.

[5] It is doubtful whether *Vyāriṇi* formed a part of the name of the monk. No such name is met with anywhere as the name of a Buddhist monk. I am not able to give any other explanation of this word.

[6] The five great sins according to the Buddhists are:—(1) the murdering of one's father, (2) the murdering of one's mother, (3) killing an arhat or saint, (4) shedding the blood of a Buddha, (5) causing schism in the Order. According to the Hindu Law-books they are:—(1) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (2) drinking intoxicating liquor, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a religious teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes.

No. 39.—THE JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN (I).

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below for the first time, was discovered by some labourers on the top of the citadel of **Junāgadh** fort during the rainy season of 1919. Mr. S. Brook-Fox, the then **Chief** Engineer of the Junāgadh State, removed the stone slab on which it is written to the **State** Office building and, sending its inked impression, informed the Archæological Survey Department of its discovery. It is now deposited in the Bahādur Khān-ji Museum, Junāgadh. During my visit in the month of October of the same year I read the inscription from the stone and took its estampages for publication.

The record is incised on a heavy slab of stone, the inscribed surface of which measures 31 inches by 10 inches. At present, it consists of two short lines mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. The first line begins with the word *kshatrapasya* and ends with the numerical symbol for 100. The second line begins with a proper name and ends with the word *putra*. The length of each of these two lines is 30″ and the average height of the letters is 2½″. Judging, however, from their contents it would appear that originally these lines were considerably longer. The slab bearing the inscription must have been used for building purposes. It was found with its face turned downwards in the debris of an old structure. When I saw it in the State Office at Junāgadh, the letters were full of plaster or mortar made of powdered bricks (*soorkhi*) and lime. Possibly, there were several other lines below the second one which were mutilated when the stone was broken up to suit the requirements of the mason.

The **characters** of the inscription are of the usual type used in Western India in the second century A.D. and akin to the alphabet in which the Āndhau inscriptions of Rudradāman I are written. The lower parts of *ka* and *ra* curve to the left. The three verticals of *ya* are almost equal in height and all instances of the subscript form of this letter are tripartite. *Va* and the lower part of *ma* are rather triangular. Both the verticals of *pa* are of equal height. In the only extant symbol of the palatal *śa* the pendant drops from the right half of the curve instead of from the left, while the angularity is not quite marked. In the letter *sha* the cross bar is joined to the right vertical straight line and not to the left as usual in one case, *i.e.*, in *kshatrapasya*, while in the other, *i.e.*, in *varshē*, it seems to join both the verticals.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit** prose. The **object** of it, however, is not clear on account of its mutilated state. The portion giving the **date** is unfortunately damaged and nothing is legible at the end of the first line, except the symbol for 100. The record refers itself to the reign of **Jīvadāman** whose exact rank cannot be now ascertained because the portion of the slab, where his titles were in all probability written, is now missing. That he was a Kshatrapa is certain as that title is prefixed to his name. Two Jīvadāmans are known to have had any connection with Kāthiāwār. The first prince of that name was the son of Damajadaśrī I and the grandson of Rudradāman I, who is known from his coins to have ruled in Kāthiāwār from the year 100 to 118 or 119 of the Śaka era. The second prince of that name is Svāmi Jīvadāman, known to us from the coins of his son, Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha II, who was ruling in Śaka 227 and seems to have succeeded to the throne on the extinction of the direct descendants of Chāshṭana or of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I. On palæographic grounds, I am of opinion that the inscription under examination pertains to the reign of the Mahākshatrapa **Jīvadāman I.** The second line of this record contains four proper names :—[Va]stradatta, Vāstunaṁdika, Vastuśarmmaka and Rāmaka. The last word of

the second line, if read as *putrā* [*ṇām*] would show that the first three persons were the sons of Rāmaka. The inscription must have been incised to commemorate some pious act or the erection of some building by these three brothers.

TEXT.

1 ....[ksha]trapasya **Sv[ā]mi Jīvadāmasya** ētāya pūrvvāya[1] varsh[ē] 100 ....
2 ....[Va]stradattasya Vāstuna[ṁ]dikasya Vas[tu]śarmmakasya Rāmakasya putr[ā]....

NOTES.

l. 1 (*a*) The upper part of the ligature in *ksha* is broken.

(*b*) The cross bar in *sha* in *varshē* is damaged.

(*c*) The last letter looks like *śa* but the downward prolongation of the right vertical makes it certain that this letter is the symbol for 100.

l. 2 The restoration [*Va*] *stradatta* is tentative. The reading may be [Śa]stradatta or [A]stradatta.

The form of *Vā* in *Vāstunaṁdika* is peculiar. The base line is very much curved and the upper horizontal line has disappeared giving place to two curved lines which appear like bifurcations of the vertical.

TRANSLATION.

.... of the [Mahā]kshatrapa **Svāmi Jīvadāman**, on the above mentioned, in the year 100 ......[Va]stradatta, Vāstunaṁdika (Vāstunandin), Vastuśarmmaka, the sons of Rāmaka......

No. 40.—PERUNEYIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up in the western *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at **Peruneyil**, a suburb of **Changanāchēri** which is a taluk-centre in the Kōṭṭayam Division of the Travancore State. It is in clear-cut and well-preserved **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters, which can, from purely palæographical considerations, be assigned to the 11th century A.D. or thereabouts. The language of the record is **Tamiḻ**, sprinkled with a few dialectical peculiarities of the West Coast *e.g.*, *irunn-aruḷi* (*l.* 15), *aruḷiyār* (*l.* 23), *oḷḷa* (*l.* 41), *vannu* (*l.* 58), and *aḍikkumad=oḻiññōm* (*ll.* 61-63).

The record which is dated in the **8th year opposite the 2nd year of the reign** of a certain king named **Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ**, presumably of the **Chēra** dynasty, does not give the exact Kollam year but mentions simply the vague astronomical detail that **Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka.** But this defect, as will be proved below, is mended by two other inscriptions secured from Quilon[2] and Tiruvālūr[3], both of which are also in the Travancore State. The date portions in these two inscriptions run thus :—

1. Kollaṅ-tōṉṟiy=irunūṟṟ-eḻupatt-eṭṭām=āṇḍai Kaṉṉiyil Viyāḻam pukka Chiṅṅa ñāyiṟu onpadu śeṉṟa nāḷ iraṇḍām=āṇḍaikk=edir padi[nōrā]m=āṇḍaiy=[I]rā[ma]r[4] Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladikārigaḷ=āyiṉa śrī-Kulaśēkhara-chChakkiravattigaḷ Kurakkēṇi-kKollattu Paṉaiṅṅāviṉ kōyilagatt=irunnaruḷa.

---

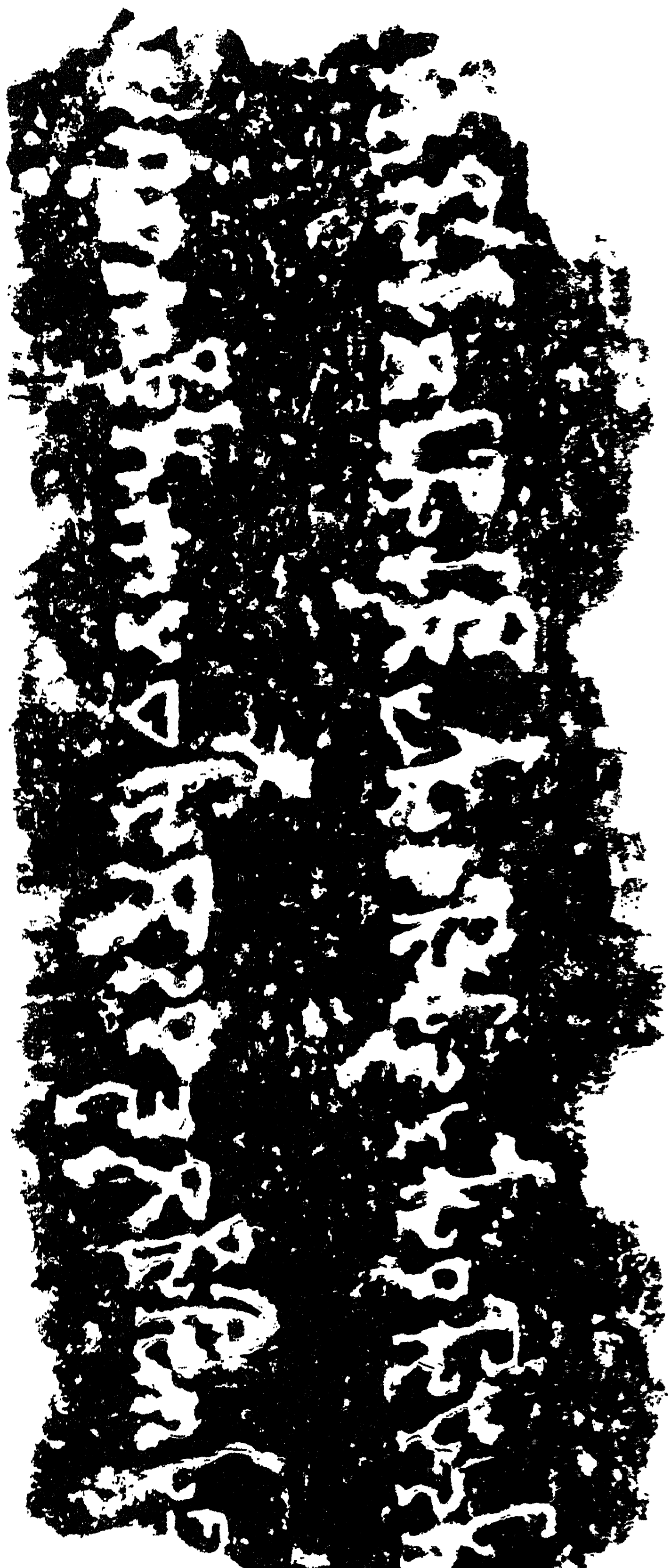
[1] [This phrase usually follows the date.—Ed.]

[2] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. V, p. 44. No. 54 of App. B of *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 145. See p. 47 of the *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20.

[4] This portion is somewhat damaged ; an alternative reading of Kō-Rāman is also possible.

THE JUNAGÁDH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN (I.)



SCALE ABOUT A QUARTER.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

2. Makarattil Viyāḷan ninṟa Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ=irāchchiyam vāṉṉa raṇḍām=āṇḍaikk=edirām=āṇḍu.

Of these, the latter is dated in the year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ when Jupiter stood in Makara, and the first epigraph, which is dated on the 9th day of Chiṅgam in the Kollam year 278 (=August 1102 A.D.) when Jupiter stood in Kanyā, purports to have been issued in the reign of Irāmar-Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladhikārigaḷ=*āyiṉa* Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartigaḷ in the second year opposite to the year *padi*...., the second part of which admits of the possible reading *nōrā*. Jupiter, which was in Makara in the 2nd+1st year (expired) of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ according to the Tiruvālūr record, would have journeyed on to Karkaṭaka six years later. This was actually the planet's position in the 2nd+8th year of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ as recorded in the Peruneyil inscription. Consequently, the two kings Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ and Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ mentioned in these two epigraphs appear to be identical. Again, it is clear that two years later, *i.e.*, in the 2nd+11th year, Jupiter would be occupying the Kanyā-*rāśi*. In the regnal year of king Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartigaḷ which has been read as 2nd+11th in the Quilon record Jupiter was actually in Kaṉṉi (Kanyā). This proves beyond doubt that the three kings referred to in the epigraphs from Tiruvālūr, Quilon and Peruneyil are identical, and it follows also that king Kulaśēkhara may have ascended the Chēra throne between the months Dhanus and Karkaṭaka of the Kollam year 265, *i.e.*, between January and July 1090 A.D.

The title Kōyiladhikāri assumed by the king deserves some notice. *Kōyil* either means 'a temple' or 'a palace' and *adhikāri* is a 'controller.' It is possible that the management of the palace was left in the hands of an important officer, sometimes the young crown-prince himself, who was consequently called the Kōyiladhikāri, and so Dr. Gundert has translated this term as the Palace-Major[1]; but as the kings of Kēraḷa were known to have specially interested themselves in temple affairs, it appears more probable that even during the life-time of a reigning sovereign, the supervision of the temple demesne was vested in the crown-prince[2] so as to give him the proper preliminary training in administrative work, and that he was given the title of Kōyiladhikāri.[3] Vijayarāgadēva who figures as such in the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu-Ravi probably held a similar position and his presence was considered essential for the transaction recorded in that copper-plate charter. He could not have been a mere official unconnected with the royal household, for, we find him given the title '*Chēramāṉār*' in a Tiruvoṟṟiyūr epigraph[4] of 936 A.D., and he had himself married a Kēraḷa princess Kiḷāṇaḍigaḷ daughter of Kulaśēkharadēva.[5]

In the Quilon record under reference, the king is introduced by the expression '*Irāmar-Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladikārigaḷ=āyiṉa Kulaśēkhara-chChakkaravattigaḷ*' which can be understood in one of two ways. The ordinary interpretation will be to consider that Kulaśēkhara-Chakravarti was the Kōyiladhikāri of another senior king Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi; but as the title 'Chakravartin' affixed to his name denotes that he was the reigning king, the simultaneous use

[1] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 83.

[2] *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 116. 'Nambūdiri Brahmans who held sway over temples possessing immense wealth and landed property invoked the assistance of Sāmanta-kshatriyas and these managed the Dēvasvams under the title of Kōyiladhikārigaḷ (Temple-Managers)—*Land Tenure of Travancore*.' Although this Kōyiladhikāram was also wielded by private managers (*Trav. Archl. Series*, II, p. 44) in the case of small individual temples the general control together with the specific title must have been in the possession of a member of the royal family, the crown-prince, in all probability.

[4] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 77 *et seq.* and *S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 236.

[5] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 144—*Kulaśēkharadēvar magaḷār-Vijaiyarāgadēvar-dēviyār Kiḷāṇaḍigaḷ*.

of the other title Kōyiladhikāri which would indicate a subordinate position to Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi, appears to be inconsistent. Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi to whom Kulaśēkhara was the Kōyiladhikāri (or Agent-in-chief) may be taken to refer to god Rāmēśvara of the Quilon temple, '*Tiruvaḍi*' being a respectful term applied alike to gods, kings, queens and saints.[1] Or again, Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladhikārigaḷ may be taken as the proper name of the king and Kulaśēkhara as his regal title. If, however, Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi represents a senior king whose Kōyiladhikāri was Kulaśēkhara at that time, then we have to understand that though the latter has styled himself as an independent king in the more northern localities in the 4th and 9th years of his reign, he acknowledged a suzerain in Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi in the somewhat later Quilon epigraph. Future researches alone can decide this point one way or the other; but it looks probable that Kulaśēkhara of the three records was a Chēra or Cochin king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where in the palace called Paṇaiṅgāvu[2] he had encamped on the 9th Chiṅgam of Kollam 278. It may be noted that the Cochin rājas even now style themselves as Kōyiladhikārigaḷ in documents pertaining to the landed property of temples, their full title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gaṅgādhara Vīra-Kēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikārigaḷ'.[3]

The king of this record being assigned to the end of the 11th century A.D., he must be different from Kulaśēkhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā* (a devotional poem considered to be the work of the Vaishṇava royal-saint Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār), and the patron of the author of the four *yamaka- kāvyas*[4] entitled the *Yudhishṭhiravijaya*, the *Tripuradahana*, the *Śaurikathōdaya* and the *Nalōdaya*, and from another Kulaśēkhara, the royal author of the two Sanskrit dramas, the *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* and the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, and of the undiscovered prose work, the *Āścharyamañjarī*[5].

The object of the record was to state that the king who was seated in (*the hall called*) Neḍiyataḷi (*at his capital* ?) in company with the presidents of the four assemblies and (*the president of*) Tirukkuṉṟappōḻai, issued, after due consultation with his ministers, an order granting the annual income of 40 *kalam* of paddy and the tax (?) called *arandai* from the village of **Peruneydal** for the expenses of feeding certain Brāhmaṇs and for expounding the *Mahābhārata* in that temple. The recipients of the gift were the *ūr* (*i.e.* the members of the village assembly) and the *poduvāḷ* (*i.e.* officers supervising charitable endowments). This order was conveyed by **Rāman-Tāyaṉ** of Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi and **Nārāyaṇaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ** of Kaḍambanāḍu to the *kuḍipati* (headmen or chieftains) of the two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu, who thereupon met in the temple of Peruneydal and, agreeing to refrain from collecting the *arandai* in obedience to the royal mandate, had this stipulation engraved on a slab of stone and got it set up in the temple compound.

The record is important in that it gives us, though perhaps imperfectly, a glimpse into the official routine of the 12th century in Kēraḷa where, more than in any other place, temple administration was entirely in the hands of *yōgams*[6] (corporations), which were wielding independent power in matters pertaining to temple politics, and which were presided over by the king.

---

[1] *Trav. Archl. Series.* Vol. III, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 9. This palace of Paṇaiṅgāvu was in existence at the time of the Vēṇāḍu ruler Śrīvallabhaṅkōdai (Kollam 149).

[3] *Cochin State Manual,* p. 39, and *Malabar Quarterly Review,* Vol. VIII, p. 117.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, April 1925, pp. 263-75.

[5] *Summary of Papers* of the All-India Oriental Conference, Third Session, pp. 109-15.

[6] *Malabar Quarterly Review,* VIII, p. 110.

Neḍiyataḷi according to the *Kēraḷōtpatti* was one of the four assembly halls in the capital town, where the councils (*yōgams*) elected their kings (*rakshā-purushas*) under the leadership of their presidents called the Taḷiyādirimār or Taḷiyāḷvāṉs[1]. It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple emanated from the Neḍiyataḷi Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṟṟaḷi representing Mūḻikkaḷam, which might be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneydal, as it had done in the case of the Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr and Tirukkākkarai temples.

Pati or *kuḍipati* is the term which has been applied to chieftains in the Kōṭṭayam plates[2] of Sthāṇu-Ravi — Puṉṉaittalai-ppati and Pūḷaikkuḍi-ppati, who were petty chieftains controlling restricted areas. *Dēśavāḻis* or officers in charge of *dēśas* or villages would be their equals in status. *Arandai*[3] which literally means ' misery ', here appears to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind leviable by the village officers on behalf of the king.

Of the places named in the record, Kaḍambanāḍu[4] 'and Iḷandurutti are the localities from where the *taḷiyādiris* or presidents of the Neḍiyataḷi assembly are said to have been selected. Kāpālimaṅgalam and Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi are mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates[5] and Muttūṟu[6] may be the same as the modern Muttūṟu in the Tiruvalla taluk. Tirukkuṉṟappuḻa seems to be identical with the village of the same name near Kārttigaippaḷḷi (Quilon Dn.) and belonging to the Eḍappaḷḷi chief.[7]

Neḍiyataḷi and Mēṟṟaḷi[8] occurring in several other records at Tirukkākkarai may, in all probability, refer to these two assemblies in addition to being specific villages answering to these names.

---

[1] *Taḷi* means ' a temple ' but here refers to the meeting halls (within temples ?) where certain assemblies met. Compare *v.* 69 of the *Śukasandēśa* of Lakshmīdāsa (*circa* 12th cent. A.D.) where the Chēra capital Mahōdayapura, has been described as having *taḷis*, presided over by all-powerful presidents:

> वाचा येषां भवति नृपतिर्नायको राज्यलक्ष्म्या
> ग्रामान् षष्टिं चतुर इह ये ग्राम्यचेष्टा नयन्ति ।
> अस्मे ग्रास्त्वेपि च भृगुनिभैः ग्रम्बदुह्मासते या
> विप्रन्द्रैस्तैर्विपुलमठवर्यावलीषु स्थलीषु ॥

[2] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 80.

[3] Comp. ' *arandai-keḍuttu varan-tarum=ivaḷ-eṉa* '—*Śilappadigāram* (*Uraiperukaṭṭurai*, 3).

[4] *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 220.

[5] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 166.

[6] Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam was the name of an ancient territorial division and it was situated somewhere in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom (*Puṟam v. 24*), but it had nothing to do with the village in this record. Compare *v.* 125 of the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, where this village has been referred to :—

Muttūṟṟichchenniniya puḷayam pinnilittēchchu Gaṅgā-
m-uttīrya tvam viravoḍu sakhē Nālukōḍikku chelka.

[7] In the island of Vaipeen, there is another Iḷaṅgunnappuḻa whose famous Subrahmaṇya temple was, prior to its absorption by the Cochin Durbar, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *sankētam* wielding high sacerdotal power (*Cochin State Manual*, p. 373). Tirukkuṉṟappōḻayum being used in the neuter gender can have nothing to do with the chief Yakkaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ figuring in the Tirukkākkarai records of the 10th century A.D.

[8] *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 165-8, and 172-3.

TEXT.[1]

First side.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] [2]Irā-
2 māṇḍai=kkedir e-
3 ṭṭām=āṇḍu [3]**Kulai-**
4 **śēkara-Kōyiladi-**
5 **kārigaḷ** tiruv-ạrā-
6 chchiyañ=chellā-
7 niṉṟa Karkkaṭakat-
8 til Viyāḷatti-
9 l[4] Virichchika-
10 ñāyiṟṟu nālu-
11 taḷiyaiyun=Tiru-
12 kkuṉṟappōḷai[5]-
13 yuṅ=kūṭṭiko-
14 ṇḍu **Neḍiyataḷi**
15 irunn-aruḷi **Peru-**
16 **neydal**-āṭṭaik-
17 kōḷāl [6]nālppa-
18 diṉ-kalan-nel-
19 lum Peruneyda-
20 l-arandaiyum a-
21 ṭṭil[7]-pēṟāy ti-
22 rukkai naṉaichch=a-
23 ruḷiyār [||*] Āṭṭai-
24 kōḷ namakkāramum
25 Mābāratamun=ti-
26 ruvuḷḷam paṉ-
27 ṉiy=aruḷiyār a-
28 maichchuḷḷuṟu[t*]ti-
29 y [3]Kulaiśēkara-Kō-
30 yiladikārigaḷ [||*]

Second side.

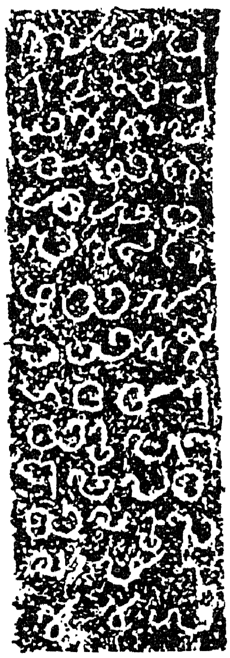
31 Āṭṭaikkōḷ
32 nāṟpadin-kala-
33 mum arandaiyu-
34 m Peruneydal-
35 ūrum poduv-ā
36 ḷum aṭṭil-pē-[7]
37 ṟāy koṇḍ[ā]r [||*] Kōyi-
38 ladikāriga-
39 ḷ **Kāpālimāṅṅa-**
40 **lattum Muttū-**
41 **ṟṟum** oḷḷa
42 kuḍi-patik-
43 ku tirumuga-
44 n=tiruvuḷḷam-
45 paṉṉi[8]=**Kkāma-**
46 **kkāṉappaḷḷi**
47 **Irāman-Tāya-**
48 **ṉum Kaḍammaṉ-**
49 **ṉāṭṭu Nārāya-**
50 **ṉa[ṉ*]-Nārāyaṇaṉum**
51 ūr-ppoduv-ā-
52 ḷuṅ=kūḍi tiru-
53 m[u]gam patiy-uṟu-
54 tti[9] Iraṇḍūr-
55 kkuḍi-patiyu-
56 m Peruneydal-
57 m[u]kkālva[10]-
58 ṭṭattu vannu

[1] From ink-impressions prepared by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.
[2] Read *irā°*.
[3] Read *Kulaśēkhara.°*
[4] The usual form will be *Karkaṭakattil Viyāḷaṉ niṉṟa ;* the double locative is uncommon.
[5] The correct accusative will be *Tirukkuṉṟappōḷaiyaiyum.*
[6] *Nālppadin* is the Malayalam form of *nāṟpadin* (*l.* 32).
[7] Read *aṭṭip°*.
[8] *Paṉṉi* would be more appropriate.
[9] *Pati-uṟutta* would be more grammatical or *pati-uṟutliyār,* a finite verb, may have been used, as the sentence following mentions a separate item of fact. *Pati-uṟutti* though a finite verb in modern Malayalam could not have been in vogue at the time of the present record, as declensional endings have been used in *aruḷiyar, koṇḍār* and *koḍuttār.*
[10] Before *va,* a letter has been entered and erased.

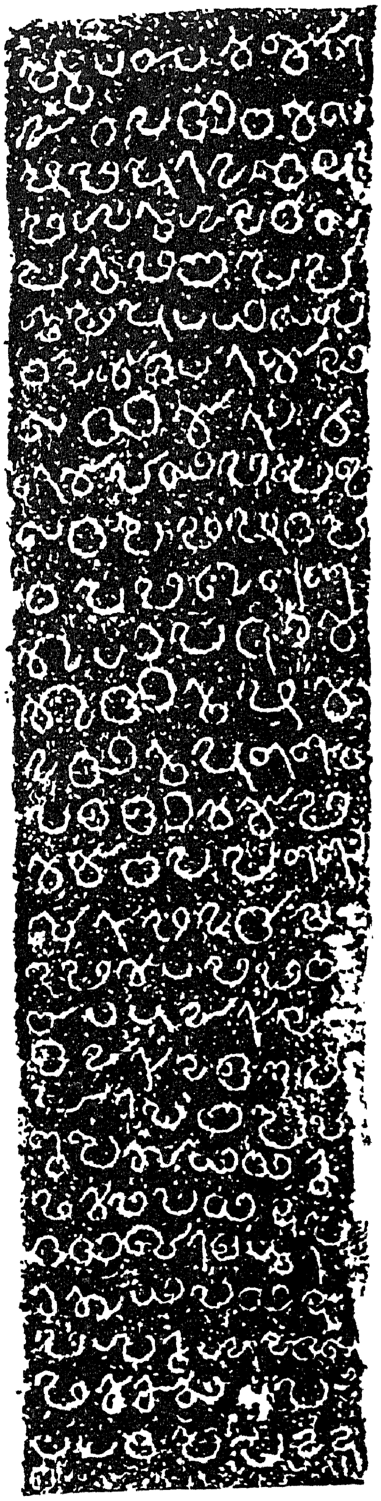
First Side.



Third Side.



Second Side.



Printed by Survey of India, Calcutta, 1925.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTHS

Third side.

59 kūḍi a-
60 randai [1]a-
61 ḍikkuma-
62 d=oḻiñ-
63 ñōm=eṉ-
64 ṟu kal=e-
65 ḻudi nā-
66 ṭṭi=kko-
67 ḍuttār
68 tiruvuḷ-
69 ḷam-paṉ-
70 ṇiy=aruḷi-
71 yar(ya) mār-
73 ggamē [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity !

In the **month of Vṛiśchika, of the eighth year current opposite to the second year of** (*his*) prosperous reign, when **Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka, Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri** was pleased to be present at **Neḍiyataḷi** taking (*with him*) the four *taḷis*[2] and Tirukkuṉṟappōḷai, and was pleased to grant as an *aṭṭippēṟu* with libation of water, (*tirukkai-naṉaichch-aruḷiyār*[3]) the annual income of forty *kalam* of paddy (*accruing*) from **Peruneydal** and the *arandai* of Peruneydal. After informing the ministry, Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ was also pleased to order the feeding[4] (*of persons*) and (*the reading of*) the *Mahābhārata*[5] (*in the temple*) from (*this*) annual income.

(*The members of*) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāḷ*[6] received as *aṭṭippēṟu* this annual income [7] of forty *kalam* and *arandai.*

The Kōyiladhikārigaḷ having issued the royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of **Kāpālimaṅgalam** and **Muttūṟu**, and **Rāman-Tāyaṉ** of Kāmakkānappaḷḷi and **Nārāyaṇaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ** of Kaḍambanāḍu, as well as, the *ūr-poduvāḷ*, having together carried (*this*) royal order to the chieftains, the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, ceased to levy[8] the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

---

[1] It cannot be ascertained whether there is any mistake in this word here. If 'mere collection' is implied, the word used is rather rare. Another word '*aḍukkuvadu*' is defined by Mr. Nagam Ayya in his *Trav. State Manual* as a fee due to the Sirkar from the heir on his succession to the *virutti* holding, for the grant of the Royal *neet*. Dr. Gundert explains it as 'the rights retained by the original proprietor from the purchaser.'

[2] See note 1, p. 343, above.

[3] *Tirukkai-naṉaichcha-uḷiyār* means 'was pleased to wet his auspicious (royal) hands,' *i.e.*, 'was pleased to give away with a libation of water' (*aṭṭippēṟu, udakadānam*).

[4] *Namakkāram* (Skt. *namaskāram*) is an arrangement which consists of feeding Brāhmaṇas in the temple premises with the food that had been previously offered to the god as *nivēdanam*, for the merit of, and with the donations made by some individual, either royal or private.

[5] The reading of the *Mahābhārata* was a favourite form in which temple charities were utilised.

[6] *Poduvāḷ*, corresponding to *madhyasthas* of Tamiḷ inscriptions, represents persons who had the supervision of charitable institutions. They were sub-divided into *aga°* and *puṟa-poduvāḷ.*

[7] In the expression *āṭṭaikkōḷ*, *āṭṭai*=annual, and *kōḷ* (the substantive of *koḷ*=to receive) the receipt; so the annual income (in kind) from the lands is meant.

[8] *Aḍikkumadu* seems to mean 'realisation (of the tax).'

No. 41.—THE GARAVAPADU GRANT OF GANAPATIDEVA; ŚAKA 1182.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

This grant is engraved on three copper-plates which were forwarded to the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1916, by M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., late of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, who had obtained them on loan from M. R. Ry. T. Achyuta Rao Pantulu, M.A., Deputy Inspector of Schools. No definite information as to their discovery is available. Their contents have been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1916-17.[1] The plates have since been acquired for the Madras Museum and deposited there.

The plates are oblong in shape and are held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are rivetted into the back of a circular seal. They measure $9\frac{1}{2}''$ by $5\frac{3}{8}''$ and are about $\frac{1}{7}''$ in thickness. The ring and the seal have a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}''$ and $2''$ respectively. The ring had not been cut when the plates came up for examination. They contain four faces of writing in all, the first and the last plates being engraved on their inner sides only. The entire set with ring and seal weighs 274 tolas. On the seal, on a counter-sunk surface, are engraved in relief (1) the symbols of the Crescent and the Sun at the top; below these (2) a boar[2] facing the proper left with a dagger placed in its front with the point upwards, and (3) a cow facing the proper left at the bottom.

The inscription is composed in the Sanskrit language and written in the Telugu characters of the period to which it belongs. The invocatory and narrative portion of the record (lines 1 to 45) consists of 21 verses. This is followed, in lines 45 to 63, by the categorical enumeration of the donees with their *gōtras* and their shares. Lines 63 to 65 give the boundaries of the gift village. These are followed, in lines 65 and 66, by the usual minatory verse beginning with 'स्वदत्तां' and the closing benediction 'मंगळमहाश्रीश्रीश्रीः'. On the whole, the inscription is engraved very carefully. The position of the *anusvāra* is not uniform. In some cases it is placed at the proper left top corner of the letter to which it belongs as in the later Chāḷukyan records, while in a few others it is placed by the side of the letter as at the present day. The *anusvāra* takes the place of the nasal before all consonants. But in some places it does not; *e.g. diśanti* in line 1 and *nirvvēśayanti* in line 2. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled. The doubling of the letter *ṇa* is effected by adding a subscript *n* to *ṇa, e.g., varṇna* in line 23; *vistīrṇna* in line 26, etc.

The word *vēḷī* used for *vēlī* in verse 1 suggests the influence of the vernacular pronunciation which has a tendency to substitute *ḷa* for the Sanskrit *la*. The expression 'Garavapāḍākhyē' in verse 21 seems to have been employed inadvertently as in Telugu, the correct form Garavapāḍvākhyē being somewhat difficult to pronounce.[3]

The composition is marked by force and fluency of style. The author's diction in some places reminds us of that of some great poets. Our mind is drawn to the beautiful expression of Kālidāsa :- 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषस्निग्धया' in the *Mēghadūta*, by his phrase 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषच्छायया' employed in verse 6[4].

---

[1] Appendix A, No. 4 and page 122, paragraph 30.

[2] No. 328 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905 belonging to King Pratāparudra of this family has the figure of a boar carved above it. The Boar emblem of the Kākatiyas has been noticed by Prof. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 189). See also copper-plate No. 17 of *Nellore Inscriptions* in which the 'Boar' emblem is carved.

[3] [The name can very well be *Garavapāḍa* or °*pāḍā*, as given in the inscription, unless the subscript *v* was left out by the engraver.—Ed.]

[4] [He might have taken it from the *Mēghadūta* itself.—Ed.]

This inscription is the **second** copper-plate record, hitherto found, of the **Kākatīya** dynasty. The one already discovered also belongs to the time of King **Gaṇapati** and is published in the *Nellore Inscriptions*.[1] It is dated in the Śaka year 1176 corresponding to the cyclic year Ānanda and is thus six years earlier than the grant under notice.

In verses 1 to 6 are praised in order Vighnarāja (*i.e.*, Vināyaka), Varāha, Sarasvatī,[2] the moon-crest of Śambhu, the Lord of Ambikā (*i.e.*, Śiva), and Vishṇu. Verse 7 gives the description of the Lotus coming out of the navel of Vishṇu from which was born the four-faced Brahmā (verse 8). Verses 9 and 10 state that from his eye came Āditya (*i.e.*, Sun) and from him came **Manu** who was a king that regulated the castes (*varṇas*) and (*their*) duties (*dharmas*) etc. The genealogy from Āditya given in the record is as follows :—

Āditya.
|
Manu.
|
Kalikāla-Chōḷa.
|
Durjjaya.
|
Prōla.
|
Rudra. — Mahādēva.

Gaṇapatidēva.

Kalikāla-Chōḷa is stated to have gone to the **Dakshiṇāpatha** in the course of a hunting expedition (verse 11). Alighting there upon a famous town called '**Kākati**' he pitched his extensive camp near it (verse 12). King **Durjjaya** who had the epithet *Raṇa-durjaya*[3] (invincible in war) was the next notable member of this family by whom the line of the Kākati kings was first established (verse 13). Then is mentioned (verse 14) King **Prōla** *i.e.*, Prōla II according to the genealogy of the Mōṭupalli record of Gaṇapatidēva.[4] His son was **Rudra** (verse 15) who was succeeded by his younger brother **Mahādēva** whose elephants made a breach in the ramparts of the residence of the **Sēvuṇa** (king)[5] (verse 16). His son was King **Gaṇapatidēva** whose

[1] Copper-plate No. 17.

[2] The expression actually used is '*Sārasvatākhyaṁ-tējaḥ*' by which it is clear the author is glorifying the goddess Sarasvatī.

[3] A Copper-plate grant of about the 7th century A.D. (No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17) mentions Mahārāja Raṇa-durjaya as the founder of the family to which king Pṛithivi-Mahārāja of the record belonged. He belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. It may be recalled here that Karikāla-Chōḷa and his descendants claimed to belong to this *gōtra* and that the long inscription at Malkapuram refers to the Kākatīyas as Durjaya-Kshatriyas (*Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17, page 122, para. 32).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 189. Prof. Hultzsch remarks here that 'the first king of this dynasty, Prōla I is not mentioned in any other Kākatīya inscription.' It may, however, be noted that he is the earlier of the two 'Prōlas' mentioned in No. 107 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902. From No. 204 of 1905 it is seen that Prōla II had two other sons, *viz.*, Harihara and Gaṇapati, not generally known. Of these Gaṇapati probably died at an early age.

[5] This must be the Dēvagiri Yādava king Bhillama who reigned from A.D. 1187 to 1191 or Jaitugi I who reigned from A.D. 1191 to 1210 (*Bom. Gaz.*, Volume I, Part 2, page 519). Mahādēva's latest year would be A.D. 1197 or 1198.

exploits were great (verse 17). His **minister** was **Dēvarāja**[1] who was famed for his wide charities (verse 18). He had four sons through his wife **Lakshmī**; they were respectively called **Rāma**, **Tikka**,[2] **Mamchaya** and **Bētaya** (verse 19). In the **Śaka year 1182**, corresponding to the cyclic year **Raudra**, in the month **Chaitra**, on the day of the **Solar eclipse** in **the dark fortnight**, **Tikka**, the second of the said four sons, granted the village of **Garavapāḍu** as an *agrahāra*, to fifty Brahmans of several *gōtras*[3] learned in the Vēdas (verses 20 and 21). The **date**, according to the late Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to **Monday** (not given in the inscription) **April 12, A.D. 1260**. On this day there was a Solar eclipse as stated in the inscription.

The statement that Karikāla-Chōḷa fixed his capital at Kākati in Dakshiṇāpatha is not found in any other known record of this dynasty, though Kalikāla (or Karikāla)-Chōḷa as an ancestor of the family is mentioned in some. In a few records, however, 'Kākati' is referred to as a place with which its early members were connected. An unpublished epigraph[4] refers to Kākati as the 'family city' (*kulapura*) of this dynasty. Another such epigraph[5] refers itself to king 'Gaṇapatidēva of Kākatīyyapura.'

A chief named Kākartya Guṇḍyana is mentioned in an unpublished copper-plate grant[6] belonging to about A.D. 945 as a subordinate of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Amma II.[7] The family to which the chief belonged is called Sāmantavoḍḍi. The epithet 'Kākartya', which is evidently a variant of 'Kākatya, must, therefore, refer to a place to which the chief belonged. It is thus almost certain that 'Kākati' was an ancient place and the family name Kākati, Kākatya, Kāketa or Kākatīya was based upon the original connection of its members with a town of that name and not upon the worship of any family deity as suggested by Kumārasvāmin[8] [Burnell quoted by Fleet.—Ed.] the learned commentator of the *Pratāparudrīya*. If the latter

[1] Dēvarāja was not the only minister of the king for we are told that a certain Śivadēvayya was his Chief Minister (*Lives of Telugu Poets* by Viresalingam, Old Edition, page 36) who was looked upon as no less than a god. Śivadēvayya must have been identical with the great Śaiva teacher Viśvēśvara-Śiva-Dēśika, the pontiff of the Gōḷaki-*maṭha* and the *rāja-guru* of three kings among whom was King Gaṇapati (*Epigraphical Report* for 1917, page 123).

[2] The commander Tikka has to be distinguished from his two contemporaries of this name *viz.*, (i) the great poet Tikkana who wrote the latter fifteen *parvas* of the *Telugu Mahābhārata* and who is stated to have gone as an ambassador to the Court of Gaṇapati from king Manumasiddhi of Nellūru (Nellore) whose minister he was and (ii) the warrior Tikka, the cousin of the poet, who was the commander of the armies of Manumasiddhi. Siddha, the father of the last was minister under king Tikka, the father of Manumasiddhi (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, pages 33 to 39). The name Tikka, it may be noted, is a contracted form of 'Tiruk-Kāḷatti' a Prākrit form of 'Śrī-Kālahastī.' The name was taken after that of the popular god Śrī-Kāḷahastīśvara at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor District, Madras Presidency. See *Nellore Inscriptions*, A. 7, G. 45, G. 60, etc.

[3] Though verse 20 of the inscription states that the village was granted to 'fifty' Brahmans, actually only forty-nine Brahmans received shares. The fiftieth share was granted to Vallabha of Śrīkākolanu *viz.*, Śrīkākuḷam in the Divi taluk of the Kistna district. This is the god of the place who is known also by the name 'Śrīkākuḷēśvara' and has been popular from early times (see Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1893, Nos. 136-172). While making grants of *agrahāras* it was customary for ancient kings to provide shares for the local deities and for the Vēdas, chiefly Ṛik and Yajus (above, Vol. XVI, p. 253, text line 273 and p. 263). The first eleven recipients of shares are of the Yāska-*gōtra* which is very rarely met with in these days. Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, was of this *gōtra*. His patronymic is Paiṅgi in the *Anukramaṇi* of the Ātrēyī-*śākhā* (Weber *Indische Studien*, I 71, n; 3396; *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, Vol. II, page 23). The *Muni* Yāska is mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* (*Uttarārdha*) along with Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka, Śārkarākshi, Sārshṭi, Sāvarṇi, Śālaṅkāyana, Jaimini and Daivantyāyana, most of whom were founders of *gōtras*.

[4] No. 204 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.

[5] No. 111 of 1902.

[6] No. 1 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17.

[7] *Ibid*, page 117 f.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 12.

were the case the deity would have been invoked or praised at least in a few of the innumerable records of this family. And even if there was such a deity known or familiar to the commentator it must have been called so after the place 'Kākati.'[1] There are many instances of the presiding goddess Durgā of a village being called after the village.[2]

Kānker, the head-quarters of the state of that name, situated immediately to the north of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces was formerly called Kākera, Kākaira and Kākaraya.[3] Since epigraphs refer to Kākati as a *pura* (*i.e.*, city) as noticed above, it is very likely that Kānker, as suggested by its ancient names, was identical with Kākati. The forms 'Kākati' 'Kākatya,' etc. might have, in local pronunciation, taken the forms Kākera (*cf.* the form Kāketa). The connection of the Kākati kings with Kalikāla-Chōḷa, who is well-known to South Indian history as a king of about the 6th century A.D., and the story that he fixed his capital at the town of Kākati and the appearance, in the adjoining state of Bastar, of an early (Śaka 983) Chōḷa Chief Chaṁdrāditya-Mahārāja[4] who calls himself, like the Kākatīyas, a descendant of Karikāla-Chōḷa, point to the possibility of the said identity. The advent, again, of Annamarāja, the brother of Kākti (*i.e.* Kākati) Pratāparudra into Bastar, the present ruling family of which is Kākatīya—though curiously enough Sōmavaṁśi—must have been only a return to the inherited family territory lying here or such territory reconquered and recovered now.[5]

Among the boundaries of the gift village no village or town is mentioned to help us in its identification. There are villages of the name 'Gārapāḍu' in the Guntur and the Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district and in the Nuzvid taluk of the Kistna district. From the reported fact of the discovery of the plates near Ellore in the latter district it may have to be identified with the village of Gārapāḍu in the Nuzvid taluk.[6]

TEXT.[7]

[Metres. Vv. 1, 3 *Sragdharā*; v. 2 *Svāgatā*; v. 4, *Indravajrā*; vv. 5, 18 and 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*; v. 6 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 7-8 *Upajāti*; v. 9 *Hāriṇī*; vv. 10, 12-14 and v. 21 *Anushṭubh*; v. 11 *Pushpitāgrā*; vv. 15-17 *Mālinī*; and v. 19 *Upēndravajrā*.]

First Plate.[8]

1 [9]लक्ष्मीं हस्ते दिशन्ति प्रमदमुपहरंत्यब्धिवेकादुकूलासु-

2 र्व्वीं निर्व्वेशयन्ति प्रतिदिशमचलां कोर्त्तिमानर्त्तयंति । किंचान्यद्य-

3 द्यदिष्टं निदधति निखिलं तत्तदग्रे समग्रं नित्यं निर्व्वर्त्यमानाः कुशल-

[1] In almost all earlier inscriptions the family name is given as 'Kākati' (see Nos. 213, 244 and 288 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1893).

[2] [and *vice versa*.— Ed.]

[3] *Vide* Nos. 252 and 253 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908 and Nos. 124, 128, 169, 228 and 229 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* by Hiralal.

[4] No. 198 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* and No. 231 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

[5] [It is doubtful if philology can allow of such a derivation. Besides, history or rather tradition, goes against it in as much as the Kākatiyas are said to be the descendants of the Pāṇḍava Arjuna and of the Lunar race whereas Karikāla-Chōḷa and Gaṇapatidēva belong to the solar race.—Ed.]

[6] [Line 64 of the text would show that it stood on the Bhāgīrathī. N. P. C.]

[7] From ink-impressions kindly lent by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

[8] This side of the plate is marked close to the ring-hole with the Telugu-Kannada numerical figure for 1.

[9] The line commences with a spiral which may stand either for *Ōṁ* or for *Śrī*. The latter is more probable since even to-day the orthodox practice in the Telugu country is to commence any writing with the letter *Śrī* or an ornamental flourish representing it. [See above Vol. xvii, p. 352 f.n.— Ed.]

4 [1]कुलग्रहा विघ्नराजप्रणामाः ॥ [१*] भूतये भवतु वस्स वराहो-भू-

5 र्भुवःस्वरधिदैवतमेकं । एकदापि यजनप्रवणानां भूपतित्वमु-

6 पपादयते यः ॥ [२*] तेजस्तारस्वताख्यं हृदयसरसिजे वः

7 [2]प्रकाशेच शीतज्योतिर्मुक्तासुधांभोनिदि[3]गगनधुनीचंदनान-

8 [4]दनीयं । यस्मिन् संवित्समुद्रे स्फुरति किमपरं निर्भ्भरन्निस्सरं-

9 ति स्फायन्मा[धु]र्य्यधुर्य्याः परिमलितदिशः श्लोककल्लोललेखाः ॥ [३*]

10 अन्न[ा]तव्रडिच्चयसंविभागामराहुदंष्ट्रापरिभूतिभूमिं । अ-

11 [मु]क्तमौग्धां मुकुटेन शंभोस्संभाविता ध्यायत चंद्रलेखां ॥ [४*] तं सं-

12 [5]भायरांबिकासहृ[च]रं सर्व्वेपि दर्व्वीकरालंकारांगमनंगदर्प्पदमनं

13 श्रीचंद्र[चू]डामणिं । इ[च्छ]ा यस्य चराचरच्छलभवद्वैविध्यलोकत्र-

14 [यो]सृष्टिस्थित्युप[सं]हृतिक्रममयक्रीडाक्ततान्नेडना ॥ [५*] लक्ष्म्या चं-

Second Plate ; First Side.

15 चल्कनकनिक[ष]च्छायया चारुवक्षास्सौदामन्या गतचपलतासौम्य-

16 [6]एवांबुवाहः । निर्म्मर्य्यादद्विपरथहयोद्रिक्त[7]ताहृक्समृ[ध्यै][8] भू[त्यै] नि-

17 त्यं भवतु पुरुषः पुं[ड]रोकेक्षणो वः ॥ [६*] अनातपायत्तनि[ज]प्रबोधं[9]मचं-

18 द्रिकासंपदधीननिद्रं । सिसृक्षतो विष्टपमाविरासीदमुष्य नाभेररविंदमेकं ॥ [७*] त-

19 [स्मा]त्सरोजादुदभूत्स्वयंभूस्तत्साम्यरम्यैर्व्वदनैश्चतुर्भिः । दिशश्चतस्रो यु-

20 [ग]पद्दिदृक्षन् त[थै]व[10]सांगं चतुरोपि वेदान् ॥ [८*] अजनि नयनात्तस्या-दित्यस्त्रिलोक-

21 विभूषणं तिमिर[प]टलद्रोहिज्योतिःपरिष्कृतमंडलः । कमलमिव यः का-

22 ल्ये लोकं विकासयते परैरखिलममलैरष्टाभिर्द्दिग्दलैरभितो वृतं ॥ [९*] तस्मात्मनुरभू-

23 द्राजा [11]वणर्णधर्म्मनियामकः । श्लाघनीयः क्षितिभृतां देवानामिव वा-

24 सवः ॥ [१०] तदभिजनजनिस्ततो [ध]रित्रीमशि[ष]दिमां कलिकाल-चोक्कदेवः [।*]

25 दिशि दिशि मृगयाच्छलेन खेलन्नुपगतवानथ दक्षिणापथं[12] सः ॥ [११*] पुरं स

---

[1] Read कुलगृह.

[2] Read प्रकाशित.

[3] Read °निधि°.

[4] Read °न्द°.

[5] Read °भावयतां°.

[6] Read °येवांबु°.

[7] Read °द्रिक्त°.

[8] Read °समृध्यै.

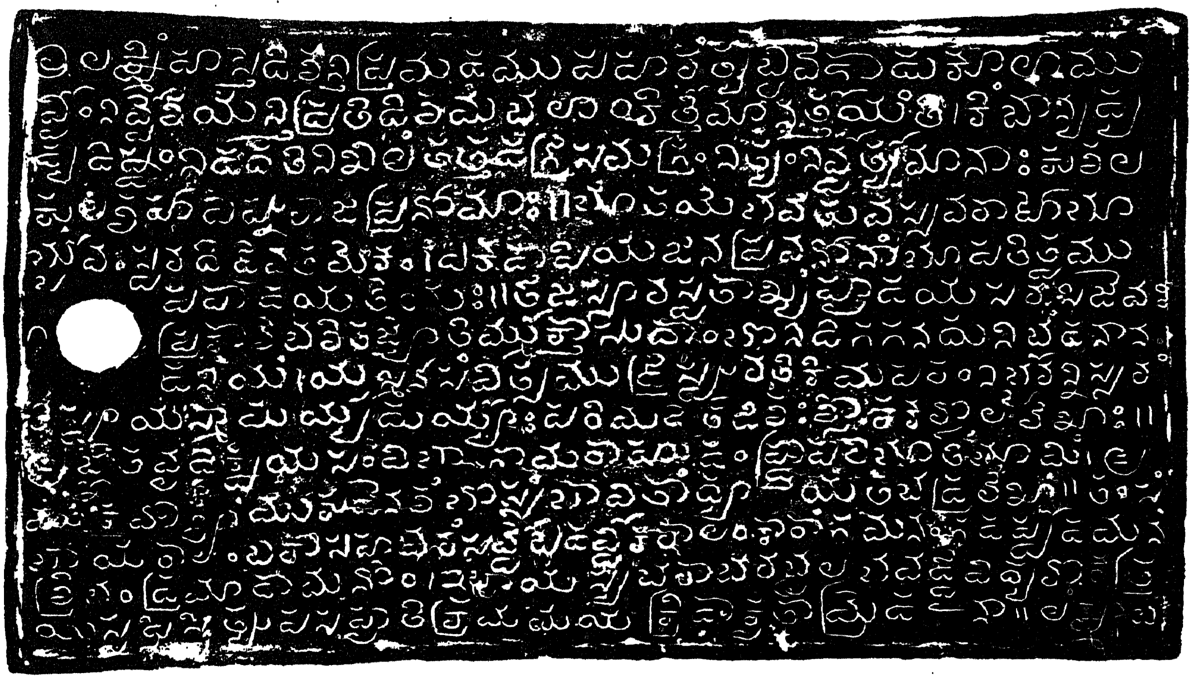
[9] Read °धम्मचन्द्रि°.

[10] Read तथैव [and सांगांश्च°—Ed.]

[11] Read वर्ण° [or वण्ण°.—Ed.]

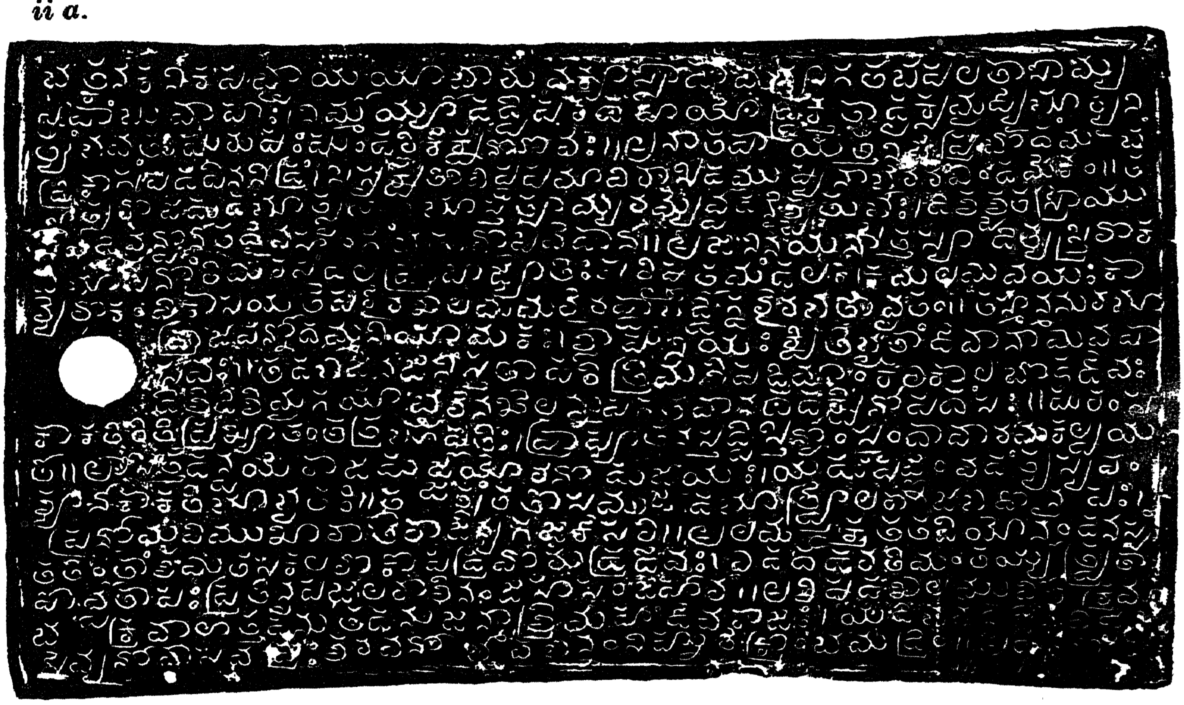
[12] Read °पथं.

i.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14

ii a.

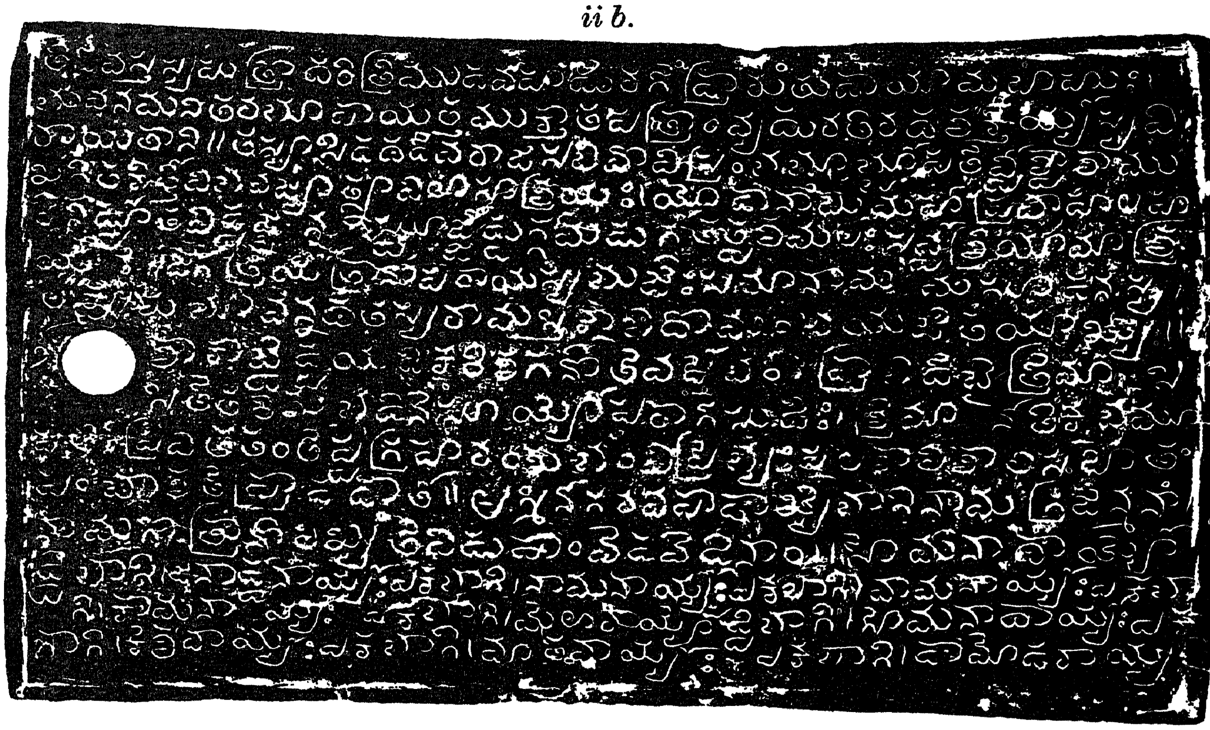


16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

H. KRISHNA SASTRI. SCALE ·6 SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

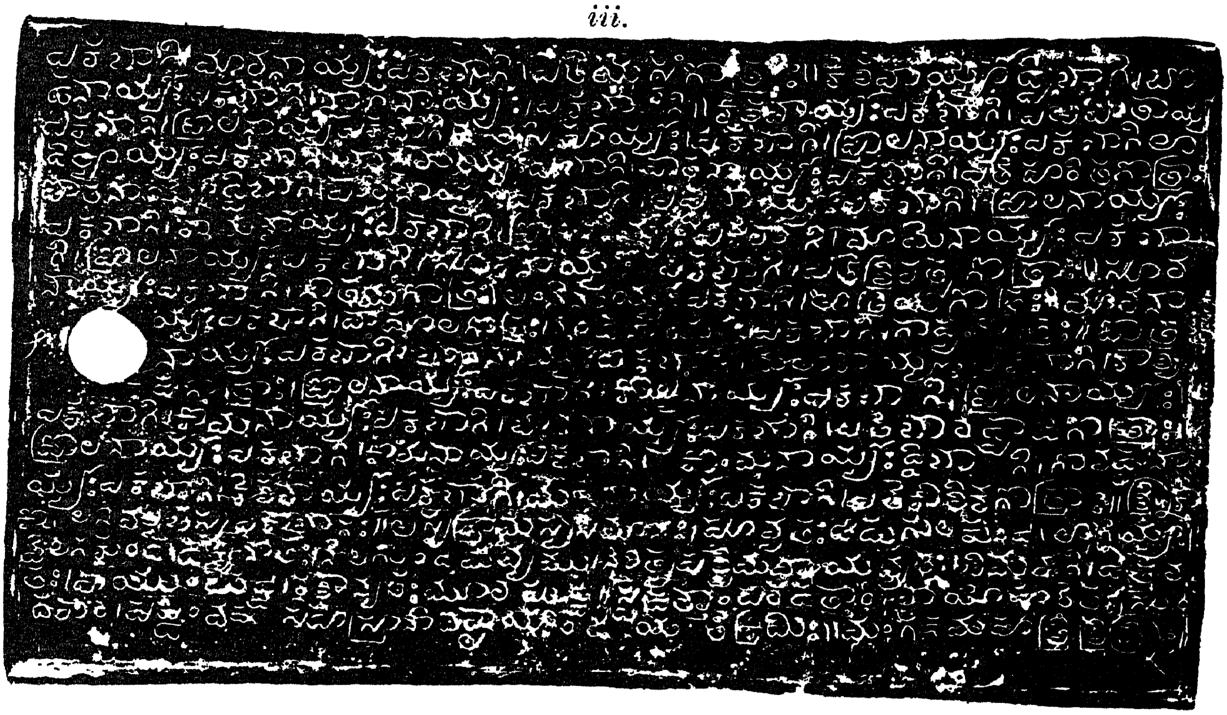
ii b.

34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48



iii.

50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66



SEAL.



26 काकतिरिति प्रख्यातं तत्र भूपतिः । प्राप्या[ल]नस्थादिसीधनं[1] स्कंधावारम-
 कल्पय-
27 त् ॥ [१२*] आसीत्तदन्वये रा[जा] दुर्ज्जयो रणदुर्ज्जयः । यदुग्रवं वदं-
 त्यस्य वं-
28 श्यान् काकतिभूभृतः ॥ [१३*] तद्वंशतो समुद्भूतोलराजाभिधो नृपः ।
29 प्रणामविमुखारातिराजन्यगजकेसरो ॥ [१४*] अलमकृत तद्दोयो नंदनस्स-
30 ततिं तां शमितसकललोकोपद्रवो रुद्रदेवः विद्दधदरातिमंतर्थ्यत्प्रतत-
31 पौर्व्वतापः प्रतिनृपजलराशोनंजसा संजहार ॥ [१५*] अभिपदखिलमु-
 र्व्वीचक्रमा-
32 चक्रवालात्तदनु तदनुजन्मा श्रीमहादेवराजः । यदिभरदनवि[द्धः]
33 [2]से[व्य]णावासवप्रः शरवणा(ण)भवभिन्नं निह्नुते क्रौंचमद्रिं ॥ [१६*] अथ गणप-

Second Plate ; Second Side[3].

34 तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रो धरित्रीमुदवहदुरगेंद्रात्संतुदायामबाहुः ।
35 भुवन(भुव)मनितरभूपायत्तमुत्तातपत्रां व्यधुरतिरथमतोय्येस्य बी-
36 रायितानि ॥ [१७*] तस्यासीदथ देवराजसचिवो विस्रंभभूभ्भूपतेर्व्विश्वाशासु-
37 खमीतकीर्त्तिविभव[ज्यो]त्स्नाविलासाश्रयः । यो दानांबुमहाप्रवाहस्वह-
38 रोनिर्द्धूतविद्वज्जनस्फूर्ज्जद्दुर्गमदुर्गतत्वशमलः सर्व्वश्रियामाश्र-
39 यः ॥ [१८*] जगत्त्रय[4]त्राणपराय[ण*]स्य भु[जे]: समावा मधुसूदनस्य ।
40 लक्ष्म्यामभूवन्नथ तस्य रामस्त्रिकाभिधो मंचयवेतयाख्यौ ॥ [१९*]
41 शाकाब्दे हयदिक्करोमग्रणिते वर्षे च रौद्रभिद्रे[5] चैत्रे मासि
42 सितेतरे शुभदिने सूर्य्योपरागे सुधोः । श्रीमान् तिक्कचमू-
43 पतिः प्रवितनं तेष्वग्रहारं शुभं विप्रेभ्यः फलशालिशालिकलितं
44 पंचाशते प्राददात् ॥ [२०*] अस्मिन् गरवपाडाख्ये[6] आग्निनामसमानां ।
45 नामगोत्राणि लिख्यंते विदुषां वेदवेदिनां ॥ [२१*] सोमनाथार्य्यो
46 द्विभागो । जनार्द्दनार्य्यः एकभागो । नामनार्य्यः एकभागी । वासनार्य्यः
 एकभा- ।

[1] Read °स्तीर्ण° [or °स्तीवणं .—Ed.]

[2] Read सेवणा°.

[3] This side of the plate is marked with the Telugu-Kannada numerical symbol for 2.

[4] Read जगत्त्रय°.

[5] Read रौद्राभिधे.

[6] Read °पाडाख्ये.

47 गो । कामनार्य्यः एकभागी । मैलाराय्र्यौ द्विभागी । सोमनाथ र्य्य एक-
48 भागी । केशवार्य्यः एकभागी । मा[त]वार्य्यः एकभागी । दामोदरार्य्य[:]

Third Plate.[1]

49 एकभागी । मारनार्य्यः एकभागी । एते यस्कगोत्रा: ॥ केशवार्य्यौ द्विभागी । चो-
50 डनार्य्यः एकभागी । नागनार्य्यः एकभागी ॥ (।) केशवार्य्यः एकभागी । ए०पोतार्य्य-
51 [:] ०एकभागी । प्रोलनार्य्य एकभागी । [।] नर[सिं]हार्य्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्य्यः एकभागी [।*] आ-
52 दित्यार्य्यः एकभागी । भास्करार्य्यः ए[क*]भागी । पोतनार्य्यः एकभागी । एते हरितगोत्रा: [॥*]
53 पोतनार्य्यौ द्विभागी । चा[व]नार्य्यः एकभागी । अप्पनार्य्य एकभागी । प्रोलनार्य्यः
54 एकभागी । कामनार्य्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्य्यः एकभागी । मामिनार्य्यः एकभा-
55 गी । प्रोलनार्य्यः एकभागी । सूरनार्य्यः एकभागी । एते श्रीवत्सगोत्रा: ॥ सूर-
56 नार्य्यः एकभागी । गौतमगोत्रः ॥ अंनेनार्य्यः एकभागी । आत्रेयगोत्रः ॥ मारना-
57 र्य्यः एकभागी । वाधूलगोत्रः ।[2] नंदनार्य्यः एकभागी । गार्ध्यगोत्र:[3] ॥ पोत-
58 नार्य्यः एकभागी । बोड्डनार्य्यः एकभागी । मैलारार्य्यः एकभागी । [एते*] काश्य-
59 पगोत्रा: ॥ प्रोलनार्य्यः एकभागी । कोम्मनार्य्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्य्यः
60 एकभागी । कौमनार्य्यः एकभागी । चौवनार्य्यः एकभागी । एते भारद्वाजगोत्रा: ॥
61 प्रोलनार्य्यः एकभागी । कौमनार्य्यः एकभागी । कौमनार्य्यः द्विभागी । गोवर्द्धना-

---

[1] The plate is marked with the Telugu numerical figure for 3 near the ring-hole.

[2] [*Daṇḍa* is unnecessary.—Ed.]

[3] Read गार्ग्यगोत्र:.

62 र्य्यः एकभागी । केशवार्य्यं एकभागी । मे[ड]नार्य्यः एकभागी ।[1]
एते कौशिकगोत्राः ॥ श्रीका-

63 कोलनिवल्लभस्य एको भागः ॥ अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमानः । पूव्वतः[2]
जङ्गुलकुंट । आग्नेय्यां

64 बेलगकुंट । दक्षिणतः ।[3] नेलगुंटमध्यमु । [4]नैरित्यपश्चिमवायव्यतः । भीमर[थी] ।[3]
उत्तर-

65 तः ।[3] पायं[पु]ट्ट । ईशान्यतः मूरपुट्ट ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत
वसुं-

66 धरां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः[5] ॥ [२२*] मंगळ-
महाश्रीश्रीश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Salutations to Vighnarāja, offered every day, being the family home of prosperity, bestow wealth on hand, convey great pleasure, cause the enjoyment of the earth which wears the silk garment of the sea-coast, set a-dancing everlasting fame in every quarter of the globe and also place before (*us*), exhaustively, everything that is desired!

(V. 2). May that Varāha (*i.e.*, the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu), the sole presiding deity of (*the three worlds*) Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ, who bestows royalty even on those that were once devoted to sacrifice[6], be for your prosperity (*i.e.*, bless you)!

(V. 3). May that Lustre of Learning, shine in the lotus of your heart, which is delightfully enjoyable like the Cool-rayed (Moon), the pearl, the nectar-sea, the celestial river and the sandal! And what more? While this sea of knowledge heaves up, series of the waves of verses flow forth unceasingly, laden with increasing sweetness, perfuming the quarters.

(V. 4). Meditate upon that streak of the Moon which has not shaken off its coyness (*i.e.*, remains tender), which is honoured by the crown of Śambhu, which knows not the vicissitudes of growth and decay and which is not subject to humiliation by the fangs of Rāhu!

(V. 5). Worship you all the Companion of Ambikā, the glorious Moon-crested One (*i.e.*, Śiva), whose body is adorned with snakes, who destroyed the pride of Anaṅga (*i.e.*, Cupid) and whose volition is (*the cause of*) the repeated sport consisting of the order of creation, protection and destruction of the three worlds (*with their*) duality born of the apparent (*phenomena of*) the movable and the immovable!

(V. 6). May the Lotus-eyed Purusha (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) whose chest is beautiful with (the goddess) Lakshmī of sparkling hue like that of the golden streak on the touchstone (*and who is*) compar-

[1] [Rules of *sandhi* are not observed in this list.—Ed.]

[2] Read पूर्व्वतः.

[3] [The *daṇḍa* is to be omitted.—Ed.]

[4] Read नैर्ऋत्य°. [5] [Read क्रिमिः—Ed.]

[6] The reference here might be to the story of Varāha-Vishṇu having raised to royalty the Dēvas, who were devoted to sacrifices, having vanquished the Asura Hiraṇyāksha. Or it may be to the fact of His bestowing royal glory upon the descendants of the *Munis*, Mānavya and his son Hārīta, *i.e.*, the Chāḷukyas, who had the Boar emblem, probably on this account. [अपि would show that there is no such reference. The idea seems to be that Varāha bestows royalty even on those who worship him only once.—Ed.]

able to the cloud (lit. with lighting), that is void of fickleness and handsome, be ever for (*i.e.*, grant) that prosperity of limitless increase such as overflows with elephants, chariots and horses!

(V. 7). From the navel of this (*Vishṇu*) who desired to create the world there appeared a lotus, which did not depend upon the Sun for its awakening (*i.e.*, blossoming) and which did not depend upon the splendours of the moon-light for its sleep (*i.e.*, closure).

(V. 8). From that lotus arose the Self-born (Brahmā) simultaneously determining the four quarters with the four faces beautiful like itself (*i.e.*, the lotus) and even so (*i.e.*, simultaneously) revealing the four Vēdas with their branches (*aṅgas*).

(V. 9). Of his eye was born the Sun, the ornament of the three worlds, whose round form is adorned with the light which is hostile to the mass of darkness and who opens (*i.e.*, awakens), at the morn, the entire world (*which is*) like a lotus closed in all round by the eight petals, *viz.*, the eight quarters.

(V. 10). From him was born the king Manu, the regulator of castes and (*their*) duties, who was praiseworthy among the lords of the earth like Vāsava (*i.e.*, Indra) among the Dēvas.

(V. 11). Then (*i.e.*, in course of time) ruled this earth **Kalikāla-Chōḷadēva**, who had his birth in that noble race (*of Manu*). Sporting, for the sake of hunt, in the several quarters, he reached **Dakshiṇāpatha**.

(V. 12). Reaching there the well-known town called **Kākati**, the king fixed his extensive camp at that extensive place.

(V. 13). In his family was born King **Durjjaya**, unconquerable in war (*raṇa-durjaya*), whose foundation (*people*) say that the **Kākati** kings, born in his race, were.

(V. 14). In his line was born the king called **Prōlarāja**, who was a lion to the elephants, *viz.*, the hostile kings disinclined to do homage (*to him*).

(V. 15). (*Then*) adorned that race, his son **Rudradēva**, who removed all sufferings on earth and the sea-fire of whose prowess, causing internal (*i.e.*, mental) distress, quickly consumed the oceans of hostile kings.

(V. 16). Then, his younger brother, the glorious **Mahādēvarāja** ruled the entire circle of the earth right up to the Chakravāla mountain, the residential rampart of the **Sēvuṇa** (*king*) breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the Krauñcha mountain cleft by Śaravaṇabhava (*i.e.*, Kumāra).

(V. 17). Then bore (*i.e.*, ruled) the earth, his son, **Gaṇapatidēva**, who had arms long enough to give pain to the Lord of serpents (*i.e.*, Ādiśēsha) and the exploits of him, who had the strength of an *atiratha* (*i.e.*, super-chariot-warrior), rendered the earth (*with its royal*) pearl umbrella subject to (*the authority of*) no other king.

(V. 18). Now, that king had a minister (*named*) **Dēvarāja**, who possessed his confidence, who was the repository of the glory of the moon-shine of great fame, sung by the mouths of the several quarters of the globe and who removed the dirt, which was the insurmountable poverty of learned men, with the waves of the big streams of water (*poured out on the occasions*) of gifts and who was the refuge of all (kinds of) prosperity.

(V. 19). To him were born, through (*his wife*) **Lakshmī** (*four sons*) *viz.*, **Rāma**, **Tikka**, **Maṁchaya and Bētaya**, resembling the (*four*) arms of Madhusūdana (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) who is occupied with the protection of the three worlds.

(V. 20). In the **Śaka year** counted by **two**, the **elephants** of the **quarters** (*i.e.*, eight) and **Iśas** (*i.e.*, eleven), *i.e.*, **1182**, in the (*cyclic*) **year** called **Raudra**, in the **month Chaitra**, on the auspicious day (*in the*) **dark** (*fortnight*) on (*the occasion of*) the **solar eclipse**, the wise and the illustrious general **Tikka**, of those (*four brothers*), gave, **to fifty**[1]

[1] See f. n. 3 on p. 348 above.

Brahmans, an extensive and prosperous *a rahāra* (*i.e.*, Brahman village) possessing fruitful paddy (*-fields*).

(V. 21). (*Hereunder*) are written the names and the *gōtras* of the learned Brahmans versed in the Vēdas and holding shares in this (*agrahāra*) called **Garavapāḍu.**[1]

No.	Name.	Share or shares.	*Gōtra.*	No.	Name.	Share or shares.	*Gōtra.*
1	Sōmanāthāryya .	2		26	Prōlanāryya .	1	
2	Janārddanāryya .	1		27	Kāmanāryya .	1	
3	Nāmanāryya .	1		28	Prōlanāryya .	1	Śrīvatsa.
4	Vāmanāryya .	1		29	Māmēnāryya .	1	
5	Kāmanāryya .	1		30	Prōlanāryya .	1	
6	Mailāräryya .	2	Yaska.	31	Sūranāryya .	1	
7	Sōmanāthāryya .	1		32	Sūranāryya .	1	Gautama.
8	Kēśavāryya .	1		33	Aṁnēnāryya .	1	Ātrēya.
9	Mātavāryya (Mādhavāryya?)	1		34	Māranāryya .	1	Vādhūla.
10	Dāmōdarāryya .	1		35	Naṁdanāryya[3] .	1	Gārgya.
11	Māranāryya .	1		36	Pōtanāryya .	1	
12	Kēśavāryya .	2		37	Bōddanāryya .	1	Kāśyapa.
13	Chōḍanāryya .	1		38	Mailārāryya .	1	
14	Nāganāryya .	1		39	Prōlanāryya .	1	
15	Kēśavāryya .	1		40	Kōllanāryya .	1	
16	Ēṟapōtāryya .	1		41	Prōlanāryya .	1	Bhāradvāja.
17	Prōlanāryya[2] .	1	Harita.	42	Kōṁmanāryya .	1	
18	Narasiṁhāryya .	1		43	Chauvanāryya .	1	
19	Prōlanāryya .	1		44	Prōlanāryya .	1	
20	Ādityāryya . .	1		45	Kōṁmanāryya .	1	
21	Bhāskarāryya .	1		46	Kōṁmanāryya .	2	Kauśika.
22	Pōtanāryya .	1		47	Gōvarddhanāryya	1	
23	Pōtanāryya .	2		48	Kēśavāryya .	1	
24	Chāvanāryya .	1	Srīvatsa.	49	Mēḍanāryya .	1	
25	Appanāryya .	1		50	Vallabha of Śrīkākōlanu.	1	This is a god.

[1] [The plate gives Garavapāḍa (or °pāḍā. See f. n. 5 on p. 346 above).—Ed.]

[2] [Prōla (or Pōla) seems to be connected with Pōlēri or Pōlēramma which is a corruption of Prōlēlamma 'the goddess that presides over the city'. The elision of *r* accounts for forms like Pōla, Pōlēri and Pōlimēra, etc.—K. V. S.]

[3] Read Nandanārya.

Ll. 62f. The boundaries of this village (are):—

On the east: **Ūḍḍugulakuṇṭa**[1];

On the south-east: **Vēlagakuṇṭa**[1];

On the south: the centre of **Nēlaguṇṭa**[1];

On the south-west, west and north-west: (*the stream*) **Bhīmarathī**;

On the north: **Pāyuṁpuṭṭa**[2];

On the north-east: **Mūrapuṭṭa**[2].

[V. 22 is the usual minatory verse warning one against the sin of revoking gifts of land made by oneself or by others.]

(L. 65). May there be three-fold prosperity, auspicious and great!

[1] This must have been a pond.

[2] This must have been an ant-hill.

INDEX[1].

A

[1] Mr. G. S. Ramanathan, B. A., of my office has proved very useful in the preparation of this index.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* =chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

B

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure, to footnotes; and add. to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—ch. = chief, co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; k. = king; m. = man; mo. = mountain; ri. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town; w. = woman; W. = Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages ; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N. B—The figures refer to pages ; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

E

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman: *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages ; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* =chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern- ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=male ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=sur name ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

° The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

* The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

° The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

° The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—° The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure, to footnotes; and add. to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—ch.=chief; co.=country; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; k.=king; m.=man; mo=Mountain; ri.=river; s. a.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; vi.=village or town; w.=woman; W.=Western.

N. B.—° The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

M

N. B.—The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure, to footnotes; and add. to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—ch.=chief; co.=country; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; k.=king; m.=man; mo.=mountain; ri.=river; s. a.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; vi.=village or town; w.=woman; W.=Western.

N.B.—° The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—° The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*—district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N

N.B.— The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief : *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty : *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.* =same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur* =surname *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

Q

R

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* =chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* = chief ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *k.* = king ; *m.* = man ; *mo.* = mountain *ri.* = river ; *s. a.* = same as ; *sur.* = surname ; *te.* = temple ; *vi.* = village or town ; *w.* = woman ; *W.* = Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* =chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*= ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*= surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n*. after a figure, to footnotes; and *add*. to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch*.=chief; *co*.=country; *di*.=district or division; *do*.=ditto; *dy*.=dynasty; *E*.=Eastern; *k*.=king; *m*.=man; *mo*.=mountain; *ri*.=river; *s. a*.=same as; *sur*.=surname; *te*.=temple; *vi*.=village or town; *w*.=woman; *W*.=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division : *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.

N. B.—The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* = chief ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *k.* = king ; *m.* = man ; *mo.* = mountain ; *ri.* = river ; *s. a.* = same as ; *sur.* = surname ; *te.* = temple ; *vi.* = village or town ; *w.* = woman ; *W.* = Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* =chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k* =king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain *ri.*=river; *s. a.*= same as; *sur.*= surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* =chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do* =ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or divisions; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *k.*=king; *m.*=man; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.* =same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *w.*=woman; *W.*=Western.

N.B.—The figures refer to pages ; *n.* after a figure, to footnotes ; and *add.* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.*=chief ; *co.*=country ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *k.*=king ; *m.*=man ; *mo.*=mountain ; *ri.*=river ; *s. a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple ; *vi.*=village or town ; *w.*=woman ; *W.*=Western.